RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

A SELECTION FROM RECORDS

(1775—1845)

EDITED WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE

The greatest glory that Raja Rammohun Roy's name has acquired in history is his being called the FATHER of modern Indian Renaissance. At a time when benighted India stood in urgent need of regeneration or upliftment, the advent of the great Raja marked an epoch in her history. He was fully conscious to what a great height of civilization the Hindus had at one time reached, and for the qualities of head and heart that his compatriots still possessed they did not deserve to be in the degraded state of life and mind in which they had been for a long time past. A keen and mortifying feeling for it gave to the patriotic and humane heart of Rammohun the urge to launch his reforming or renaissant movements. His was also the truly nationalist mind in its broadest sense. It is true that he stood for the introduction of the new and enlightened ideas and ideals that brought in a new life in the West and raised the nation to the height of civilization, but his idea or purpose should not be misunderstood. His effort was like pouring new wine into the old wine-skins. He realised that the new and enlightened ideas and ideals of the awakened West had the needed potency of making the life of his countrymen richer and fuller, without its having to lose anything of its own. And in the fitness of things all the movements that Rammohun initiated for this purpose, or identified himself with, not only bore the desired fruits in his lifetime in a degree perhaps beyond his own expectation, but has received the highest honour of being deemed proper to be followed by posterity for a long time. Accounts of these multifarious movements of Rammohun have been given by his biographers, but much more was left to be brought out and recorded for a more proper and fuller understanding and appreciation of the great and unique contribution of the Raja to the regeneration of his country. The present volume is but an humble attempt to fulfil the desideratum, but is in no way

exhaustive. Not only new materials on the matters already narrated by his biographers have been recorded, but records of movements hitherto unknown have also been happily discovered and embodied. To the selection of official records incorporated in this book has been prefixed an historical introduction mainly based on the documents herein published, but partly on other works of acknowledged authority. The space at my disposal has not allowed me to deal with the subjects in any full or exhaustive way, but only in their bare outlines. A full and exhaustive treatment of each of the subjects is capable of easily filling a volume. I shall, however, feel my arduous labour amply repaid if it would in any way promote further research into the most important subjects dealt with in the present volume, or help those already engaged or interested in the work.

The book has been divided into seven sections, dealing with Rammohun's movements in the various spheres, *viz.*, religious and moral, social, political, educational and literary, judicial, economic, and administrative. Some of these Rammohun himself initiated, while with others he was associated. The main purpose of this book is to deal with the part that Rammohun played in the progressive movements in India in the early nineteenth century, and the selected records herein published have bearing on it.

The publication of the present volume could not be undertaken so closely following on the publication of my previous work on "Raja Rammohun Roy and the Last Moghuls" but for the munificence and benevolence of Mr. Tapan Mohun Chatterjee, Barrister-at-Law, Sir P. C. Roy, Kt., and Mr. Hemendranath Dutt, Managing Director, the Mahaluxmi Cotton Mills Ltd. and the Calcutta Commercial Bank Ltd., whose appreciation of my work knows no bound, and whose encouragement has helped me to carry on the work so far.

This book may be taken to form the third and at present the last volume of the series now being published on the life and works

of the late Raja Rammohun Roy, of which the first two have already been published and are before the public.

The records have been arranged chronologically as far as practicable. The copyists' mistakes in these have been left in most cases as they were, but this would not prevent the intelligent reader from getting at their proper meaning or purport.

Some of the records of the Revenue and Judicial departments that have been printed belong to the Government of Bengal, and I have to thank the authorities for kindly giving me permission to publish them. The materials collected and printed from the contemporary newspapers and journals are for the most part preserved in the archives of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. Most of these records are brought to the notice of the public for the first time, and all of them have been collected independently.

The documents contain a variety of spelling of Indian proper names. The index may be consulted for the standard forms in most cases.

It now remains for me to perform the pleasant duty of expressing grateful thanks to those who have helped me in some way or other in the preparation of this volume. I am indebted to Dr. P. G. Bridge, M.A., D.D., Principal, St. Paul's C. M. College, Calcutta, for kindly going through the introduction; to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A., Editor, "Modern Review", and Profs. Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D. Litt., and Amiya Kumar Sen, M.A., of the Calcutta University, for some useful suggestions; to the Keeper of Records of the Government of Bengal and his staff for giving me all facilities and help in the prosecution of my research; to Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah, Librarian of the Imperial Library and his staff for giving me all facilities in the prosecution of my work; and lastly, but not in the least, to Mr. N. Mukerjee, B.A., proprietor of the Art Press, Calcutta, for his

generosity, and to his staff for the care they have bestowed on the work during the course of its publication. But for the help of the above-named gentlemen my task would not have been so easy of accomplishment.

J. K. MAJUMDAR.

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INTRODUCTION

There can be no gainsaying the fact that at the time, of which we are speaking, Indian civilization had come to a very low, if not the lowest limit of degeneration. The spring of life and the source of alertness of mind of the people had long ceased to flow, listlessness prevailed, bringing in its train corruption and decay. This especially characterized the once great Hindus. The Hindu ideas and ideals had become so perverted that they not unjustifiably became the objects of derision of the awakened and enlightened peoples of the West. The renaissance had heralded a new age and civilization in Europe. It brought in its wake a surge of life that saw the birth of higher and richer conceptions and ideals, which gave a new meaning to life or existence itself. The Western mind after a long stagnation had broken off its shackles to new meanings and ideals, in the face of which the extant Hindu ideas and ideals appeared to be grossly mediævalistic and retrogressive. This new awakening in the West had brought the British nation to the forefront of civilization by their being imbued with a new idealism, so that the establishment of a connection between such an enlightened nation and India has been thought, not without reason, by many a patriotic son of the land, to be a divine dispensation, fraught as it was with immense possibilities. For the British administrators and legislators, both at home and in India, to have been actuated by the enlightened and forward ideas and ideals that prevailed in their own country, for the guidance of the Indian affairs in its various departments, had been a most happy augury for her regeneration. But however strong the inclination of the Britishers might have been to uplift Indians from their slough of despond, another condition was to be fulfilled, and that was for the real and patriotic sons of the soil to come forward with bold and enlightened hearts to grasp the new ideas and ideals, as well as to avail themselves of the opportunities and possibilities that were presented by the changed circumstances. This happened, as never before, with the advent of Raja Rammohun Roy on the public arena as a pioneer amongst his countrymen. It has been significantly said that the birth of the Raja synchronised with a great event in India's history, namely, the standing forth as Dewan by the East India Company, which was really pregnant with great possibilities. It was left for Rammohun's genius to grasp the implications of the new order that was being established here, and to come forward with a stout and redoubtable heart to avail himself of the opportunities that were floating about. His task had been twofold—on the one

hand, to rouse his countrymen to the great possibilities and opportunities that were presented, and, on the other, to demand of the new rulers the rights and privileges that were brought in and guaranteed by the British constitution itself, which were instrumental in bringing about the desired amelioration of the condition of his countrymen in the various spheres of life. Giant-like he stood forth amidst the encircling gloom with his gaze fixed on the future when his dear countrymen would be shaken from their deep slumber and awake to the new ideas and ideals. And in this fond hope he was not disappointed. His earnest and patriotic efforts had really brought a beginning, a new awakening in the minds of the people. however few they might have been in number. This has deservedly gained for him the immortal glory of being called the Father of modern Indian renaissance. The possession of a noble patriotic mind, high moral character and a stout and bold heart, as well as requisite knowledge of things and affairs of the time, all combined to bring him to the forefront to play the part of a real REFORMER, and all the movements that he initiated, or associated himself with, were of a truly progressive character in its new and larger sense. In what follows it would be our task to deal with these one by one mainly in the light of new materials that have been unearthed and embodied in the following pages.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL

It was a most happy augury that Rammohun should start with a movement for the religious reform of the Hindus. The religion of the Hindus, in the heyday of their civilization, had reached the most high and lofty stage of Monotheism, which also determined their code of life and morals. But unfortunately for her, the mind of the people receded from this high path to the labyrinths of polytheism and idolatry, which, with a corresponding change in the code of life and morals, had been the main cause of their all-round degradation and miseries in life. So the first and foremost necessity of the day lay in clearing up this fountain-head, which had been instrumental in choking all progress of such a great nation for a long time past.

An early acquaintance with the truths and principles of the higher Hindu Shastras opened Rommohun's eyes to the follies and absurdities of the extant beliefs and practices of his compatriots, which not only led him later to abandon the current modes and practices of the faith in which he had been brought up, but to take upon himself, through compassion for his fellow-brethren, the onerous and hard task of reforming their erroneous beliefs and ways of life. His indomitable search for Truth made him study also the Scriptures of the other great religions of the world with a most

happy and desirable result. It went to strengthen his mind and ideas further, as well as to fortify him in his beliefs and laudable efforts at reform.

His comparative study of the various Scriptures led him to discover the fundamental unity of all religions in their tenets and principles, namely, the belief in the unity of the Godhead, universal brotherhood of man, etc. This was the bed-rock on which he was established, and which gave him the inspiration to launch his reforming campaign against those erroneous and puerile notions and beliefs that came to be engrafted on the pure theism in the course of ages.

The fruits of Rammohun's early researches into theological truth came to be embodied in his small pamphlet, *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin,* which he published at the age of sixteen, and which was a protest against the idolatry of all religions. And this was not without reaction.[1] But he did not stop at it. His passion and zeal for the religious reform of the Hindus was further manifested in his establishing a religious society at Rungpur, where the tenets of the higher Hindu Shastras used to be discussed and propagated. This brought him in collision with the accumulated ignorance of the orthodox section of the community there and roused their angry fanaticism. But the really fruitful and eventful years of his reforming activity started with his settlement in Calcutta in 1814, where he established a society called the *Atmiya Sabha* or *Society of Friends.* In this society not only religious principles, but the absurdities and puerilities of the various Hindu social and other customs, connected with polytheism or idolatry, used to be discussed and condemned.[2] Through his high position in life and superior intellect Rammohun was soon able to gather round him some of the most distinguished and respectable citizens of the city, whose enthusiasm for the cause was early and amply manifested.[3] This activity was soon followed by his undertaking to print and publish the higher Shastras of the Hindus, like the *Vedanta* and the *Upanishads,* the repositories of their highest wisdom, which had long become practically sealed books to the people at large. This propagation of the Hindu Shastras in the various Indian languages, as well as in English, had immediate results. The eyes of all the sections of the society were soon drawn to him as never before, but reactions were varied. While the orthodox section of his compatriots saw in it nothing but the possibility of a great evil occurring to them, the enlightened Europeans all over the world hailed it with a great jubilation as its being the precursor of great

[1] See *Javab i Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin.* An anonymous defence of Rammohun Roy's *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* against the attacks of Zoroastrians. Pp. 16. Calcutta, 1820 (?) (British Museum Library, London).

[2] No. 11.

[3] Nos. 13, 14 and 17.

things to happen, namely, evangelization, amelioration of the material and moral conditions of the people, and advent of a better state of things and affairs in the country.

Rammohun's effort at propagating the true tenets of the Hindu religion soon involved him in a great polemical war with his orthodox compatriots. His attempt to turn the minds of his fellow-brethren from the erroneous conceptions and practices of idolatry, as being destructive of all higher comforts of life and anti-social in their tendencies, was greatly resented by them, and especially by the priestly caste, whose ignorance, folly and vested interests came to be exposed and affected. Angry epithets, such as, "destroyer of religion", "renegade", etc. were hurled at him in a very shameful manner, without trying to assess the proper value or implications of his movement. To call Rammohun a destroyer of religion was the most unjustified, unfortunate and uncharitable accusation. Rammohun did nothing more than try to establish the Hindu religion is its pristine glory. He did not come to destroy but purify and to fulfil. He did never claim to be the establisher or discoverer of a new religion. That monotheism should be the national religion of the Hindus sounded the key-note of his reform movement. He did not find anything to break off from the past. The high monotheism of the ancient Hindus had gained for them the admiration and respect of the whole civilized world, and Rammohun's only passion was to see it re-established in the land, so that it might once again be the perennial source of all progress and comforts in their life, and all stigma that had been brought on the fair name and fame of the once great Hindus might be removed once for all. To have tried to justify idol-worship as a meritorious act and quite in comformity with the Hindu Scriptures had been a most weak point in the argument on the part of his orthodox opponents, which Rammohun found no difficulty in refuting or smashing after the way of a great and true pundit. Nor their contention that the adoration of the Supreme Being was intended only for the recluse and not for the householder, was of any avail. He also set them the example of how to carry on a discussion on a solemn and serious subject which vitally concerns life's interests in a dignified and decorous way, which properly drew forth the admiration of many. However, the most happy result of such a polemical war was that the attention of many of his people were turned to the examination of the Shastras for themselves, with the happy result of making more and more converts from idolatry.

Soon after the publication of the tracts of Rammohun on the *Vedanta* and the *Upanishads* a curious charge against his efforts was brought from a different quarter. This was done by one Mr. Ellis, a distinguished member of the Madras Literary Society,

and possibly an orientalist. Mr. Ellis's charge against Rammohun was that his effort was precisely of the same tendency as the discussions of Robert de Nobili, the founder of the French Madura Mission, embodied in his "Pseudo-Vedas", whose whole scope was "evidently the destruction of the existing belief of the Hindus, without regarding consequences, or caring whether a blank be substituted for it or not."[1] But the journal in which Mr. Ellis's paper was quoted in refuting the above charge very pertinently observed: "According to our humble opinion, Rammohun Roy has not been labouring to destroy the belief of the Hindoos—but to convince them, that their sacred authorities have been interpolated and misinterpreted—that a system of ceremonial and worship has been introduced and practiced, inconsistent with, and repugnant to, the precepts inculcated in the Vedanta and other holy authorities; and with a view to enable his countrymen to detect the errors which they have hitherto adopted, he has furnished them with genuine translations of parts of the scriptures "which inculcate not only the enlightened worship of One God, but the purest principles of morality." The Pseudo-Vedas alluded to by Mr. Ellis, were written it seems, to *refute the doctrines* as well as to show the absurdity of the ceremonies inculcated by the Bramins. Now, if we understand the writings of Rammohun, they are not intended to refute the doctrines which are to be found in the Hindoo Scriptures—but to exhibit these doctrines in their genuine language;—and thereby to show, that many of the ceremonies of the present day, are neither enjoined by these doctrines, nor consistent with the pure system of Hindoo worship, which acknowledges only One God. To this *belief*, and to a rational system of worship, consistent with this belief, Rammohun is desirous of directing his countrymen: and unless the recommendation to worship the Supreme Being instead of 330,000,000 Idols be a *Blank*,—or the adoption of that recommendation, be a mischievous *consequence*, we are wholly at a loss to comprehend how the writings of Rammohun Roy, can deserve the censure which they have received."[2] In paying eulogy, on the other hand, to Rammohun's efforts, the same journal observes in another connexion that "the praiseworthy exertions of Rammohun Roy, to reclaim his countrymen from their degrading and unjustifiable superstitions, have already accomplished, what some years ago, was considered almost impracticable; and we have no doubt, but that his writings, supported by his example, will in a short time induce every thinking and rational Hindoo, to look into the volumes which he venerates and considers sacred, for that instruction which should regulate his form of worship. If he shall be persuaded, that he ought to adore but One God, in spirit and in truth, he will

[1] P. 8.
[2] Pp. 8-9.

soon follow the astonishing precedent that Rammohun has exhibited,—and burst asunder the chains by which the followers of *Bramins* are now kept in thraldom—and the absurd and sanguinary ceremonies, which are inculcated by the wicked and practiced by the ignorant, will cease to be observed. This alone will be a vast approximation to a *better* state of things, which, for a season we must rather desire than *expect*."[1] The journal had a still further remark to make to the effect that should Rammohun's efforts be successful at however remote a period, he would be remembered with gratitude, as Luther has been in the Western world, as a high benefactor of the Hindus. His reform movement would undoubtedly make the Hindus better men by warding off the wretched effects which their practices and beliefs produce on their morals and happiness.[2]

Mr. Ellis's charge may be said to have been born either of ignorance or prejudice, or of both. He was not alone in the field, but he had others in the ranks of his fellow-believers of perhaps the same way of thinking. Rammohun's campaign against Hindu idolatry, as well as his forsaking idolatrous faith and practices, must have roused high hopes in the minds of those Christian missionaries and laymen, who had the conviction that Christianity alone held the key to the regeneration of the benighted Indians, that Rammohun would gradually come to realise the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism and be a convert to their faith, as well as be a co-adjutor in their field of labour to proselytize natives to their faith. Endeavours to induce him to embrace Christianity, as being superior to Hinduism, were made from different quarters for some time.[3] Since his settlement in Calcutta Rammohun came to make an early acquaintance of some of the leading missionaries of the time. He was perhaps particularly friendly and intimate with the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, as their reports show. He early supported their philanthropic activities in establishing schools for the education of the native youths, as well as becoming associated with them in the work of translating the Bible in the vernacular for the propagation of its tenets. The act later led to the conversion of one of his missionary co-adjutors in the work, Rev. W. Adam, into the unitarian faith, which Rammohun used to hold to be the true tenet of the Bible, and which created no little stir in their community and his being nicknamed the "second fallen Adam". Some enthusiasts went even so far as to seek the protection of some old provision of the law for its redress, but in vain.[4]

[1] P. 12.
[2] No. 7.
[3] Nos. 9 & 21. See also Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy,* edited by H. C Sarkar (1913), p. 68.
[4] No. 22.

Shortly before the conversion of the Rev. W. Adam, Rammohun had occasion to publish a book entitled "The Precepts of Jesus, the way to Peace and Happiness" in 1820. This he did most innocently with no other purpose than for the moral upliftment of his countrymen. His study of the *New Testament* led him to discriminate between the doctrinal and moral parts of it. He observes: "I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament, the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding. For, historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of free-thinkers and anti-christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the native of Asia, and consequently would be apt, at best, to carry little weight with them. On the contrary, moral doctrines, tending evidently to the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind at large, are beyond the reach of metaphysical perversion, and intelligible alike to the learned and to the unlearned. This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of God..... and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form".[1]

Though Rammohun used strong words against the doctrinal parts of the *New Testament,* he had no idea thereby to bring it into ridicule or take anything away from its real value or worth. He was the respecter of all religions, as he was the respecter of all persons. But his researches in the biblical literature convinced him of the fact that the religion of Christ was obscured by the engraftment of absurd and idolatrous doctrines and practices by the Greek, Roman and barbarian converts to Christianity from time to time. And he thought that the Trinitarian doctrine that most of the Christian missionaries used to preach and believe was nothing but a perversion of the real teachings of Christ, and was on same level with the polytheism of the Hindus. But the missionaries used to think just the other way about the religion that they were propagating. They had formed a very low or base idea of the Hindu Shastras, the highest ones not excepted, and thought that their own was of a much higher order and form, and which was the only means to attain final beatitude. They were trying to convince people of this not only by publication of articles etc. in their organs from time to time, but preaching it before the doors of the natives

[1] Introduction to the *Precepts of Jesus.*

on and often. While thus enthusiastically engaged in the task and entertaining high hopes to make a convert of Rammohun himself to their faith, it must have been a matter of no little disappointment to them to find him thus exposing the weakness and absurdity of their doctrines to the people. The unexpected way in which the Serampore missionaries came out in their organ to attack Rammohun on his publication perhaps gives a clear glimpse of such a disappointment, than of anything else. At about this time an article appeared in the same organ attacking the *Vedanta* as being pantheistic, and the other Hindu Shastras as being debased, as well as containing certain vilificatory remarks against their character. It was thought that the above missionary attack against Rammohun had been rather imprudent and foolish, as it roused a gigantic intellect in the field of religious controversy, who has been said not to have met his match here. As a nationalist and champion of his country's cause, Rammohun could not remain indifferent to such criticism and charges. To the criticism of the Serampore missionaries against his *Precepts* Rammohun gave fitting replies, which show his worth as a theological controversialist, and aroused the admiration and applause of his fellow-believers both here and in the West, where his publications in justification of the Unitarian Christianity were enthusiastically reprinted and circulated. To the article mentioned Rammohun sent a fitting reply in vindication of the Hindu Shastras etc., which the authorities refused to publish. This gave him the occasion to bring out a journal of his own called the "Brahmunical Magazine", in which he tried to prove not only the absurdity of the missionary attack against the *Vedanta* as being pantheistic, with all the odium that has attached to it, namely, its divesting God of all His moral attributes, robbing Him of His infinitely glorious character, and really reducing Him to an empty shadow, but he also had words in defence of the *Purans* etc. as being at least in no way inferior to the religion that they used to believe and propagate. In the last number of the said magazine Rammohun took the opportunity to give vent to his suppressed feelings against the trinitarian doctrine in the following words: "Are not these explanations of the Trinity, given by the persons most versed in the Scriptures, sufficient to puzzle any man, if not drive him to atheism? .... Would he not be utterly astonished at the idea, that a nation who are so celebrated for their progress in the arts and sciences, for the enjoyment of political and civil liberty, and for their freedom of inquiry and discussion, should neglect their religious faith so much as to allow it still to stand upon the monstrously absurd basis of Popery?" Such remarks annoyed the missionaries and others very much, but in the polemical war that ensued Rammohun again came out with

flying colours, and his moderation and temper once again drew forth unstinted praise and admiration from many.

The conversion of Adam to the unitarian faith gave Rammohun the opportunity to further the cause of Unitarianism or progressive Christianity in this country. Shortly after Adam's conversion Rammohun in conjunction with some of his distinguished and ardent native as well as European friends started the Unitarian Association in Calcutta, which received the whole-hearted support and patronage of not only his friends here, but of that of British and American sympathisers as well, and made satisfactory progress in the direction.[1] This association had no doubt for its primary object the furtherance of the cause of Unitarianism in whatever form, but included in its grand design or scheme history, science and philisophy as the handmaids of true religion. Its report says: "And whatever, therefore, has a tendency to diffuse the benefits of education, to destroy ignorance and superstition, bigotry and fanaticism, to raise the standard of intellect, to purify the theories of morals, and to promote universal charity and practical benevolence, although not in immediate connexion with Christianity, will be considered by them as within the scope of their design. The melioration also of the physical condition of the numerous native population, the encouragement of the useful arts and of industrious habits amongst them, and the consequent increase of their social and domestic comforts, the committee regard as legitimate objects of pursuit, as all experience shows that it is only when the first wants of nature and society are fully supplied, that the higher degrees of improvement in intellect, in morals, and in religion, can be expected to follow."[2]

From this it appears how broad-based the Association was, and what possibilities it held out towards the progressive cause of the country in all its main spheres. Rammohun's attitude towards Christianity may also be seen from it. To an earnestly free mind like Rammohun's any idea of antagonising any system of religion was entirely foreign, nor was he apprehensive of any harm accruing from it to his own. He resented and remonstrated against the missionary procedure of trying to proselytize the natives by reviling the tenets of their religion. His free mind could not tolerate it. He, on the other hand, made the most sporting challenge to them to try to make converts of the natives by force of arguments alone, and not by throwing abuse and ridicule on their beliefs. His remonstrations had the desired effect in raising his timid compatriots in their self-estimation, as well giving a blow to the aggressive proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries in India. He showed the

[1] No. 33.
[2] P. 74.

ever-to-be-followed example of how by remaining fast in one's own faith one could be tolerant to those of others. By his supporting Christianity Rammohun had not the slightest idea or purpose of denationalizing his countrymen, as he himself was not in any way whatever, but to show how such toleration conduces not only to the promotion of peace and harmony in society, but enriches one's own religion itself. He was reverent towards every religion by remaining a Hindu himself. Those who antagonised Rammohun must have totally failed to appreciate the loftiness of his thought and catholicity of his mind, which may be said to have been far ahead of those of others.

In the midst, however, of the polemical war, rancour and persecution, Rammohun's movement for the religious reform of his countrymen proceeded on its onward march, till it culminated in the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj or the Hindu Unitarian Association in 1830. This was, indeed, an event pregnant with great possibilities. This institution was a novel and unique one in its nature and purpose, and after a chequered career since its establishment under the designation of the *Atmiya Sabha*, came to obtain a more secure and permanent basis. The establishment of such an institution may be said to have been the product of Rammohun's study of the various religions of the world, which convinced him of the underlying unity or harmony of them all in their fundamental tenets, thus providing the possibility of the unification as well of the votaries of the different faiths on a common platform or in a place where every one according to his own conviction and ways could say his prayer to the one Supreme Being, who is the preserver and protector of mankind as a whole. In a word, this building was meant to be the place to worship the Divine Father in spirit and in truth. The Trust Deed of the Samaj is a unique document or charter, not only bold and novel in its plan and profession, but places before mankind the means of a new approach to the establishment of peace and harmony among the jarring or warring votaries of different faiths in the world in a practical way. And to show the way himself Rammohun used to gather together under the roof of the building in Chitpore Road votaries of different faiths to offer their prayers to the Divine Father in unison with others![1] This was undoubtedly a most bold and forward experiment.

That the above institution and experiment would come in for condemnation and ridicule in various ways by the orthodox opponents of Rammohun was not strange, but that it should come in for similar condemnation by some of the enlightened Christians of the time was rather strange and curious. The tory and con-

[1] See *Tattwabodhini Patrika* (Bengali), 2nd Kalpa, Part I, No. 50, Aswin, 1769 Saka.

servative organ "John Bull" became the channel or vehicle of such deplorable condemnation. In a letter published therein a correspondent remarks that "if such are to be the fruits of educating the natives, it will become a question of the very highest moment, with every Christian and every well-wisher to his race, how far he is not lending his aid in promoting such education to introduce Atheism itself, and to undermine every foundation of human happiness".[1] And in commenting upon it the editor of the paper went to the further length to prophesy that the day of its existence would be short-lived. And he further wondered how men of common sense could be led away by such humbug! The "John Bull" paper had become notorious for its conservatism and opposition to the liberal or progressive movements of the time. It also enjoyed the notoriety of being the demi-official organ of the day. It had for its purpose to check or crush the alarming growth in popularity and influence of the now famous Buckingham's "Calcutta Journal" for the liberal cause of the country, and kept up its consistency in the direction till it expired in 1832. It was natural, therefore, that it should also come to oppose and antagonise the liberal projects and movements of Rammohun and his party, as will be further evident later on. In this task it went even so far as to make an unholy alliance with the native paper "Samachar Chundrika", the organ of the orthodox and conservative Hindu party, and notorious for its antagonising the cause of liberality and progress in the country, more of which would be seen later.

However, to have stigmatized Rammohun's effort as leading people to atheism and undermining the foundation of their happiness was a most unjustified and misplaced charge that could be made against his benevolent and laudable efforts. It received a deserving reply from a correspondent.[2] Do not such vituperations rather show the strong prejudice and jealousy of those against the march of intellect of some of the natives, as well as of the superiority of their intellect, of which Colonel Young so feelingly and regretfully writes to Bentham in 1828?[3]

But however prejudicial or malicious the strictures of the Christian Divines and laymen might have been against him, Rammohun rose far above all of them to show once again the loftiness and catholicity of his mind by advising his followers in a small pamphlet, "Humble Suggestions", to be tolerant and charitable towards the views of others however much they might differ from theirs. This shows his worth as a Reformer as well, and should be an example to all who are in the least anxious or serious about initiating any reform in his motherland. In fine, what Rammohun thought was needed most for the

[1] P. 82. [2] No. 38.
[3] See Bowring: *Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. XI, p. 7.

good of the individual and society, both here and hereafter, was the belief in, and service of, an infinite and perfect God, love to whom and peace and good-will towards man, were to be the most potent factors for raising them in the scale of spiritual advancement, as well as of morals or conduct.

The moral reform movement of Rammohun has gone *pari passu* with his religious reform movement. The low moral ideas and practices of the Hindus not only stood in the way of their religious progress, but in that of their material or physical welfare as well. The effort for a reform in this field had been the earnest concern of not only the philanthropist, but that of the administrators of the country also. Rammohun's effort to improve the minds of his compatriots and lead them to a knowledge of a purer and higher system of morality had been a laudable one. And the means of that he found in the very Shastras themselves of the Hindus, which he so earnestly endeavoured to disclose before them for their information and guidance. His keenness and anxiety in this direction was so great that he even went out of the pale of his own Shastras and translated the precepts of Jesus, which he found admirably suited for the purpose. And in this effort also he was not disappointed. This roused some of his compatriots from their moral torpor, and made them the little band of reformers who was responsible for ushering in a new age in morals in the country, which once again paved the way for the attainment of comforts and happiness in life of a higher and enlightened nature or kind.

SOCIAL

Of the social reform movements of Rammohun the most important and outstanding one was his agitation against the practice of Suttee rite. Of all the abominations associated with the idolatrous belief or faith of the Hindus, which had become the object of derision of the enlightened peoples of the world, perhaps the greatest was the custom of suttee or woman-burning. What a debasing effect the connexion of blood and murder with the religious belief and practice had on the character and morals of the people was not apparent to the votaries of the evil custom, nor was their sense or feeling roused against it. Rammohun from a very early period came to abhor it, as did the enlightened Christians of the time. It has been said that since the time when Rammohun had occasion to witness a suttee he took a vow that he would never rest unless and until such a horrible and barbarous practice was prohibited.[1] The custom of immolating widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands came to be early

[1] See Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by H. C. Sarkar (1913), p. 48, footnote.

condemned, among other things, in the meetings of his *Atmiya Sabha,* and it has also been said that Rammohun himself used to go to the places where suttees were to take place and try to dissuade the unfortunate and deluded widows from committing such a sinful act. But some opportunity or occasion was to take place for him to start his ever memorable and regular campaign against the custom, which may be said to have begun in or about the year 1818.

However much indignation the Christian Government of the country might have felt against the barbarous and inhuman custom in their minds from the very beginning, it being connected with the so-called religious belief or prejudice of the Hindus, the authorities thought best, on their declared policy of religious toleration or neutrality, not to interfere with it. But moral pressure, as well as other difficulties, had at length their effect. It is evident that the matter came to a head in or about the year 1805. In compliance with the solicitation of the Governor-General in Council to have information about the advisability or practicability of prohibiting the practice of suttee, the Nizamut Adawlut proposed questions to the pundits of the court, from whose answers or opinions it appeared that the practice in question was founded on the religious notions of the Hindus; it was to be voluntary; the administration of intoxicating drugs to the intended victims was illegal; while in certain circumstances it was prohibited. From a full consideration of the case, as well as from careful and cautious inquiries made into the possibility or practicability of its being immediately abolished, the court apprehended that under the then existing circumstances it was impracticable and highly inexpedient to abolish the custom; but in view of illegal, unwarrantable and criminal practices taking place, the court recommended, for its prevention, the issuing by Government of certain rules and instructions to the magistrates of the several cities and zillahs.[1] But the Government remained silent over the matter for some time until a further reference was made to them by the court, while forwarding a letter from the magistrate of Bundelcund requesting instructions for their guidance with respect to the practice of suttees. In reply to it the Governor-General in Council communicated their complete agreement with the court in thinking that the best course for them to follow, according to their fundamental principle of religious toleration, would be to allow the practice in those cases in which it was countenanced by their religion, while preventing it in others in which it was by the same authority prohibited. And to give effect to their intentions the authorities approved as well adapted to the purpose the practical

[1] No. 47.

measures suggested by the court of issuing those instructions to the magistrates and zillah judges.[1] Accordingly, after some negotiation, certain rules and instructions were agreed upon and issued by the Nizamut Adawlut in March 1813 to the several magistrates and police darogahs for the guidance of their conduct in cases where suttees were intended.

It seems that no opposition or remonstrance, at least visible, was made to these circular orders. But when a Regulation for maintaining an observance of the restrictions prescribed by the Shaster, in the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands or otherwise, was intended to be passed in 1817, the principal orthodox Hindus of Calcutta remonstrated against it by sending a petition to the authorities, in which they prayed that the orders already in force against illegal proceedings in burning widows with the bodies of their deceased husbands should be repealed, and the practice should be allowed as unhindered as it had hitherto been. This seems to have given occasion to Rammohun and his liberal group to come forward and launch their campaign against the barbarous and inhuman custom, not only by counter-petitioning Government, but by publishing tracts to show that the practice was not countenanced or approved by the Hindu Shastras, as had been asserted by its votaries. However, the adoption of the Regulation by Government authorities was thought unadvisable on the ground of the insufficiency and inaccuracy of the information possessed by them, relative to the rules of Hindu law on the subject, and to the local usages prevailing in different parts of the country in the matter. And while it was conceived that the object contemplated would be more conveniently attained by the promulgation of circular orders for the guidance of the magistrates and police officers, this also could not be adopted as the disturbed political conditions or circumstances of the time rendered it expedient to postpone it until a period of greater tranquillity.

The appearance of Rammohun's first tract on Suttee was hailed with great jubilation. Indeed it was an innovation of the greatest importance on the matter for the philanthropist or humanist and administrator alike. In an appreciative notice of it the paper like the "Calcutta Gazette", a Government patronized organ, remarked: "The Sanskrit authorities which are said to enjoin the sacrifice of widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, have lately undergone a free examination by a learned and philosophical Hindoo. The question of itself is of the highest importance, and the true interpretation of the religious law which has stained the domestic history of India for so many

[1] No. 49.

ages with blood, will no doubt diminish, if not extinguish the desire for self-immolation. The safest way of coming to a right understanding on a point so interesting to humanity, is a rigid investigation of the rules of conduct laid down in the books which are considered sacred by the Hindoos. This appears to have been done with great assiduity, anxiety, and care, and the consequence has been a decision hostile to the ancient custom."[1] To add to the laudable effort of the philanthropist, all possible publicity was given to it by its being published entire in the leading papers of the day. The brunt of its main argument is that it is the incumbent duty of the Hindu widows to live as ascetics, and thus attain divine absorption, which was more preferable and desirable than the practice of destroying themselves to gain pleasures in heaven The custom of binding down widows with the corpses of their deceased husbands, as also of using bamboos to press down those who wanted to escape from the torture, was condemned as being nothing short of deliberate woman-murder. To have raised such a protest against the so-called holy custom was not only novel but bold. The tract was not only freely and widely distributed in Calcutta and places in its vicinity where the custom was most prevalent, but was also submitted to the pundits of the zillah and provincial courts of Bengal through their respective authorities.[2]

Rammohun's publication raised a storm in the camp of his orthodox compatriots. It has been said that some of the learned brahmins were requested by their wealthy supporters to reply to it in a proper way. Tracts in reply came to be published by the orthodox camp, but Rammohun was not afraid of it. It gave him a peculiar delight to discuss the so-called shastric sanctions on which they thought suttee practice was based. The philanthropists or humanists were silently but most interestedly watching the result of the polemical war. The Government authorities of the day were also no less interested spectators of it, though they had thought best to follow a non-interfering course. The sentiments of the Government were communicated to the Court of Directors in their letter, dated the 1st February 1820.[3] In their reply, dated the 17th June 1823, the Court intimated that the attention of the Parliament as well as of the public had already been called to the subject. But however strong had been their feeling as Christians against such an abominable practice, they were reluctant to authorize a general prohibition, and satisfied themselves by giving a wide discretion to the local authorities in regard to the prevention of the custom. Assuredly the most

[1] P. 114.
[2] No 56.
[3] No. 61.

acceptable form of its success to them was its being brought about by such an increase of intelligence among the people as should show them the wickedness and absurdity of the practice, and next to this to see the abolition effected by influence, and the co-operation of the higher order of the natives.[1]

The above resolution of the Court was not an unanimous affair, two of its directors having struck a discordant note. Shortly after its dispatch a motion on the subject was brought at a meeting of the Court, but was defeated.[2] But the matter did not end there. Attempts to raise stronger public opinion against the policy of allowing the practice to continue was being made perhaps especially by Mr. James Silk Buckingham's newly started magazine, "The Oriental Herald", as it has been said on good authority that Lord Hastings would have prohibited it had he the popular voice in England in his favour.[3] While in India Mr. Buckingham had made similar efforts in the direction through the medium of his famous "Calcutta Journal". Public opinion was gradually rising in England against the barbarous practice and meetings were also being held.

However, in their reply to the despatch of the Court, Lord Amherst's government was glad to express the gratification derived from the confidence reposed in them by leaving to their discretion the adoption or suspension of measures for the prevention of the barbarous practice. However earnestly they might have wished to abolish it, they thought such an act to be a very unsafe and imprudent course to be adopted under the then prevailing circumstances or conditions of the country. They observed that the "safety and expediency of suppressing the practice must be judged by reference chiefly to native, and not to European habits of thinking". They expressed the hope that the spread of knowledge and increase of intelligence of the people would have a strong inducement in seeing the practice abolished by the people themselves, for which a plan for the introduction of improved native education had already been adopted, and the Court had been apprised of it. The adoption of the plan for the encouragement of native education, they remarked, depended for its success, in no small degree, on the scrupulous exclusion of all reference to religious subjects or matters; and it was injudicious to render the first interference of the Government with a religious rite simultaneous with the introduction of a system of general education.[4]

[1] No. 62.
[2] No 71.
[3] *Oriental Herald*, March 1827, pp. 555-56
[4] No 69.

The news of the loss of the motion in regard to the suppression of suttees, of which we have spoken above, was hailed with great satisfaction by the orthodox portion of the Hindu community here, who, of course, formed the bulk of the people at the time. The "Oriental Observer", while advising caution on the adoption of any measure for the prohibition of the practice, opined at the same time that whatever considerations might have prevented the authorities so long to suppress the custom, the partial and limited manner in which it was practised gave a fit opportunity to them to attack with greater safety such an unjustifiable prejudice of the Hindus.[1]

However, the idea of preventing the custom by legislation was again arising in the minds of some of the members of the Governor-General's council. In 1827 Mr. Bayley prepared the draft of a Regulation for the prevention of suttees. But this move of Bayley failed. Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, in his Minute, dated the 18th March 1827, recorded his sentiments on the above proposal to the effect that he was willing to accept or adopt neither any half measure nor any measure to prohibit suttees altogether. "After all", he observes, "I must frankly confess, though at the risk of being considered insensible to the enormity of the evil, that I am inclined to recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge amongst the natives, for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition. I cannot believe it possible, that the burning or burying alive of widows will long survive the advancement which every year brings with it in useful and rational learning . . . . . . These are slow, but I think they are sure means of bringing this barbarous custom into desuetude; and I would rather wait a few years for the gradual consummation of this desirable event, than risk the violent and uncertain, and perhaps dangerous expedient of a prohibition on the part of the government".[2]

The assumption of the office of Governor-Generalship by Lord William Bentinck in 1828 gave a new aspect to the agitation for the prohibition of suttees. From the fact that Rammohun dedicated his second Tract on Suttee to Lady Hastings it is evident what sympathy the Governor-General had with the cause of the prohibition of the abominable custom, though the disturbed political conditions of the country at the time prevented his adopting any strong measure against it. The proceeding of the next incumbent also was not bold or forward enough. Lord Amherst had pinned his faith to the progress of education and enlightenment of the natives undermining the hold the unjusti-

[1] No. 71.
[2] P. 129.

fiable prejudice had on their minds. But Bentinck's idea was different, and his policy was much more bold and forward. He was one of those few who strongly felt that the time had come for the barbarous practice being prohibited by legislation with safety. He immediately took steps to have a circular letter issued to the various grades of officers, both civil and military, inviting their opinions on the advisability of such a course being adopted. The majority of opinions submitted went in favour of the Governor-General's plan being adopted, while of those few whose opinions were adverse, the most important was that of the great orientalist, Horace Hayman Wilson. After reviewing the Hindu authorities on the matter Wilson came to the definite conclusion that the plan for abolition of the practice would, in fact, be an actual interference with the Hindu religion, and thus in perfect violation of the pledge so long given by Government to the natives that complete toleration in matters of their religion would be allowed. "One or two individuals", he observed, "who have signalised themselves by dissenting from many of the practices and principles of the religion, may hold a different persuasion, but the vast body of the population will concur in the same impression, and the Government has to legislate not for a handful of sectaries but for the Hindus at large. With them the faith of the British Government will be seriously compromised."[1] This was indeed a strong gibe thrown at Rammohun and his liberal followers.

After reviewing, however, the whole body of opinions submitted, and duly considering the *pros* and *cons*, Bentinck came to his memorable decision of prohibiting the custom by legislation, which is recorded in his famous Minute, dated the 8th November 1829. His Lordship did not omit to take the opinion of Rammohun also on the matter, which he recorded in his above Minute. It is true that Rammohun was more in favour of having the practice suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties, and by the indirect agency of the police, than by public enactment, but what was really in his mind became apparent soon after, as we shall presently see. Bentinck's Minute is indeed a great charter of humanity and justice. "The first and primary object of my heart," he observes in the concluding part of his long Minute, "is the benefit of the Hindoos. I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition, as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and a more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then, when no longer under this brutalizing excitement, view with more calmness,

[1] P. 136.

acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence, that to the command received as divine by all races of men, 'No innocent blood shall be spilt', there can be no exception; and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped, that others which stand in the way of their improvement may likewise pass away, and that thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their just places among the great families of mankind. I disown in these remarks or in this measure any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a Legislator for the Hindoos, and as I believe many enlightened Hindoos think and feel".[1]

Similar noble sentiments may be said to have actuated the mind of Rammohun as well. The adoption of the bold and forward measure for the prohibition of the detestable practice by Lord Bentinck has properly made his name immortal in the annals of India. With this should be associated the name of the great Rammohun above all. While the English press here was enthusiastically paying high eulogy to Bentinck for this bold act, an English lady, Mrs. Keith Martin, did well to advise them not to forget the name of Rammohun in this connexion, and give him his due share of the credit, which was, of course, duly acknowledged.[2]

Bentinck's adoption of the above humane measure, while rousing the angry fanaticism of the orthodox section of the Hindu community, was hailed with great jubilation by both the enlightened Christians, as well as the liberal-minded Hindus of the time. The Christians and the liberal Hindus joined in presenting addresses to the Governor-General, congratulating him on the bold and enlightened step he had adopted, which happy procedure could not but draw a great appreciation of the contemporary liberal press.

The orthodox Hindus, on the other hand, remonstrated against it by presenting a petition to the Governor-General, supported by the opinions of a large body of learned pundits of the country in favour of suttees, in which act they were said to have been instigated or encouraged by some of the high Government officials of the day! but which was deservedly condemned.[3] Effort to strengthen their hands was further made by bringing materials for attack on the measure from even a distant place like Benares.[4]

[1] P. 148.
[2] No. 80.
[3] No. 78.
[4] No. 93.

A deputation of the leading orthodox Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta waited on the Governor-General with their petition, which was signed by a large number of people. In this petition, besides advancing the usual arguments to the effect that the practice of suttee was sanctioned by the religion and usage of the Hindus from antiquity, they went to observe that "the abolition of the practice of suttee is attempted to be defended on the ground that there is no positive law or precept enjoining it: a doctrine derived from a number of Hindoos, who have apostatized from the religion of their forefathers, who have defiled themselves by eating and drinking forbidden things in the society of Europeans, and are endeavouring to deceive your Lordship in Council by assertions that there is no law regarding suttee practices, and that all Hindoos of intelligence and education are ready to assent to the abolition contemplated, on the ground that the practice of suttee is not authorized by the laws fundamentally established and acknowledged by all Hindoos as sacred. But we humbly submit that in a question so delicate as the interpretation of our sacred books, and the authority of our religious usages, none but pundits and brahmins, and teachers of holy lives, and known learning and authority, ought to be consulted; and we are satisfied, and flatter ourselves with the hope, that your Lordship in Council will not regard the assertion of men who have neither any faith nor care for the memory of their ancestors or their religion: and that of your Lordship in Council will assume to yourself the difficult and delicate task of regulating the conscience of a whole people, and deciding what it ought to believe, and what it ought to reject, on the authority of its own sacred writers, that such a task will be undertaken only after anxious and strict inquiry, and patient consultation with men known and reverenced for their attachment to the Hindoo religion, the authority of their lives, and their knowledge of the sacred books which contain its doctrines".[1] By the above sentiments it were meant to throw gibes and slur at Rammohun and his party, but it thereby paid an unconscious tribute to them by asserting that the Governor-General's decision was determined or to a large extent influenced by their opinions. They also forgot that by asking His Lordship to accept in such delicate matters the opinions of none but those of the pundits and brahmins, they were asserting something which truly applied to Rammohun alone, as he alone may be said to have imbibed the true spirit and broadness of mind that once characterised the brahmin pundits of old in the heyday of Hindu civilization. However, all the arguments of the orthodox petitioners, as well as the opinions of the pundits adduced, failed to impress His Lordship,

[1] P. 157.

who refused to change his mind, but condescended to tell the deputationists that should they think that he was wrong in his decision, they were quite free to appeal to the higher authorities at home against it. This gave them the occasion to appeal to the public and call a meeting of the orthodox Hindus to establish a society or association to be called the *Dharma Sabha* for the protection of the so-called religion as well as their customs and usages from alleged attacks, and for this purpose immediately to take steps to send an appeal to England against the Suttee Regulation.[1] The *Sabha* progressed enthusiastically with its project by appealing to the public to contribute their mite to the cause, inviting them to put their signatures in large numbers to the petition to be presented to the authorities at home, etc. And this enthusiasm reached some ludicrous climax, which did not escape condemnation.[2] The "Samachar Chundrika", the organ of the *Sabha*, became the medium or vehicle of the none too honest efforts of some of the votaries of the suttees to propagate that the measure of the Government had not only roused a great general indignation, but cases in violation of its provisions had also taken place, the falsity of which was promptly exposed in the liberal native press.[3] However, the *Dharma Sabha* engaged an attorney of the Calcutta Supreme Court, named Bathie, to carry their appeal to England and prosecute it there on a large remuneration of something like 50,000 rupees. Bathie, indeed, as is wont with the professional men, showed great enthusiasm for the cause, and gave his employers high hopes of its success, etc.[4] But the very first step proved to be an evil omen for the cause, as the ship that was carrying Mr. Bathie was wrecked on the initial stage of her voyage, though luckily he was saved. Anyhow, the anxiety of the liberal friends of the womankind was increased by this procedure of the orthodox party.

Happily Rammohun's long thought about project to proceed to England had favourable circumstances and was by this time mature. He took this opportunity to counter the move of his orthodox friends by preparing a counter-petition and intending to submit it to the authorities at home. He was offered by his liberal friends the small sum of Rs. 5,000 just to cover the expenses of his voyage, which a philanthropist like Rammohun could not accept for such a noble cause, and had to refuse it with thanks.[5] This counter-effort of Rammohun was hailed with great delight in the liberal press.[6]

While Rammohun was thus preparing another happy and unexpected event took place at about this time, which went to

[1] No. 87.
[2] No. 95.
[3] No. 94.
[4] No. 99.
[5] No. 96.
[6] No. 101.

strengthen his hands. When in the course of his usual tour in the Upper Provinces Lord Bentinck reached Buxar the principal zemindars, merchants, etc. of the place combined to take the opportunity of presenting an address of thanks to His Lordship for the suppression of the abominable practice of suttee. After referring to the Shastras in proof of no such practice being enjoined therein, it conveyed the deep gratitude of the subscribers to His Lordship.[1] This happy procedure was at once hailed by the liberal natives as a further evidence in support of the procedure that Rammohun and others thought justified to adopt,[2] though, of course, in its usual weak way the orthodox organ, "Samachar Chundrika", tried to minimise its effect.[3]

However, on his arrival in England Rammohun lost no time in presenting his counter-petition to the House of Lords, where he thought the petition of the orthodox party would be presented. But as the appeal was to be heard before the Privy Council no action was taken on it there.[4]

The authorities of the East India Company at home had determined to defend the measure of its government in the Privy Council. It was perhaps for the dual purpose of rousing public opinion in England against the unjustifiability of the practice, as well as strengthening the minds of the authorities, that Rammohun printed and circulated a pamphlet over his signature containing remarks in vindication of the Resolution passed by the Governor-General, supported not only by the authority of the Hindu Shastras themselves, but by the opinions of the Court Pundits at Calcutta, which they were compelled to come to by the force of truth, notwithstanding their zeal in favour of the practice.[5]

However, the hearing of the appeal took place before the Privy Council in July 1832, where Rammohun was a regular attendant, and was perhaps the greatest interested spectator. There he was shown great honour by the presiding judges by his being allotted a seat by their side. After a due hearing of the case the judges by a majority advised His Majesty to reject the appeal,[6] the communication of which result was much to the chagrin and disappointment of the orthodox party here, while it produced the greatest jubilation in the hearts of the liberals. The decision was splashed in the liberal native prints immediately on its receipt, which greatly mortified the minds of the orthodox supporters. Curious expressions of grief and lamentation were recorded in their organs.[7] But they were still entertaining hopes, on the assurance of Mr. Bathie, that remedy had still chance of

[1] No. 103.
[2] No. 104.
[3] No. 105.
[4] No. 109.
[5] No. 112.
[6] No. 116.
[7] No. 118

coming by a further appeal to the King himself, which Bathie did, but to no effect.[1] To commemorate the occasion the liberals called a meeting of the public in the hall of the Brahmo Samaj at Jorasanko. The authorities were duly congratulated on the rejection of the appeal, in which Rammohun also had his due share. And it was a cause of further jubilation to them to find that some of the big guns of the orthodox party had changed their minds and thought fit to join the meeting.[2] This annoyed the orthodox party further, and their organ, the "Samachar Chundrika", in order to minimise it published many an account alleging that the big guns had not joined the meeting at all, the attendance thereto was meagre, etc., the falsity of which was exposed by the liberal organs.[3] The "Samachar Chundrika's" burst of lamentation, grief and accusations against the British Government for interfering with their religion, came in for condemnation by the Serampore organ, "Samachar Durpun",[4] while it applauded the proceedings of the liberals for holding the congratulatory meeting. The liberal organs also condemned the editor of the *Chundrika* for its foolish outbursts and gave him some good counsel on the matter.[5] The *Dharma Sabha,* too, which had started with a big show and promise for the upholding of a high cause, and had for sometime confined its main activity to attempts to ostracise Rammohun's followers, had the ignoble end in disruption and some queer party squabbles, the reports of which form very interesting and curious reading to-day.[6]

Besides the above, Rammohun advocated other progressive social reforms, which, though not so successful in achieving the purpose, did not fail to form the subjects of agitation in succeeding generations and accomplish desired results. Of these were his agitation for the prevention of Koolinism and sale of girls in marriage, abolition of the caste system, introduction of widow remarriage, etc. These, as we have seen, formed the subjects of discussion and condemnation in the early meetings of his *Atmiya Sabha,* as well as in the pages of the "Sambad Cowmoody", etc.

Closely connected with his agitation for the abolition of suttees was Rammohun's attempt to ameliorate the condition of the Hindu females. The extant law of the Hindus depriving the females from inheriting any share of the property of their husbands or fathers seemed to Rammohun to be an unjust or unwarrantable innovation or deviation from the original law or practice. This he tried to bring out on the authority of the ancient Hindu lawyers in his pamphlet, "The Encroachment on the Rights of the Hindu

[1] No. 130.
[2] No. 117.
[3] No. 128.
[4] No. 125.
[5] No. 127.
[6] No. 129.

Females", published in 1822. This deprivation of the females of their just rights to inherit was, according to him, one of the main causes which contributed to the suttee practice. This was also at the root of Koolinism and sale of girls in marriage, which were no less social evils crying for a remedy. By bringing out in his pamphlet the ancient law on the subject Rammohun tried to rouse the conscience of his compatriots to this great iniquity, which was not wholly without effect. Writing on the subject, a native correspondent, besides drawing the attention of his countrymen to these evil practices which were against the tenets of their own religion, very pertinently pointed out that though it would have been happy had Government tried to put a stop to these practices by legislation, which was too premature to expect, he advised the people to take the opinions of the learned pundits on the matter, and should it be decided in their favour, proper regulations should be asked to be framed to prevent them.[1] A great agitation for the prevention of Kulin polygamy was, however, set afoot in the fifties of the last century, when Government was asked to legislate on the matter. It was at this time that Ramaprosad Roy, the second son of the Raja, took the opportunity to reprint the tract of his father published so long ago that it might help the agitators. Rammohun's desire still remains to be fulfilled, but it is a happy sign that the justifiability of the women's right of inheritance is gradually but surely engaging the serious attention of some of the leaders of the country and legislation is being sought for on the matter.

To prove the unjustifiability of the institution of caste Rammohun thought best to re-publish a treatise on the same by an eminent pundit, Mrityunjoy, in 1827. The treatise was entitled *Vajra Suchi* or *The Needle of Adamant*. It is a dissertation on the original institution of caste. Its basic principles or arguments were examined and refuted by the great pundit. This movement of Rammohun came to have desired results in the hands of his followers in later times. And though the Hindu community, as a whole, has failed up till now to carry it out, yet happily its strength and justifiability is being felt stronger and stronger every day.

Regarding Rammohun's agitation for the establishment of widow remarriage, it is true that nothing much is yet known besides the fact of its receiving condemnation at the meetings of the *Atmiya Sabha*, but it is found that not long after his death the agitation was gathering strength and momentum in the hands of his posterity, who were trying to have a legislative measure passed on it, and when his most intimate and favourite collaborator and co-adjutor, Pundit Ramchandra Vidyabagish, had

[1] No. 131.

occasion to express an opinion in its favour, which may be said to be due to Rammohun's influence. It was a most happy thing that legislation on the matter was not long delayed in coming, and that through the instrumentality of the great Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, who, at one time, was one of the most eminent members of the Brahmo Samaj and intimately associated with it.

However, from these one cannot but be surprised to find how at such an early and backward or dark time Rammohun came to feel the real defects or evils which were keeping the Hindu society from progress and happiness.

EDUCATIONAL AND LITERARY

For the accomplishment of the great task that he had set to himself, Rammohun very rightly felt the necessity and urgency of the general enlightenment of his countrymen. It is true that India had at no stage of her history been wholly illiterate, as practically every village may be said to have had its school, but the education that the boys used to receive had been invariably of a limited and barren nature. The instruction in the village schools in the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic was, indeed, sufficient for the boys to eke out a livelihood for themselves and their families, but it was not calculated to enlighten their minds or to improve their moral feelings, to which the attention of the leading men of the country had not been directed. It was Rammohun, who, among his countrymen, first came to realise that the time had arrived when something must be done in this direction, that India might take her proper place among the enlightened countries of the world, as she once had done. This especially engaged his care and attention since the early days of his settlement in Calcutta in 1814. But before we consider the ideas and contribution of Rammohun in the matter, it is necessary to go back in history and discuss the efforts that Government and others were making for the education of the natives.

It has been said that the authorities of the East India Company were not at first awake to the sense of the great responsibility that rests on ruling authorities, and especially on those of an enlightened country, for the proper and right education of its subjects. And such efforts as they early made in this direction may be said to have been meagre and spasmodic, and not calculated to realise the purpose for which they ought to have been intended. The first act was Warren Hastings's establishment of the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781. The original intention of this school "appears to have been, to promote the study of the Arabic

and Persian languages, and of the Mohamedan law, with a view more especially, to the production of well qualified officers for the courts of justice." The next institution to be established was the Benares Sanscrit College in 1792 by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, "as a means of employing, beneficially for the country, some part of a surplus which the public revenues yielded over their estimated amount. The object of the institution was the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and the religion of .the Hindoos (and more particularly of their laws) in their sacred city, a measure which it was conceived would be equally advantageous to the natives, and honourable to the British Government among them." These institutions, in a word, were intended more for the purpose of producing natives able to help the European judges in the judicial administration of the country either as muftis or pundits, than for anything else. So it is no wonder that for want of proper patronage oriental learning came to a most deplorable state.

In 1811 Lord Minto, the Governor-General, was roused to his share of responsibility in the matter, and recorded a long Minute drawing the attention of the authorities to the apprehension of the revival of letters becoming hopeless, unless some speedy remedy was devised. And as a means of preventing this anticipated evil, as well as with a view to the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people, His Lordship recommended the much-needed reform of the Sanscrit College at Benares, together with a proposal for the establishment of two similar institutions in Tirhut and Nuddea, places long celebrated as seats of Hindu learning.[1] To this recommendation of His Lordship the members of his council acceded, and the authorities at home did not object.

The execution of the plan for establishing a college at Nuddea was entrusted to a committee, which, remaining silent for some time over the matter, briefly acquainted the authorities, in reply to their reminder, of the impediments that lay in the way of the accomplishment of the objects contemplated. To further inquiries of the Government to ascertain the practicability of the contemplated measure, no answer was received from the committee till 1821, when the general subject of Hindu tuition came under the consideration of the authorities, nor up to that date had any steps or measures been taken to carry into operation the orders of the Government. The execution of the plan of forming a seminary at Tirhoot was similarly entrusted to another committee, which carried on negotiations for some time on several points, without coming to definite conclusion. The project remained in a suspense till August 1821, when it was brought under the consideration of Government as part

[1] No. 132.

of the general question of Hindu tuition. On the 21st day of the month the Governor-General in Council decided to establish instead in Calcutta an institution similar to that at Benares. A communication from H. H. Wilson, the great orientalist, was brought up for discussion, and his recommendation for the establishment of a seminary similar to that at Benares, but on a larger scale, led to the above resolution of the Government.

While the Government was thus engaged in pursuing a policy calculated to encourage orientalism alone, it is interesting to find Rammohun pursuing a different course, which later came to be the adopted policy of the ruling authorities in the country. Since his settlement in Calcutta, Rammohun was not only eagerly extending his help and sympathy to the Christian Missionaries in their laudable efforts for educating the native youths in useful knowledge, but he was anxious to do something himself in the direction. It may be said that his discussions with Mr. David Hare at one of the sittings of his *Atmiya Sabha* matured and accelerated his plan. It is said that when Mr. Hare had occasion to be present at one of the above meetings he did not lose the opportunity to have a consultation with Rammohun about the establishment of a seminary for the education of the native youths, for which he was long anxious, and had had discussions before with other natives of rank, but without much response from them. After such consultation it was decided that a seminary for the teaching of Western science and literature should be started in Calcutta for the better enligtenment of the native minds. It is also said that one Baidyanath Mukerjee, a respectable native gentleman, who was probably a friend of Rammohun as the native treasurer of the Dacca collectorship, was in the habit of attending the meetings of the *Atmiya Sabha* at that time, as also in the habit of going round to the places of Europeans of rank. It was he who carried the news of the resolution to Sir Edward Hyde East, the then Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court. Sir Edward was delighted to hear of this novel plan, and at once agreed to extend any help in the new project and venture should it be required of him He, in the meantime, asked Mukerjee to go and sound the feelings of natives of rank and learning of the country in the matter. A demand for English education had already grown in the country, and the native gentlemen whom Mukerjee approached at once consented to extend their help to the new project. And it was at their request that a meeting was convened at Sir Edward's place, and he was asked to take lead in the matter. As a result of the deliberations a college, rather a school, to be called *Maha Vidyalaya,* was agreed to be started, which was done in 1816. A joint committee of distinguished European and native gentlemen was appointed, but when Rammohun's name was

suggested for it, strong objection was taken to the proposal. To meet the situation he himself readily and voluntarily consented to stand aside, lest the scheme should be spoilt. Commenting on the matter Mr. Woodrow, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, very pertinently observes: "When the native community of Calcutta were roused to consider the plan for the establishment of a *Maha Bidyalaya* (i.e. a great seat of learning) as the Hindu College was originally termed, it was found that many of the orthodox Hindus held aloof from the plan, and refused to co-operate in any movement with Raja Rammohun Roy. Rammohun Roy accordingly, with a magnanimity worthy of his noble character, retired from the management of the proposed institution. Self-denial such as this is almost unknown in Calcutta, for he was the earliest advocate of the establishment of the college, and was eminently fitted by the gifts of nature, by his high position, wise discretion, deep learning, and earnest patriotism, to develop and carry out his own project. He was willing, nevertheless, to be laid aside, if by suffering rather than by acting he could benefit his country."[1] Though Rammohun was driven out of it he never failed to desire its success. This institution was the first English seminary in India, and played a most glorious part not only in the matter of education of the native youths, but whose alumni in their turn established English schools in the various parts of the country, and were also profitably engaged as teachers in several other institutions.

Rammohun's ardour and zeal, however, for the cause of the education of his countrymen was too strong to be damped by the above unfortunate event. We find him engaged shortly afterwards in establishing a high English school himself under the auspices of the Calcutta Unitarian Association, though he practically bore the whole expense of it. This school used to be run on an efficient basis, being assisted in its management by men like David Hare, Rev. William Adam, and others, and its objects were the same as those of the *Maha Vidyalaya*. The school imparted free tuition to native boys, was run with success so long as Rammohun was in this country, and its contribution to the cause of liberal or progressive education was marked.[2] It had on its rolls brilliant and distinguished students like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, Ramaprosad Roy, the second son of the Raja, etc., who later grew to acquire great fame and high position in life.

While thus enthusiastically engaged in the work of amelioration of the intellectual condition of his countrymen, an event of utmost moment to the progressive cause of the country was about

[1] *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India*, p. 3.
[2] Nos. 151, 155-56.

to take place, to which it was impossible for a patriot like Rammohun to have remained indifferent. We have seen above that the institution of the new Sanscrit College at Calcutta in lieu of the proposed colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot was first planned in 1821, but it was not till 1824 that the plan came to be executed. We have also seen that for the better instruction of the native youths in the then existing Government seminaries, viz. the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanscrit College, it was necessary to introduce certain reforms, from which, as the authorities reported to the Court of Directors in their letter, dated the 30th July 1823, satisfactory results had ensued, though much still remained to be effected, for which they thought it was necessary to proceed with most deliberate caution. And for securing for themselves the information requisite to a correct judgment on the various questions of the scheme of public education, a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in 1823, on the recommendation of Mr. Holt Mackenzie, who was asked to submit a report on the question of public education in India.[1] This Committee was "charged with the duty of ascertaining the state of public education in this part of India, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character." Having in their contemplation to appoint such a Committee for some time past, the authorities had deemed it advisable to postpone their final determination in regard to the constitution of the new Sanscrit College in Calcutta. They further remarked that "the report which we have received from the Committee then appointed is confined to the means of giving instruction in Hindoo literature alone. Now, altho' we fully recognize the expediency of avoiding any sudden change and of carrying along with us the educated and leading classes, who cannot of course be expected suddenly to relinquish what they have long prized highly, however intrinsically worthless, we conceive that the time is now come when in any seminary to be established at the Presidency, some provision should be made for the gradual introduction of European science." They were disposed, therefore, to the adoption of some modification in the original plan, on the recommendation of Mr. Mackenzie in the note above referred to.[2] The successful progress that seminaries of English education in the country was then making, and especially that made by the Hindu College of Calcutta, may be said to have its indelible mark of influence on the above determination of the

[1] No. 140.
[2] No. 141.

authorities, though, of course, orientalism was still to form the chief object of their pursuit in the general scheme of native education.

It was on the eve of such an important event that Rammohun protested against the scheme in the name of his countrymen in a letter sent to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General. In it he expressed an opinion adverse to the supposed object of the Government in the foundation of the Sanscrit College, which he considered was calculated only to perpetuate a species of literature, which was in his judgment utterly worthless. He asked them to encourage instead the cultivation of European literature and science by the employment of European teachers of talent and learning, the knowledge of which the nations of Europe had carried to a pitch of perfection, and which had raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world. He particulary adverted to that period of the hisory of Great Britain, when Lord Bacon by his writings set aside the lengendary lore of the dark ages and introduced in its place true science and progress.[1]

Shortly before this, in a letter written to a friend in England in 1820, Rev. Ward, the Serampore missionary, while deploring the condition of native education in this country, had occasion to regret that there was no Bacon among the natives. But while this might be true, he was not aware that there was already one among them, who, though not pretending to be a Bacon himself, was anxious that Bacon's lead should be followed in the matter of the education of his countrymen. It seems it was Rammohun who had suggested to the authorities of the Calcutta School Book Society to publish a translation of some of Bacon's works, e.g. his *Novun Organum,* etc., and shortly after he had also occasion to stand forth boldly in his letter referred to above to ask the ruling authorities of his country for the introduction of the NEW LIGHT of the NEW AGE, which Bacon indeed did in England.

Rammohun's letter was forwarded by Government with their remarks to the authorities of the newly appointed Committee of Public Instruction for their consideration, and should they think fit to give a reply, they were asked to do so either to the Governor-General or to the author of the letter himself.[2] The Committee agreed with the sentiments expressed by Government to the effect that the letter was written under an imperfect and erroneous conception of the plan of education and course of study proposed to be introduced into the new Sanscrit College; that the condemnation of the merit and usefulness of the Sanscrit literature and philosophy was exaggerated; and that the obligation imposed on the authorities by the terms of the Act of Parliament of 1813 was wholly

[1] No. 142.
[2] No. 143.

overlooked. The Committee went further to remark that had it been less inaccurate in its conceptions they would still conceive it entitled to no reply, "as it has disingenuously assumed a character to which it has no pretensions. The application . . . . . . is made professedly on the part, and in the name of the natives of India. But it bears the signature of one individual alone, whose opinions are well known to be hostile to those entertained by almost all his countrymen." Hence its claim to a respectful consideration was not supported.[1]

Such a resolution, and the want of even the elementary courtesy to give a reply to such a letter, surprised not a few. Bishop Heber, through whom the letter was sent to the Governor-General, had borne testimony to its worth and excellence by remarking that "for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic."[2] On the above resolution of the Committee of Public Instruction Mr. Howell remarked: "That such a letter should have been written by a Native on the subject of education then under the management of a European Committee of Public Instruction, is only less remarkable than the fact that the Committee left the memorial unanswered, and that the Sanscrit College was founded in spite of it."[3]

It is curious to note that while the ruling authorities here had thought proper to remark that Rammohun's condemnation of the oriental literature and philosophy was an exaggerated one, the Court of Directors, in their letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 18th February 1824, expressed sentiments on the worth of oriental literature and science, which differed little from those expressed by the Raja. While not feeling sanguine in their expectation that much good would ensue from the reforms already introduced for the improvement of the Government colleges, the Court took the opportunity to remark "that the plan of the institutions, to the improvement of which our attention is now directed, was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt, in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos, or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media*, or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed, and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted, while every thing which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing, under these reservations, a system of instruction, from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing,

[1] No. 144.
[2] C. E. Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 60.
[3] *Education in British India Prior to 1850 and in 1870-71*, p. 18.

on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." However, though under the circumstances they were pleased to approve, on the whole, the view the authorities here had taken, they advised them to make incessant endeavours to supersede what was useless in the extant course of study.[1]

With this should also be read the remarks of Bishop Heber, the liberal and enlightened second Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in condemnation of the Government policy of native education, which may be said to be an echo of Rammohun's sentiments on the matter, which we have seen above. Heber in a letter to his friend Horton observes: "Government has, however, been very liberal in its grants, both to Society for National Education, and in the institution and support of two Colleges of Hindoo students of riper age, the one at Benares, the other at Calcutta. But I do not think any of these institutions, in the way after which they are at present conducted, likely to do much good . . . . . The actual state of Hindoo and Mussulman literature, mutatis mutandis, very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Galileo, Copernicus, and Bacon . . . . The task of enlightening the studious youth of such a nation would seem to be a tolerably straightforward one. . . . Of the value of the acquirements which so much is sacrificed to retain, I can only judge from translations, and they certainly do not seem to me worth picking out of the rubbish under which they were sinking . . . . . The contrast was very striking between the rubbish which these young men were learning in a Government establishment and the rudiments of real knowledge which those whom I had visited the day before had acquired in the very same city, and under circumstances far less favourable."[2]

It is thus found that Rammohun was in good company, and from the Lord Bishop's condemnation of orientalism it can be said that Rammohun did not at all deserve the opprobrium thrown at him, nor the scant respect shown to his remonstrance. The Court's letter referred to above was forwarded to the Committee of Public Instruction for their information and guidance, in reply to which they took pains to defend the policy they were following, and which they thought would be necessary for them to follow for some time to come. In their attempt to justify the scheme Government had thought fit to follow so long, and still following in

[1] No. 145.
[2] *Journey through Upper India*, Vol. III, pp. 357-61.

the main, they argued that "in proposing the improvement of men's minds it is first necessary to secure their conviction that such improvement is desirable; that tuition in European science was neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of the government to bestow; that the maulavee and pundit, satisfied with their own learning, are little inquisitive as to anything beyond it, and are not disposed to regard the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment ; and that any attempt to enforce an acknowledgment of the superiority of the intellectual productions of the West could only create dissatisfaction."[1]

It is further curious to note in this connexion that while the authorities were trying to justify their procedure on the plea that tuition in European science and literature was not amongst the sensible wants of the people, as contained in their present reply, as well as in their resolution on Rammohun's memorial, Rammohun asserted on the contrary that at least "two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning."[2] That Rammohun was not wrong in his assertion was proved not only by the assertions of other eminent men to the same effect, but by the progress that the Hindu College and other institutions of English education were making, while the Government institutions of oriental learning were starving from dearth of pupils, as well as their failure in other respects. The English department that was tacked on to the Sanscrit College totally failed to gain its purpose, it being made merely secondary to oriental tuition.

Rammohun's protest, though failing with the authorities, did not fail to produce effect in another direction. It is said to have had produced the memorable controversy between the orientalists and the anglicists, which, in course of time, gathered such strength that the proceedings of the Committee of Public Instruction ultimately came to a standstill, and the matter had to be referred to the Government to make its election between two opposite principles. The renowned Macaulay was at this time the Law Member of the Governor-General's council, to whom the matter was referred for opinion. The famous Minute that Mr. Macaulay recorded on this occasion struck at the root of orientalism. While one may not agree with the rather strong remarks that he made against the worth or excellence of oriental literature, etc., his arguments in favour of learning European science and literature may be said to be most convincing and irrefutable, as also a commentary or elucidation of

[1] C. E. Trevelyan: *On the Education of the people of India*, pp. 77-78. See also No. 146.

[2] Letter to Mr. H. Ware on the Prospect of Christianity. See Rammohun Roy's English Works.

what there was in Rammohun's mind on the subject. Bentinck accepted Macaulay's opinion, and the verdict went in favour of the promotion of European literature and science. But the credit in the matter should not go to Macaulay alone. "It is commonly (but quite erroneously) supposed that Macaulay's Minute of 1835 was the sole cause of the decision to take the latter course. In fact forces were already at work represented by the Indian reformer Rammohun Roy, by David Hare, and by missionaries such as Alexander Duff, as the result of which the teaching of Western subjects through the medium of English was adopted and encouraged by Government, with a view to its being developed alongside the vernacular schools."[1] Mr. Howell remarks: "It took twelve years of controversy, the advocacy of Macaulay, and the decisive action of a new Governor-General, before the committee could, as a body, acquiesce in the policy urged by Rammohun Roy."[2] Perhaps no better eulogy could be paid to Rammohun for his contribution to the cause of the introduction of English education in this country, which may be said to have been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the desired enlightenment and awakening of India in various fields.

Rammohun felt so strongly the efficacy of English education for the regeneration of his countrymen, and he was so anxious for its promotion, that, considering the vastness of the field the effort had to cover, he made no scruple to help the Christian missionaries of whatever denomination as well as others, by whom he thought the result would be best gained. When he early came to make the acquaintance of the Baptist missionaries of Serampore he offered them a piece of ground for building a school for the education of the native youths. Again, the help that Rammohun offered to Dr. Bryce, the first clergyman of the Church of Scotland, in the matter, is another instance of his anxiety for the cause. Dr. Bryce says that when he was keenly feeling the failure of his expectant desire of bringing the Hindus to the reception of what he thought the better creed, and trying to find some other means for the success of his desire, his acquaintance with Rammohun was of great help to him in the matter. Rammohun, he says, was a hearer in the Scotch Church of Calcutta, by which he wanted to set an example to his countrymen in this respect of the liberality by which he was imbued; and as he was by then well-known in the Western world, he did not miss the opportunity of taking the opinion of that distinguished friend on the matter of enlightening the minds of the natives by education. This problem was also then seriously engaging the attention of Rammohun, and being encouraged by his approbation

[1] *Simon Commission Report,* Vol I, p. 380.
[2] *Education in British India Prior to 1850 and in 1870-71, p. 18.*

Dr. Bryce presented to the General Assembly of 1824 a petition and memorial to which Rammohun, though not approving all the doctrines of the Church, thought fit especially to annex his sanction, which was instrumental in directing the attention of the Church of Scotland to British India as a field for missionary exertions.[1] Even the tory organ "John Bull" could not but appreciate this benevolent act of the Raja.[2] Rammohun's letter, dated the 2nd February 1824, in reply to one of Mr. Henry Ware, an Unitarian Christian of America, containing certain queries regarding the prospects of Christianity in India, gives a further glimpse of how eager he was that schools for instruction in rudiments of European education in the English language, and in Christian morality should be established in this country in larger numbers. He strongly approved of it as being of great use, and asserted that it was the only way of improving the understanding, and ultimately meliorating their hearts.[3] His valuable help to Dr. Duff in the matter of the establishment of his English institution in Calcutta is a still further indication of the anxiety he felt for the cause. The plan of its imparting religious education to the youths was an additional cause of Rammohun's support, as he was fully conscious of what imperious necessity religious and moral instruction was for securing the improvement of the moral standard and advancement of the political character of the people. Rammohun's associating himself with the Anglo-Indians in their endeavour in the direction is yet another example of the same eagerness. Under the auspices of a joint-stock company that they started an educational seminary under the name of the Parental Academic Institution came to be founded in Calcutta,[4] which later developed into the Doveton College. This institution grew to be one of the best colleges in Calcutta, and continued its distinguished and useful labours for a long time for the education of both Eurasian and native youths of the country.

Such an enthusiasm of Rammohun for the cause of English education in this country, however, should not be taken amiss, nor his letter to Lord Amherst in which he had occasion to express strong sentiments against the worth of oriental literature and philosophy, should be misunderstood. It must be read in its context and against the proper background. His idea was far from being unreasonably one-sided. His keenness and anxiety for the promotion and improvement of oriental learning was no less strong. This manifested itself in his founding the *Ved Vidyalaya*, an institution where the cultivation of Hindu Shastras, or Hindu literature

[1] J. Bryce: *A sketch of Native Education in India, pp. 57-58*
[2] No. 149.
[3] See Rammohun Roy's English Works.
[4] No. 152.

and philosophy, was to be promoted. But this was to be combined with the cultivation of European science and literature. Due to the paucity of materials it is difficult to ascertain the full plan and procedure of the institution, but it is not perhaps difficult to guess the trend of his mind or ideas. May it not be asserted that by bringing to combine the cultivation of oriental learning with that of the West he wanted to pour new wine into the old wine-skins, i.e. in thinking that the new and enlightened ideas and ideals of the West would be instrumental in quickening the native mind and make it understand or realise the old Hindu ideas and ideals in their proper and true spirit and light?

Rammohun's enlightened mind did not rest satisfied with what he could do for the promotion of the education of the boys alone of his country, but he advocated the education of the girls as well. In this respect also his ideas were in keeping with the advanced and progressive thought of the time, and after a long struggle and gradual progress the movement has now assumed a big proportion and achieved great results.

Amongst the most important achievements of Rammohun in the cause of native education in this country should be reckoned his contribution to the development of the vernacular language and literature. He was fully aware of what part the vernacular was to play in the success of the scheme for the general diffusion of knowledge. It has been asserted, not without reason, that he was the FATHER of modern Bengali prose. The Bengali poetry was quite developed for a long time past, but the prose was quite undeveloped up till the time that Rammohun wielded his pen for its cause. The Bengali prose, whose use was confined chiefly to the drawing of legal deeds and epistolary communications, lacked much of its literary character and value, and had in it moreover the predominancy of Arabic and Persian words or vocabulary. Rammohun's distinct contribution lay not only in making it more and more sanscritized, but living as well. The surge of life and thought in Rammohun brought in its train the infusion of the required life and vigour in his mother tongue as well. The suavity of style and chastity of diction that he brought to bear on it marked Rammohun out. and his writings may be said to have been the model of literary composition of the day. Even his polemical writings, being devoid of the common vulgarity but containing decent wit and humour, became not only enjoyable but formed a model in that field as well.

It is true that the Serampore missionaries and the pundits of the Fort William College at Calcutta made laudable efforts towards the improvement of the Bengali prose and creating a literature, but Rammohun's efforts in the direction came to surpass them all. The Bengali prose publications by the pundits of the Fort William

College, which at one time were deemed to be most classic and superior of their kind, have been said to have had very much failed in their design, while the prose publications of the Serampore press have been thought to be very defective, and the language used therein came to acquire the nickname of "Serampore Bengallee". But Rammohun's Bengali is said to have had been unrivalled by his contemporaries. Rammohun, it has been said, "undertook to create a Literature in Bengali, and his exertions were crowned with a success that exceeded the most sanguine expectation. The Bengali has been so vastly improved by his careful cultivation, by his taste and genius, that it can be now successfully devoted to the communication of western knowledge to the children of this great country. He was evidently the first who consecrated, so to speak, the Bengali language by rendering it the medium of moral and religious instruction".[1] In fact, Rammohun's Bengali has been called *classical.* Indeed, if literature be "the best expression of the best thought", then the definition may be said to be properly applicable to Rammohun's compositions alone among his contemporaries.

The height to which Rammohun rose in literary repute is further clearly evidenced by the fact that the authorities of the Calcutta School Book Society seem to have felt proud to have him to associate and help them in their laudable efforts to publish useful books for the use of boys of the native schools.[2] He undertook to compose some, but perhaps could not finish them all due to his heavy engagements. But the Bengali grammar that he composed for them testifies to its excellence and superiority, as it superseded all others in the field and came to form the text-book of the higher classes of native schools, and continued to remain so for a long time to come. His capacity to produce such a book justifies his claim to be called the father of Bengali prose. He also brought out an English translation of it for helping the Europeans to learn the language properly, the knowledge of which might help them in their philanthropic work to ameliorate the moral condition of the people. It is also said that in a letter to the editor of the "India Gazette" Rammohun suggested that the English in India should adopt Bengali as their language.[3] Did Rammohun mean by it to raise the status of his mother tongue in the eyes and estimation of the rulers and foreigners? It is also significant to note in this connexion that while the boys of the other English institutions of Calcutta were forming societies for discussing science and literature in the English language, it was in Rammohun's school that the boys thought fit to establish

[1] P. 279.
[2] *Vide* Seventh Report of the Calcutta School Book Society, E. Ryan's speech.
[3] *Vide* S. C. Hill: *India office Records* (*Home Misc. Series*), p. 517.

a society for the cultivation of the Bengali language, of which the first president was Rammohun's son Ramaprosad, and its first secretary was Devendranath Tagore, who later grew to be the life and soul of the *Tattwabodhini Sabha,* whose brilliant contribution to the cause of the development of Bengali language and literature will ever adore the pages of its history.[1] Did they take the cue or inspiration from Rammohun? It is further significant that shortly after this Lord Bentinck, whose adoption of many measures coincided so strikingly with those advocated or adopted by Rammohun, was paying serious attention to the improvement and encouragement of the vernacular education by appointing Rev. William Adam, the great friend and co-adjutor of the Raja, to make a survey and report on the condition of vernacular education in Bengal. The Government patronage in the matter may be said to have begun from this date, and Rammohun's contribution to it cannot perhaps be overlooked.

But Rammohun's contribution was not confined to his mother tongue alone. His cultivation of other Indian languages also bore fruit. The publication of his tracts and newspapers in Sanskrit, Hindi, etc. could not fail to produce good results, and of this the case of Hindi may be especially mentioned. The Hindi language and literature at Rammohun's time were in a deplorable state, and his cultivation of it has been acknowledged to have produced great beneficial result in the way of its improvement or upliftment.

Indeed, for all that Rammohun did by his numerous publications for the cause of rational religion and enlightenment of his countrymen he has perhaps been most properly called the ERASMUS of India. No better eulogy can perhaps be paid to him for his laudable literary efforts.

POLITICAL

Of the political movements of manifold and momentous consequence to the country perhaps the greatest was Rammohun's fostering an enlightened and liberal press and fighting for its freedom. For the onerous task of enlightening his countrymen Rammohun very properly availed himself of the means that the art of printing had provided, as he was aware what a great part the press had played in this direction in the countries in Europe. He took to publishing not only books and tracts, but newspapers as well, as it, more than anything else, tended to the promotion of good government—to the progress of knowledge and information —to the enforcement of morality and correction of immorality, to mention but some of its manifold blessings. Before we deal with the part Rammohun played in the matter it is necessary

[1] No 159.

to consider very briefly the history and development of the periodical press in India under British rule.

The periodical press in India had its rise during the administration of Warren Hastings. It had the utmost latitude of expression that could be tolerated by the society of the time. "Hickey's Gazette", the first periodical English paper, that was started in 1781, was the typical example of it. It was a most scurrilous paper, containing worst scandalous attacks on the life and character of eminent people in the Company's settlement of the day. It had little vitality in it, but was the progenitor of healthier offspring, which came to have a more firm footing. With the improved moral tone of society during the administration of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore the press also made steady progress in respectability. The papers began to concern themselves more with public affairs than with scandals of the Company's settlement. There was nothing striking and original about the nature of their publication, containing as they did for the most part reproductions from the European papers and a few items of local news. They refrained from criticising the actions of Lord Cornwallis and his government, and whenever they used to speak of them they would speak with respect and eulogy. So no public inconvenience arose from such diffusion of information, and the periodicals were left entirely free. But when Lord Wellesley arrived circumstances had changed, as the British were then engaged in a great contest with the French for crushing their endeavour to establish a dominant influence in India. At such a crisis of affairs it was thought necessary by Wellesley to subject the press to a rigorous supervision, as the unwary publication of items of intelligence might be fraught with disastrous results. So he planned putting a censorship on the press. Stringent regulations were established for the guidance of editors and proprietors of papers, any violation of which was to be met with the penalty of deportation, on the licence under which they were permitted to reside in a British settlement being cancelled. This was the first imposition of censorship on the Indian press.

During the administration of Lord Minto the press remained in the same condition. It has been said that the dread of the free diffusion of knowledge became a chronic disease with the members of the Government. It was their policy in those days to keep the natives of this country in the profoundest state of darkness and every attempt to diffuse the light of knowledge was vehemently opposed and resented by them, obviously from their supposed fear of the safety and security of the new empire.

Under the administration of Lord Moira, however, things came to wear a different aspect. Though during the earlier years of his administration the press remained under the same shackles,

the latter years saw a great change in his views and actions. Lord Moira came out to India with more liberal views, and he did not hesitate to declare publicly that it was advantageous to Government that its acts should be subjected to public discussion, and the purer the motives of a governor were, the more willing he should be to submit them to such scrutiny. And he had the boldness to relax the restrictions on free discussion in the press by passing a Regulation in 1818. He removed the abominable censorship, and made the press liable only to the laws of sedition and libel, and a wide discretion was given to the editors in regard to the publication of matters therein. This was hailed with great jubilation by the lovers of the freedom of the press in this country, and His Lordship was the recipient of addresses congratulating him on the bold and forward step he had taken for the progressive cause of the country. This act of Lord Moira was, of course, not taken in the good light in which he enacted it; the authorities at home also very much resented it. It is said that the Court of Directors drafted a strong despatch to Lord Moira, which was only suppressed by the enlightened and liberal Lord Canning, one of His Majesty's ministers.

However, the removal of the censorship marks an epoch in the history of the growth and development of the enlightened and liberal press in this country. The origin of the liberal press, both native and European, synchronised with this great and momentous event. The first liberal paper to be started was the Bengali weekly entitled "The Bengal Gazette". This publication was hailed as a proper medium for the diffusion of general knowledge and information to be of beneficial effect to natives and others. Its determination to be conducted on enlightened and useful lines was further hailed as a move in the right direction.[1] Though Rammohun's name is not found directly connected with it, there can perhaps be little doubt that it had been encouraged and inspired by him, as the conductors were enthusiastic members of his *Atmiya Sabha*, and his friends and followers. Shortly after the publication of the Bengali weekly "Samachar Durpun", the organ of the Serampore mission, was an addition to the same cause. Lord Moira is said to have been pleased immediately to bestow his approbation on the venture. A corresponding English journal under the title of the "Friend of India" was soon to follow suit from the same source. However, the first English liberal paper of note to be published was the "Calcutta Journal" by the enlightened Mr. James Silk Buckingham in October, 1818. This may be said to have been the real beginning of the English liberal press in this country. In the history of journalistic venture this paper of Mr. Buckingham marks a new epoch. The

[1] Vide *Asiatic Journal*, 1819, pp. 59 and 69.

freedom and the liberality of spirit with which it used to be conducted marked an innovation in journalism, and startled the old tories of Calcutta. Encouraged by the removal of restrictions on the press by Lord Moira Mr. Buckingham wielded a strong pen in criticising the measures and procedures of the Government, which he thought were wrong. It also became the medium of the expression of the grievances and sentiments of those who had so long no proper one for them. Such a conduct of the "Calcutta Journal" was termed 'a gross licentiousness on its part by its enemies. But it turned out to be a great success not only from the financial point of view, but in point of popularity and progress as well, which became additional causes of annoyance and dismay to its opponents. No aberration, either small or great, was allowed to escape by the government officials in their attempt to put a stop to such a venture. Moreover, a paper called the "John Bull' was started in 1821 to check its growth in influence and popularity. In fact, this journal became notorious as being the demi-official organ of the day, as also antagonising the liberal or progressive cause of the country. Mr. John Adam, the senior member of the Governor-General's council, may be said to have taken a leading part in trying to suppress Mr. Buckingham's journal by the easiest way of cancelling his licence, which meant deportation from this country. But Lord Moira could not be induced by the exhortations of Mr. Adam and other Government functionaries of the old school to take this drastic step. His Lordship, on the other hand, watched the progress of the freedom of the press, perhaps profited much from it, and did nothing more than quietly admonishing the editor of the offending journal to restrain what was thought his intemperance and keep himself within proper bounds.

The freeing of the press from its degrading shackles was hailed by Rammohun as a step forward properly taken by Lord Moira, which gave him the incentive to take upon himself the heavy burdens of conducting an enlightened and liberal press. And the work that was done by it was splendid and memorable. In this noble undertaking, it has been said, he was encouraged by Lord Moira.[1] The native liberal press made satisfactory and desirable progress side by side with that of her English sister. We have already noted the start of the first Bengali liberal weekly, which had its useful existence till 1820. Shortly after its cessation another Bengali weekly of the same ilk, called the "Sambad Cowmoody", was started. Though edited by others, this paper was known to belong to Rammohun, who may be said to have been its life and soul. Its appearance was hailed

[1] See *Oriental Herald*, February, 1825, p. 231

by Mr. Buckingham in his journal, and he entertained high hopes of its becoming useful, in which he was not disappointed. Shortly after this Rammohun started another weekly in Persian, called the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar", intended for catering for the needs of those who were unacquainted with the English language in all parts of India[1]. The enlightened and useful lines on which these papers were intended to be run naturally and very properly came to be welcomed and eulogised not only in the liberal press but by all the liberty-loving people of the time.

While this novel and bold venture on the part of the native subjects of the British Government roused feelings of jubilation in the hearts of the liberals. it produced a feeling of dismay in the hearts of the conservatives or old tories. While the conservatives felt dubious about its usefulness or utility to the ruler or the ruled, the liberals were sanguine about the potency of its doing great good both to the community among which it was to circulate, as well to the ruling class. if they were at all anxious and serious about promoting the good of its subjects. Mr. Buckingham not only welcomed its appearance in terms of eulogy, but added its help by giving it all possible publicity and push. In commenting on the line of utility that the "Sambad Cowmoody" was following it remarked: "If knowledge is a blessing and Ignorance a curse, a well conducted Press that dispels the latter and promotes the former must be as deserving of our support as the Schools and other Public Institutions established for the same purpose, since they are only different branches of the same tree; and, as the influence of the Press may be made to extend much wider than that of Seminaries, if each be equally well regulated, and directed to equally worthy ends, the former will be the more effectual engine of the two. The union of both is perhaps the greatest advantage that any nation can possess, and if it be true, as is constantly asserted, that the ignorance of the Natives is the greatest barrier to their political, civil, and religious happiness, every thing that hastens the removal of this obstacle must be deemed a benefit. To excite a taste for reading, and a spirit of enquiry among the community generally, and to gratify that taste by articles suited to their capacity, and having utility to recommend them, must therefore be a task of merit"[2]. Mr. Buckingham's journal, on the appearance of the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar", had also the pleasure not only to extend to it its hearty welcome, but preach eloquently on the worth and utility of the free press in this country, the cause of which the native paper was to serve.[3]

[1] Pp 298-99.
[2] P. 285.
[3] No. 171.

The sense of dismay that was expressed by the tories against the native venture was not confined to this country alone, but spread to England as well, the nature of which is typically exemplified in the outbursts of the "Asiatic Journal", the Leaden-hall street oracle. The way in which Buckingham's journal hailed the start of the "Sambad Cowmoody" came in for hostile criticism of the tory organ. While pretending to show its disposition to hail with pleasure any indication of progressive knowledge on the part of the native subjects of the Company, it could ill conceal its apprehensions for the fate of the empire from the power of the native press. It visualised nothing but danger accruing to the safety of India from its lucubrations, as they thought those of the "Calcutta Journal" were promoting. It opined that "those who have removed the censorship from the Indian press have taken on themselves, we speak it boldly, a perilous responsibility; and it becomes them to watch the event with a proportionate anxiety. Not in our times perhaps may the evil happen, but happen when it will, it must be accelerated or retarded principally by the behaviour of our resident authorities; by the degree of vigilance with which they watch over the proceedings of such men as Buckingham in respect of the liberated press; by the patronage they withhold from, or extend to its productions; by their supineness or activity in enforcing the legal restriction under which it is conducted: in a word, by the timidity, the indecision, the carelessness, or by the resolution, constancy, union and vigour with which they hereafter act on the subject". In fact, it threw out the ominous hint of having the freedom of the native press checked at its inception![1]

Buckingham's journal took pains to refute the arguments of the "Asiatic Journal" and allay its misgivings. How misplaced the criticism of the tory journal was, is clearly evident from the prospectus of the *Mirat* as well as from its conduct. The prospectus opens with a high appreciation of the benefits of the British rule to India. Its avowed object was to inculcate due regard for truth and for the ranks of persons in authority, as well as the dissemination of such intelligence as would increase the knowledge of the people and tend to their social improvement; and further to acquaint the rulers with the real condition of the subjects, as well as making the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers, to the mutual benefit of both. This was indeed the real sentiment and aim that characterised Rammohun and his liberal group. So, instead of being calculated to weaken, as was apprehended by the tories, the foundation of British empire in

[1] No 175.

India, it was rather calculated to render it strong, when such an enlightened support was much needed.

The lead given by Rammohun and his liberal group to journalistic venture soon came to be emulated by others not belonging to the same school of thought. To counter the reformative zeal of the "Sambad Cowmoody" rose the "Samachar Chundrika", the organ of the orthodox Hindus. Its main purpose was to pamper to the passions and prejudices of the ignorant Hindus, and antagonise the enlightened and progressive views of the "Sambad Cowmoody". In fact, it was the typical example of the orthodox native press of the time. It is not without reason that a Hindu correspondent in the course of his survey of the nature and spirit of the native newspapers took occasion to remark: "But the journal that principally attracts our attention, is the "Sambad Cowmoody"; a newspaper which we firmly believe may stand in competition with many of the English papers of the present day. The sentiments it inculcates, we are sure, will astonish many Europeans, who but twenty years ago, thought the minds of the Hindoos unsusceptible of improvement, or of cultivation".[1] A comparison of the contents of the *Cowmoody* and the *Chundrika* fully corroborates the truth of the remark.[2] The *Chundrika* naturally came to be regarded as the best paper of the day by the orthodox Hindus and gained their support and patronage, and came to be the leading organ of the party for some time.

However, a great blow was to fall soon. The tories among the officials and the non-officials had soon an opportunity to strike a fatal blow to the progress of the free press. We have seen that so long as Lord Moira ruled the press remained free; but after his departure in 1823 Mr. Adam, the senior member of the Governor-General's council, assumed the reigns of government in the interregnum. Though a conscientious and high-minded man in many respects, he could not divest himself, so it has been said, of the prejudices which he had imbibed in his youth against the freedom of discussion in the press. He was, in fact, one of the old oligarchy of Calcutta and a typical bureaucrat. And on the first assumption of authority he struck down what he so long thought to have been a growing evil. He soon found an excuse for his action against the hated Buckingham, for whose deportation from this country he had pleaded on several previous occasions. The appointment of Rev. Dr. Bryce, the first chaplain of the Calcutta Scotch Church, to the post of the Clerk of the stationary of the East India Company's Government, was condemned by the *Calcutta Journal*. This gave to Adam the opportunity he had been looking for. Buckingham

[1] P. 331.
[2] See No. 169 and Appendix II.

was immediately served with notice to quit the country within two months. His trade was ruined and he was deported in a ship to China, whence he was to be carried to England. That Buckingham's fault was a trifling one, if fault at all, but did in no case deserve such a drastic punishment, was clearly proved by the disapproval of the appointment of Dr. Bryce by the Court of Directors themselves. But it was too late to be remedied. Buckingham, however, did not let the matter drop. He continued to be a running sore in the flesh of the East India Company and the British Parliament till he succeeded in being the recipient of a pension both from the Government and the Company.

But Adam's campaign for muzzling the free press did not stop at the deportation of Buckingham. He soon found that this measure was not sufficient to silence the Indian press. It was discovered that though the Governor-General might send a British subject to England, he could not banish a native of India, including the East Indians. So Adam determined to pass stringent regulations for the governance of the press, which he did on the 14th March 1823, much to the chagrin of all lovers of free press in India, but to the great delight and jubilation of the old tories. This Regulation introduced for the first time the odious licensing system in this country.

Rammohun protested against the measure, as it was calculated to curtail the political and civil liberty of the people. It has been remarked that "the example of Rammohun, and of one or two individuals, may be cited as instances of individuals who have attained some notions of civil liberty; but he, like Bacon or Galileo, has outstripped the genius of his age".[1] The Regulation of Adam, to have the force of law in the land, was to receive the sanction and approval of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, according to the provisions of the law of the time, and to which any subject of the Government could take objection. Rammohun took the opportunity to put in a memorial to the Supreme Court remonstrating against the intended Regulation, and engaged counsels for its prosecution at the time of the hearing Bearing eloquent testimony to this unique act of boldness and patriotism, Mr. Turton, one of the counsels engaged in the case, remarked as follows on the occasion of the first death anniversary meeting of the Raja: "A very short time after my arrival in this country an act was passed by the Government which met with the general reprobation of those who were governed; but no one came forward with the manliness and boldness that Rammohun Roy did to express his sentiments on the odious measure. A man born and bred in

[1] Lt. A. White: *Consideration on the State of British India*, Chap. III, p. 100.

Britain could not have come forward more completely heart and soul in support of that which was the cause of his country, that Rammohun Roy did in 1823. I then made his acquaintance in the first instance, and was surprised, delighted, to see an inordinate love of liberty in a man reared and bred in the spirit of dependence, if dependence could exist in such a mind; and it is therefore that I have come forward to assist with my endeavours, humble though they be, the objects of this meeting. If anything that I could say could lead any of his countrymen to follow so bright an example, I should deem this the happiest and proudest moment of my life".[1]

The petition that Rammohun presented to the Supreme Court bore the signatures of six persons only, and they were none else than his most intimate friends and followers. In this connexion Prince Dwarkanath Tagore said later on in a speech that "I did not ask any European to sign a petition his signature to which might have subjected him to transportation—the same objection however did not exist in the case of the natives, for the Government even of that day could hardly have transported them. But none of the natives could I prevail upon to join me, and I believe it was thought I should be hanged the next day for my boldness".[2] However, Rammohun's endeavour failed to achieve its end. The Supreme Court approved and sanctioned the Regulation, which became the law of the land shortly after. But Rammohun was not to give up hopes. He appealed to the King-in-Council against the above decision of the Supreme Court. The memorial was sent to Col. Stanhope in England, who forwarded it to Mr. Wynn to be presented to His Majesty.[3] At about this time the enlightened Buckingham also had presented an appeal against the above Press Regulation in the Privy Council on behalf of himself and His Majesty's British subjects resident in India, as also on behalf of the natives of His Majesty's Indian Dominions. The memorial of Rammohun already submitted to His Majesty-in-Council had strengthened Buckingham's case and was mentioned in the course of argument. All this failed to achieve its purpose. It should be observed that shortly after the passing of the Press Regulation Rammohun stopped the publication of his "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar" for reasons stated therein.[4]

It is said that Lord Amherst, who succeeded Adam in the office of the Governor-General, did not seem to be much in favour of the arbitrary measures, though he did not oppose them on account of the strong feelings shared by the principal

[1] *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, June 2, 1834, p. 261.
[2] *Englishman*, January 6, 1835.
[3] See *Oriental Herald*, 1827, Vol. 13, p. 165.
[4] No 178

ministerial functionaries of the Government with Adam. But in later years of his administration the restrictions were much relaxed.

Then came Lord William Bentinck. He was a liberal to the very core, and though allowing the old Regulation to continue in force, he made the press practically free. He was wont to say that he did not care for the vituperations of the press, and he regarded it really as a friend and auxiliary to good government. He made no scruple to say openly that he had learnt more from the press than from all the other sources of information. Indeed, his ideas were in full accord with the progressive ones of the time regarding the useful and beneficial operation of the press towards good government, to which Rummohun also had given expression. And it is significant to note that after the suspension of his *Mirat* in 1823, Rammohun was again associating himself at this time with others in starting new periodicals. An English weekly called the "Bengal Herald" was started in May 1829, under the editorship of Mr. R. M. Martin, a medical man, who fell in favour of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, and distinguished himself later on as the famous author of "Wellesley's Despatches". It was a liberal organ run on enlightened lines. It had also a corresponding native paper called the "Banga Doot" printed in Bengali, Persian and Nagree character and language under the editorship and superintendence of a native named Nilratan Haldar, a distinguished follower of Rammohun.[1] But unfortunately these useful weeklies did not remain long under their superintendence. An unfortunate suit in the Supreme Court against the "Bengal Herald", in which Rammohun and the other proprietors of the paper were technically fined a nominal sum, was responsible for its changing hands and becoming amalgamated with the interests of the "India Gazette" and the "Bengal Hurkaru", two of the leading liberal English papers of the time after the ill-fated "Calcutta Journal". About the growth and development of the new liberal English press something remains to be said.

After the ruin and abolition of Buckingham's "Calcutta Journal" the old tories must have heaved a sigh of relief. But the feeling of relief was short-lived, as the cause of the liberal press was not to go abegging, and soon had others to take it up. It has been said, and that very truly, that the Indian press was under greater obligation to nobody else than the enlightened Rammohun Roy and munificent Dwarkanath Tagore. This may be said to apply not only to the case of the native liberal press, but to that of her English sister as well. We

[1] See Nos. 181-83.

have seen before that some of the enlightened and leading British gentlemen had joined Rammohun to foster and advance the cause of progressivism in this country in its various spheres. One of them, Mr. Samuel Smith, the then leading book-seller and publisher in Calcutta, purchased the proprietory rights of the "Bengal Hurkaru", one of the oldest and leading English papers, in the early twenties of the last century. In his hands the paper soon wore a changed garb and grew as well in popularity as in usefulness. Prince Dwarkanath was one of its chief patrons having helped the concern with large sums of money at the time of its stress and difficulties.[1] Another English paper was to come to the aid of the same cause at about this time. This was the "India Gazette", another old and leading English paper. Dwarkanath himself was one of its chief proprietors together with some members of the leading British Houses of Agency in Calcutta. In popularity and usefulness this paper also soon came to occupy a leading rank in the journalistic world of the time. The contributions of these papers to the progressive cause of the country were most glorious, and they were the auxiliaries of the native liberal press. It was no wonder that the tory organ "John Bull" should fall foul of them. In its nefarious work and practice the *Bull* soon came to make alliance with the conservative Hindu organ "Samachar Chundrika" and began to puff it up. The taint of political liberalism had not affected the *Chundrika*, which was enough to recommend it to the *Bull*.[2] In the midst, however, of rancour, bickerings and vexatious litigations between the *Bull* and these liberal papers, the liberal cause made steady and triumphant progress, with the ultimate result that the *Bull* had to be ultimately sold off in 1832. One Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, an enlightened and liberal-minded journalist, purchased its interests with the pecuniary aid again of the munificent Dwarkanath Tagore. Stocqueler thought best to change its name to "Englishman", as it had so long offended the liberal nostrils, with the change of its policy. It came to be a further addition to the liberal cause. Another notable event that took place at about this time was the establishment of an English weekly called the "Reformer" by the celebrated Prosonno Coomar Tagore: the cousin of Dwarkanath, and a staunch follower of Rammohun. This was the first paper of the kind to be started by natives, and soon came to occupy a leading position among the best papers of the day, and added greatly to the cause of liberalism and progress in this country. This noble example was emulated by some of the English-educated youths of the Calcutta

[1] See *Hindoo Patriot*, July 29, 1872.
[2] No 184.

Hindu College by starting journals of their own, two of which, the "Enquirer" in English, and the "Gyananweshun" in English and Bengali, deserve special mention. The nature of the enlightened and liberal line followed by them would be evident from the excerpts reproduced in this book.

However, though for all intents and purposes the Indian press was free, it was felt necessary that the Regulation of Adam should be removed from the Statute-book, as the regime of Bentinck was about to end, and there was no certainty about the matter that the next incumbent would follow the same enlightened path as his predecessor. So a petition was presented to Lord Bentinck to repeal the Regulation over the signature of Dwarkanath Tagore, Rev. W. Adam and others on the 6th February, 1835, to which a favourable and sympathetic reply was returned by His Lordship.[1] On his assumption of office of the Governor-General the first act that Metcalfe did was to comply with the above request of the petitioners, and thus acquire the immortal glory of being the liberator of the Indian press. Sir Charles had all along felt against the arbitrary restrictions against the press, and he took the first opportunity of translating his thoughts into action by rescinding the Regulation by passing the memorable Act XI of 1835. This was passed in opposition to strong opinions of many eminent Indian officers at the head of whom was Sir Thomas Munro. Metcalfe's action was strongly criticised and resented by the Court of Directors, and was recommended for reconsideration. It also cost Metcalfe his post. The revocation of the Act, however, not being advised by the next incumbent, the law was silently allowed by the home authorities to remain in force. Since then the press has continued to remain free in this country, excepting for a short period during the troublous times of the Sepoy Mutiny. Thus it is a further instance of the glorious achievement of another most important agitation started by Rammohun on behalf of his countrymen, and that not long after his death. And with the glory of Metcalfe in this matter should ever be associated the glory of Rammohun also among his countrymen. The sentiments that Metcalfe recorded in his memorable Minute on the above Act may be said to be re-echoes of those already expressed by Rammohun in his memorable petition of 1823. Indeed, the reasons and arguments advanced by Rammohun in the above petition for the utility and blessings of a free press to India may be said to have been the last words on the subject, and it has not been unjustifiably compared with those of Milton's famous *Areopagitica*.

[1] See Pub. Procg., February 6, 1835, Nos. 38 and 39.

JUDICIAL

Of the judicial reform movements of Rammohun that deserve our first and particular consideration is his agitation for the introduction of Trial by Jury in India. He was most keen that this most beneficial and noble English institution should be introduced in this country, calculated as it was to secure the uplift-ment and conciliation of his countrymen, as well as the improvement of the judicial administration of the country. The enlightened principle underlying the above system was the association of the subjects themselves with the judicial administration of their country, and Rammohun properly appreciated or realised how beneficial the extension of it to the natives would be to raise both their intellectual and moral status and consequences, which should be the particular concern of her benevolent and civilized rulers. The English Jury system was akin to, and an improvement on, the most ancient, most useful, and most valued indigenous institution of the people of India—the settlement of disputes by *Punchayet*. The similarity of the English system with one of their own may be said to have disposed Rammohun so strongly in its favour.

The first number of his paper "Sambad Cowmoody" opens with a high appreciation of two of the most important and meritorious British institutions, *e.g.* the free press and trial by jury, which had been brought to India. and which had been a source of infinite satisfaction to the people. The system of trial by jury in India was confined to the Supreme Courts in the Presidencies, and British subjects alone were eligible to sit on it. Rammohun not only wanted the right to be extended to the natives, but he wanted the system to be introduced in the Company's courts as well. Being apprised of the circumstance that the natives of Ceylon had been permitted to sit on juries on the trials of their own countrymen, and that successful progress had been made with the experiment, Rammohun was anxious that it should be similarly introduced in the case of natives of this country by the noble Lord Moira, who had already introduced the institution of free press in India.[1] Rammohun's appeal for the introduction of the above beneficial institution shows his knowledge and proper appreciation of the principles of the British constitution.

The introduction of trial by jury in criminal cases in India is co-eval with the establishment of the Mayor's Courts so long back as 1726. When the Supreme Courts replaced them in 1774 the same system was continued, and British subjects, resident in

[1] No. 189.

the presidency towns alone, were eligible to sit on juries on criminal trials as before. The Sheriff was to summon a convenient number of the principal inhabitants of the towns to be empanelled as a Grand Jury or inquest, who were to hear and determine the existence of such crimes as were brought to their knowledge and to present the same to the Supreme Court for trial. A like number was also to be summoned as Petty Jury to appear in person and try at a place notified in the summons of the bills of indictment passed by the Grand Jury. But the construction which the term "British subjects" had received, not only natives, but Indo-Britons or Anglo-Indians as well, came to be excluded from the right of sitting on juries. This led to an agitation by the Indo-Britons first. It is said that in 1816 they sent a petition to the home authorities praying that they might be permitted to sit on juries. The authorities at home were of opinion that the Supreme Courts in the Presidencies had the power of summoning them to serve on juries. In 1817 the Indo-Britons presented a memorial to the Supreme Court in Calcutta on the matter. The presiding judge expressed the opinion on the occasion that under the then existing law it was Parliament alone which could grant them the privilege. In 1822, again, an application was made on behalf of the Indo-Britons to the Supreme Court in Calcutta asking to permit them to sit on juries. The Chief Justice said on the occasion that the Sheriff might summon them if he pleased, while the Sheriff held that he could not do so unless he was instructed by the Chief Justice.[1] The question thus remained undecided, when, it seems, the Indo-Britons presented a petition to Lord Moira on the subject of their grievance, and a development, as we shall see, was to take place soon. Rammohun also, as we have seen, had started agitating on the matter in the pages of his paper.

The above agitations, together with the information in the possession of the authorities at home of the success already attained by the measures adopted by Sir Alexander Johnston, the Chief Justice and President of the Supreme Council of Ceylon, by the introduction of the trial by jury for the moral and political amelioration of the condition of the natives there, soon came to bear desired fruits. Sir Alexander, after a long residence on that island, as well as after a very attentive examination of all the different religious and moral codes of the people there, recorded it as his official opinion, in 1808, "that the most certain and the most safe method of improving the British Government in India, of raising the intellectual and moral character of the natives, of giving them a real interest in the British Government, and of

[1] Vide *Oriental Herald*, 1825, Vol. 6, pp. 174-75.

insuring the continuance of their attachment to the British empire, was to render the system of administering justice amongst them really independent, efficient and popular; and that the wisest method of gradually attaining these objects, was by granting to the natives of the country themselves, under the superintendence of European judges, a direct and a considerable share in the administration of that system". Due to a general opinion then prevailing both in India and England that the natives of this country, from their pernicious system of caste, from their want of intellect, education, veracity and integrity, were not fit to exercise any political or judicial authority, it was deemed prudent by Sir Alexander that the experiment of allowing the natives of India to exercise the same rights and privileges in the administration of justice in India as were exercised by Englishmen in their own country, should be first tried in Ceylon, and should it be attended with success, it might be safely extended to Inda.[1] In November 1811 a new charter of justice was published by which it was enacted that every native of the island of Ceylon tried for a criminal offence before the Supreme Court there should be tried by a jury of his own people, and that the right to sit on juries should be extended, subject to certain qualifications, to every native irrespective of his caste or religion. This experiment in Ceylon having been found to be productive of the greatest security to Government, as well as of the greatest benefit to the peoples of the island, it became a subject of serious consideration to the authorities at home whether the same rights and privileges might not be extended to the natives of India. And Sir Alexander, at the request of Mr. Wynn, the then President of the Board of Control, wrote, in 1825, a letter to him giving details of the reasons which originally induced him to propose the above measure, the mode in which the plan was to be carried into effect, and the beneficial consequences that it had produced.[2]

Shortly after this Mr. Wynn introduced the Indian Jury Bill and had it passed by the Parliament on 5th May, 1826. By this Act both the Indo-Britons and the natives were for the first time made eligible to sit on juries in criminal cases before the Supreme Courts, but a discrimination was unfortunately made in the rights and privileges of the two communities. While the Indo-Britons were given the full right and privilege to sit on both Grand and Petty Juries, as well as on the trial of criminals both Christian and native, the natives were allowed to sit on Petty Juries alone, but that again not on trials of Christians.[3]

[1] No 190.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] No 191.

The above measure was not received in the same way in the three Presidencies of India. Shortly after the news of the passing of the Act reached Madras a numerous and representative meeting of the members of the Hindu community there was convened to take the measure into consideration and express their sentiments thereon. After due deliberation it was decided to decline the privilege intended to be extended to them by the above Act, on the plea, among others, that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices and inclinations to sit on juries.[1] The above curious decision gave rise to different speculations. While some thought that it was a clever manipulation on the part of some Europeans there to get rid of the Act, which they disliked, some, on the other hand, held that the real ground of the refusal to accept the privilege lay deeper, namely, in its illiberal spirit and the insulting and degrading exceptions introduced therein.

In Bengal the liberals headed by Rammohun, while fully appreciating the boon that was granted to them by the above measure, thought fit to remonstrate against the provisions of the last clause of the Act in which the discrimination was embodied. They soon gave vent to their sense of grievance in the pages of their own as well as in other organs, by opining that the exceptions made in the case of the natives were not only insulting and degrading to them, but contrary to the spirit of the English law, as well as to the principles of abstract justice. The natives of Bengal did not wish to avoid eligibility to the jury, but what they strongly remonstrated against was their being debarred from the Grand Jury because they were not Christians, and from Petty Jury on the trial of Christians for the same reason. This invidious distinction introduced on grounds of religion among the subjects of the British Government was intolerable to them. They took strong objection to the idea that while the Christians, including the East Indians or Indo-Britons and even the native Christians like the Rice Christians of Serampore, shall have the privilege of judging in cases where lives of the natives, Hindus and Mahomedans, were concerned, the natives "although living in the same country, or even in the same hamlet with them, and partaking of their virtues and vices, shall have no power of judging respecting them". "In like manner", they go on to say, "our descendants must also admit their lives to the decision of the sons of Christians . . . . . It would have been consonant to reason, virtue, and equity, if it had been ordered by this Act, that as a Christian shall have the privilege of being tried by a jury composed of Christians only, in like manner, a Hindoo or a Musulman shall be tried by a jury consisting exclusively of

[1] No. 192.

persons of his faith; or that as Christians shall have the privilege of sitting with Hindoos and Musulmans on the trial of a Hindoo or Musulman, so Hindoos and Musulmans shall have the privilege equally with Christians of sitting on the trial of a Christian. But instead of this, the order of the Parliamentary Act has laid all Hindoos as well as Musulmans, without any regard to rank or respectability prostrate at the feet of Christians, whether of this or of any other place".[1]

For the redress of the above grievance Rammohun led the way not only to convene a protest meeting, but to get up a petition of remonstrance over the signature of a large number of Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen to be presented to the British Parliament, in which the grounds of their objections were fully and elaborately stated.[2] Such a bold and proper procedure on the part of the liberals for obtaining the redress of their just grievance was duly praised in the liberal English press of the time. The new Jury Act had been unpopular not only with the respectable natives of Calcutta, but also with the lower classes.

The above remonstrance of the liberals against the limited measure came in for hostile criticism by the notorious tory organ "John Bull", and people of its way of thinking. The *Bull,* while thinking that the measure would be an excellent one so far as the Indo-Britons were concerned, it opined that "so far as the Hindoo population are to be regarded, it is somewhat premature, and with all due respect to Mr. Wynn, and the wisdom of Parliament, has been enacted in ignorance of much that ought to have been previously known and considered in regard to the customs, habits, and prejudices of those for whose benefit it is intended".[3] It took great pains to defend its own position and try to minimise the force or strength of the arguments of the native petition. The "Bengal Hurkaru", the leading liberal organ, could not remain silent over it. It ably took up the liberal cause and waxed eloquently in its favour. It opined that the petition reflected "the highest credit on those who framed it, for its object, its arguments and its style; so that the radical or reforming faction need not be ashamed of having it ascribed to them".[4] The sneering and contemptuous attitude of the *Bull,* which had called the liberals "chattering-jees" and their language of complaint uncourteous, was strongly condemned by the *Hurkaru.* The *Bull* and its party tried their utmost to expose what they thought fit to call "the jury-petition humbug" and the "radical trick" that they supposed lay behind it, by which they thought that the force

[1] No. 193.
[2] No. 196.
[3] *John Bull,* January 5, 1827.
[4] *Bengal Hurkaru,* July 31, 1828.

of the native petition would be lost on the members of the Parliament. But all attempts, as we shall presently see, to destroy it failed to achieve their purpose.

The above native petition was forwarded in due time to Mr. Crawfurd, the then agent of the inhabitants of Calcutta in England, to be presented to the Parliament. It was accompanied by a covering note from Rammohun to the following effect: "In his famous Jury Bill Mr. Wynn, the late President of the Board of Control, has by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the Natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of everyone conversant with political principles. Any Natives, either Hindu or Mahomedan, are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians, either European or Native, while Christians, including Native Converts, are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or Mussulman juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus and Mussulmans the honour of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of fellow-Hindus or Mussulmans. This is the sum-total of Mr. Wynn's late Jury Bill, of which we bitterly complain . . . . . . In common with those who seem partial to the British rule from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing Acts and Regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge."[1]

The petition was duly presented to the House of Commons in its sitting of the 5th June, 1829. Mr. Wynn, who was the author of the Jury Bill, took opportunity to state the reasons which led him to adopt the measure and of its discriminating provisions. He observed that on his assumption of office he found that the Anglo-Indians had presented a petition to Lord Moira complaining against their exclusion from the right of sitting on juries, and as he found that legal difficulties existed in the interpretation of the term "British subjects", who alone were eligible to sit on juries, he thought fit to pass the Act to remove such an unjust and inequitable disqualification. "Upon applying myself to prepare a Bill for this purpose", he further remarked, "I was satisfied that it would be necessary to grant the same privilege to all natives of India, and that if any distinction were to be made,

[1] Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by H. C. Sarkar (1913), pp. 147-48.

it must be by religion, there being no other practicable way to draw a line between the illegitimate offspring of an Englishman, and the son of the same mother by a native. For the latter concession, which had neither been prayed for nor recommended, I feel that I am myself wholly responsible. Doubts, however, were still entertained by those whom I consulted, as to the expediency of allowing natives to sit upon grand juries at all, or on petit juries on the trial of Europeans. The little respect paid by the natives to veracity or to the sanction of an oath, had been the subject of complaint among all the most intelligent and best-informed Judges; and the long-established habits of corruption and venality, in judicial proceedings, excited apprehension. Besides, recent as our empire in India is, it appeared that, at least in the first instance, it might not be desirable to place the conquered in the situation of judges of the conquerors. These considerations induced me to adopt the distinction now complained of. The measure was, in a great degree, an experimental one; and it was evidently easier, if it should succeed, to extend its effects, than, in the contrary event, to curtail them". He, however, could not but duly appreciate the force of the arguments of the petitioners, and was pleased to inform the House of the receipt of reports of success of the measure both in Calcutta and Bombay, the presiding judges of whose courts had recommended for its extension, so far as the right of serving on grand juries was concerned. But he refused to take any immediate step in the matter, as he thought that it being connected with the great question of the renewal of the Company's Charter that was shortly to open for the consideration of the Parliament when the general condition of India and the measures fit to be adopted for its improvement were to be taken up. And he expressed the hope that the first and foremost duty of the authorities would then be "to open to the natives a legitimate channel for ambition and exertion, by the removal of every exclusion on account of blood or colour."[1]

We need not here criticise the arguments of Mr. Wynn in justification of the adoption of the limited measure, but one thing should be noted that while the President of the Board of Control thought proper to fall in line with the reasonings and advice of those who were still feeling diffident to go the whole hog in the matter, Sir Alexander Johnston, the enlightened and liberal judge, had before this expressed his opinion on the subject which was in entire keeping with the opinions expressed by Rammohun. In a memorandum drawn up by the noble Judge of some alterations which he thought advisable to be introduced in the system of administering justice

[1] No 197.

in India, and which was to be tried in the first instance in the Supreme Court of Madras, he had recommended, *inter alia,* that "all respectable natives of the country should be admitted to act as frequently as possible as grand and petty jurymen, as judges, and as magistrates, under the superintendence and control of the Supreme and Company's courts."[1]

However, the matter did not end there. Not long after the above decision of the Parliament a petition over the signature of about a hundred principal Hindu, Parsee and Mahomedan inhabitants of Bombay was presented to Parliament praying, among other things, that the natives be allowed to sit on grand juries, trial of civil cases by juries be introduced, and they be made eligible to be appointed justices of the peace. The invidious distinction made in the new Jury Act of Mr. Wynn on grounds of religion was taken exception to.[2] The above petition was practically on the same lines as that of Rammohun, but somewhat wider in its scope. Another petition of similar nature over the signature of about four thousand people of various communities of Bombay was also presented to Parliament at the same time. These petitions were presented to the House of Commons in its sitting of the 1st September, 1831, when Mr. Charles Grant, the then President of the Board of Control, informed the House that a committee of inquiry was already discussing the subjects mentioned therein.

Mr. Grant had taken up the matter of complaint of Rammohun and others in right earnest and started communicating with the authorities of the Court of Directors of the East India Company on the subject-matter of a Bill that he intended to introduce in Parliament early to repeal, among other things, the provisions of the last clause of Mr. Wynn's Jury Act to which exception had been taken.[3] The Directors, however, were strongly opposed to the adoption of any such measure, and advanced their grounds for it. They opined that in promoting the advancement of the natives to offices of trust and responsibility much caution should be adopted, and all idea of proceeding rapidly in the matter should be eschewed. They held that though the natives were entrusted with the administration of Indian laws. to entrust them with the administration of British laws was quite a different matter. And on the point of allowing the natives at that stage to sit on grand juries and on petty juries on trials of Christians, they were not ready to give way. They, on the other hand, asked Mr. Grant to supply them with his reasons for intending to repeal the above provisions of the late Act. In answer, Mr. Grant

[1] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 12, p. 157.
[2] No. 198.
[3] No 199.

held that his reasons to see the measure adopted were "chiefly those which apply in every country that has reached an adequate degree of civilization". And as he thought that no political danger was apprehended from the measure, he would rather expedite the passage of his Bill than protract it. He accordingly asked the Court to bring the subject under their full and immediate consideration and favour him with their reasons of objection, if any. In their reply, dated the 8th December, 1831, the Court of Directors communicated their grounds of objection to the Bill in full, which need not be detailed here. Happily Rammohun had reached the shores of England by this time, and as soon as he came to know of the above communication, he lost no time in submitting his observations to Mr. Grant on the mooted points. Rammohun's observations were not confined to the question of natives' having rights to sit on all juries and in all cases alone, but to be appointed justices of the peace as well.[1] These remarks must have strengthened Grant's hands and must have provided him with sufficient reason to meet the points of the Directors' objections. It was no wonder, therefore, that when criticising the above Bill of Grant after its passing the Indian paper "Meerut Observer" thought fit to remark that the President of the Board of Control was rather mystified by Rammohun's arguments.[2] Grant refused to be convinced by the arguments of the Directors of the Court, and when after some further negotiations it was not found possible for him to enlist their co-operation in the matter, he introduced his Bill in Parliament and had it passed on June 18, 1832.[3] The new Act came into force on the 16th August following. By this Act not only the objectionable clause 3 of Mr. Wynn's Jury Act of 1826 was repealed, but natives were made eligible for the first time to be appointed justices of the peace. But the achievement had not been a very easy or smooth one. When the Court of Directors failed to desist Grant from introducing his Bill in Parliament, they got up a petition by some of their retired Indian officials and had it presented to Parliament as a countermove against Grant's procedure, as also having an agitation raised in the press against the intended measure, all of which happily failed to achieve their purpose.[4]

Another incident of importance should be noted here. Just before Grant's Bill was passed by Parliament, Lord Bentinck's Government in India had passed a "Regulation for enabling European Functionaries to avail themselves of the assistance of respectable Natives in the administration of Civil or Criminal Justice, and for modifying or dispensing with Futwas by

[1] No 206.
[2] No 201.
[3] No 210.
[4] No. 205.

Mahomedan Law Officers in certain Trials." This was Regulation VI of 1832 of the Bengal Code.[1] This was declared to be an experimental measure, and the hope was expressed that "by means of it information may be elicited to enable the Government to judge of the practicability and expediency of introducing throughout the country an efficient system of trial by jury."[2] The passing of the above Regulation so pleased the Serampore organ "Samachar Durpun" that it could not suppress its feelings of appreciation in favour of Rammohun, who had already recommended the measures for the consideration of the authorities at home. In justice to the Serampore missionaries it should be remarked that, apart from their unfortunate religious controversy with Rammohun, they did never fail to appreciate and express their deep sympathy with the laudable efforts of the Raja for the amelioration of the condition and status of his countrymen, and had often been outspoken in their sentiments. They took this occasion once again not only to speak their feeling in approbation of Rammohun's efforts, but to condemn the unfortunately hostile and prejudiced attitude of the orthodox Hindu organ "Samachar Chundrika" against Rammohun in all his efforts for the ameliorating and progressive cause of the country. The *Durpun* remarked: "We are partial to Rammohun Roy; we confess the charge; and would now offer as an additional reason for that partiality, that both the benevolent provisions of this Regulation have been distinctly recommended by him to Parliament. If we say that it was the remarks of Rammohun which suggested these enactments to the Governor-General, then we cannot conceive a greater honour for him; if it be said that these useful regulations occurred simultaneously to both, without any mutual communication, we must regard this fact as a test of the just views, and the benevolent intentions of the Raja. In either case the *Chundrika* will see that his dislike for Rammohun Roy is misplaced; that our partiality for him is founded upon reason."[3]

The glad tidings of the passing of Grant's East India Justices of the Peace and Juries Bill were communicated by Rammohun in a letter to a friend in India, which gives clear indication of his sense of jubilation at the prospect of its raising the condition of the natives morally and politically, as well as gratitude to those who sponsored and supported it. Rammohun very rightly suggested in his letter the propriety of his countrymen here to show some public token of gratitude to Mr. Grant and other friends of India and reform in England.[4] Rammohun's suggestion was fully appreciated by his friends here, but due to the gloom prevailing at the time in the country on account of the catastrophic failure of some of the leading Houses of commerce and trade in Calcutta the occasion

[1] No 202.
[2] See Jud. Cons. Oct. 16, No. 18.
[3] No. 203.
[4] No. 205.

had to be postponed, but whenever it was to be taken up Rammohun's name was properly determind to be associated with the happy function, as he was no less a benefactor of his country. The "Reformer" utilized the occasion to make the following proper remarks: "Nothing could have been more fortunate for India than the presence of Rajah Rammohun Roy in England at this juncture. The explanations he is capable of affording on Indian subjects, and the weight which must be attached to his opinion not only from their bearing internal testimony of truth, but also from the circumstance of his being a Hindoo, must operate very powerfully to produce the best results for India. The question of colonial representation has been sufficiently examined to convince every impartial person that the colonies would be greatly benefited by having representatives in Parliament. On the same principle, if Rajah Rammohun Roy is personally at the seat of the Government, he can do a great deal for our good. His well known zeal and talents have already been exerted in the cause of his country, and who can say for how many of the privileges we here enjoy we are not indebted to this faithful friend of India. It is true he is not in the Parliament, and must therefore express his sentiments in that assembly by proxy: but considering the cause he advocates and the influence he enjoys, it will always be easy for him to have very able proxies in Parliament to make those representations in regard to India which he himself might have made had he a seat in that assembly. Rajah Rammohun Roy must not be robbed of that meed of praise which is due to him for the share he has in the advancement of his countrymen in knowledge and civilization; but the benefits he now confers on his country by his zealous efforts in England, now the fountain head of all the goods and evils which India experiences, surpass all his past services in her cause."[1] Similar sentiments of appreciation of his labour were expressed by other liberal organs also of the time.

Hostile criticisms, however, of Grant's above beneficial and liberal measure, as well as censure on Rammohun in that connexion, were not wanting in forthcoming. The "Asiatic Journal," the Leaden-hall Street oracle, quoted with approval the remarks of the "Meerut Observer," which typically exemplified the reactionary view on the subject. The paper charged Mr. Grant as an "utterly inexperienced legislator and a mere political visionary," and found in his Bill a principle "subversve of European ascendancy in this country." It prophesied that the measure would rather endanger than secure the unbiassed course of justice in India, and was calculated only to hasten the days of the downfall of the British and their ejection from this country. It praised the authorities of the Court of Directors for their showing a sound

[1] No. 207

sense and cautious policy; while it condemned Rammohun's arguments as impolitic, and charged him as one "who sacrificed truth and honesty in order to pander to his passion for theory, and assured Mr. Grant that all India regretted the non-appearance of native grand jurors, while he must have known that such a statement was hardly true when predicated of even the enlightened population of the single city of Calcutta."[1] That such charges were entirely misplaced and prejudiced need not be dilated upon.

However, Mr. Grant's Act was not delayed in making desired progress. The eligibility conferred by the provision of the Act was promptly given effect to by the provincial authorities of India, as a result of which we find respectable natives being empanelled as grand juries in the Supreme Courts, as well as employed as Justices of the Peace. It is not perhaps difficult to visualise even at this distant time what a day of jubilation it must have been to our countrymen when one of their highest ambitions came to be fulfilled and they were raised in their status and respectability by equalizing themselves with the rulers of the country in regard not only to civil but to criminal jurisprudence as well.[2]

The other kinds of judicial reforms that Rammohun advocated would be dealt with briefly in the sequel.

ECONOMIC

Under this head we shall deal with two subjects, which had connexion with the economic cause and progress of the country, *viz.*, the encouragement of colonization of Europeans in India, and the abolition of the odious salt monopoly and salt-tax, in the agitation of which Rammohun took a leading and useful part on behalf of his countrymen. The chief of the two was the colonization problem. It was deemed by the advanced thought of the age that the greatest possible good that could be communicated to the Indian possessions of the Company was by the application of a wise system of political economy. And the basic idea underlying the agitation was really the attempt to replace the old theories of political economy by the new and progressive ones. It has been said that the East India Company had its origin at a time, and in a state of things, when maxims and opinions as injurious to commerce, as they were absurd and unreasonable in themselves, were prevalent at home and in other countries. But these principles having then become obsolete, it was thought that the systems founded on them should also expire and determine. All monopolies, in fact, were either relics of barbarism or the offspring of despotism.

[1] No. 210.
[2] P. 394.

The agitation for the allowing of free ingress of Europeans in this country is what is known as the agitation for colonization of India. That it was one of the burning problems of the day with which the destiny and prosperity of India, either for good or evil, was bound up, cannot be gainsaid. Under the provisions of the Charter Act the East India Company had the monopoly right of trade in India, and they had the power to prevent any European from coming to this country and settle for purposes of agriculture, trade or commerce. In fact, any conception of free trade in this country was a taboo to the authorities. How zealously this monopolistic right and privilege used to be guarded by the Company here is evident from the Minutes which the succeeding Governors-General or members of their council had recorded from time to time on the matter.[1] But the point to note in these is their curious plea of concern for the safety and welfare of the poor ryots or subjects in the matter, whose benevolent patrons or champions they claimed themselves to be!

The rise and progress, however, of the new economic theory of Free Trade at home was not without its effect on the determination of the economic policy of the British possessions. An experiment on the matter had taken place in Ceylon with some good results before any agitation on the matter was started in this country. When the English took possession of the Dutch settlements in the island of Ceylon, they were at first placed under the government of the East India Company, and the same restrictions against European colonization as prevailed in the rest of the Company's dominions were in force in them. In 1801 the possessions of the island were transferred from the Company's government to that of the Crown, but His Majesty's ministers did not at first think fit to change their policy in the matter. In 1806, however, Sir Alexander Johnston, at the request of the then Governor of the island, made a complete tour of Ceylon not only for the purpose of the administration of justice but also for that of examining into the state of the people, and the best means of meliorating their condition, through the improvement of agriculture, manufactures and commerce of the country. Sir Alexander particularly directed his attention to the extent and nature of the vast tracts of waste lands belonging to the Government, which, although in times gone by were highly cultivated and well populated, were then lying completely uncultivated and depopulated. Being solicited to give his opinion as to the best mode of restoring them to their former state, Sir Alexander strongly recommended that all restrictions against European colonization that existed should be immediately repealed, and that greatest encouragement should be held out by the authorities to every British European who would be willing to

[1] Nos. 211-13.

take grants of these lands and introduce capital, industry and European arts and sciences amongst the natives of the country. The Governor, agreeing with Sir Alexander, recommended the adoption of the measures proposed by him to His Majesty's ministers at home, and on Sir Alexander's proceeding to England in 1809 to submit to His Majesty's ministers various measures for the improvement of the government and the situation of the island, he was particularly instructed to impress on the minds of the authorities at home the necessity and importance of the policy of encouraging European colonization in the island. The then Secretary of State for the Colonies accepting Sir Alexander's advice issued instruction to the Governor of Ceylon to annul the existing restrictions against European colonization, which was done in 1810. For the success of the scheme Sir Alexander had also advised other supplementary measures at the same time, which the Secretary of State would have adopted, had he remained in office. Among the supplementary measures advised by the noble Chief Justice were the repeal of such parts of the Governor's instructions which authorised him to deport any European without trial, and to declare the ports of the island free.[1]

The success of the above measure, in however small a degree, may be said to have been not without its influence or effect on the progress of affairs in India. Though the authorities of the East India Company had still thought fit to guard as zealously their monopolistic rights and privileges, agitation over the matter was not delayed in this country. The Charter Act of 1813, it is true, had already relaxed to certain extent the rigour of the odious monopoly of the trading rights of the Company, still much was left to be accomplished in the direction.

Until 1824 the Bengal Government scrupulously avoided granting permission to Europeans to hold lands in the interior of the country. The exceptions made by the authorities in this respect had been very few in number, and always founded on a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of each individual case. The indigo planters had often fruitlessly prayed for this indulgence. In 1824 the Government of Bengal being desirous of encouraging the cultivation of coffee, which could not be undertaken by Europeans without permission to hold lands, adopted a Resolution by which such permission was granted under certain specified conditions. The Court of Directors, in their letter dated the 10th September 1828, sanctioned the indulgence granted by the Governor-General in Council on the ground that the quantity of land applied for was limited, and a doubtful experiment stood in need of peculiar encouragement.[2]

[1] See *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 12, p. 178.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, p. 271.

Sometime after the adoption of the above Resolution a meeting of the European inhabitants of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall on the 7th November 1827, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the equalization of duties on the East and West India sugars, and the removal of the restrictions on the resort of British subjects to India and their residence therein with reference to their influence on the commercial prosperity of the country. This seems to be the first public agitation on the matter of European colonization in this country. One of the speakers observed in favour of colonization that the resort of Europeans to this country had already been advantageous both to India and England; and when the good effects of the establishment of respectable Indigo planters, both on the revenues of the Government and the prosperity of the people, are considered, one could not but anticipate the same good results on the application of British capital and skill to other products as well of the country. But so long as prohibition to purchase lands existed, and the arbitrary power of deportation was vested in the local Government, the full and complete advantages from the application of European capital and skill could not be realized.[1] But the petition does not seem to have met with success.

Shortly, however, after this the principal merchants at Calcutta submitted a memorial to Government on the 28th January 1829, praying for an extension and modification of the rules under which Europeans were permitted to hold lands in the interior of the country for commercial purposes, as a result of which the Governor-General in Council adopted a Resolution on the 17th February 1829, removing the restrictions complained against. The Government resolved to extend the permission granted to Europeans to hold lands for coffee plantations, to all cases in which they might desire to occupy lands for indigo plantation, or for the cultivation of other agricultural products, and rescinded some of the rigorous provisions of the former Resolution of the 7th May 1824, which were adapted to obviate the evils and inconveniences which were likely to arise from the presence of Europeans as landholders among the native population of India. The above Resolution, together with the Memorial etc., were forwarded to the Court of Directors for their information and approval on the 1st September 1829. In the meantime the Court in their letter, dated the 8th July 1829, while communicating to the Governor-General in Council their approval of the resolution of the Government adopted on the 7th May 1824, with its restrictive provisions, directed them to the effect that "all rules laid down and all the securities provided by the Resolution of Government, dated

[1] Vide *India Gazette*, November 8, 1827.

7th May 1824, shall be strictly observed in the case of every permission granted to an European to hold land on lease for the purpose of cultivation."[1] This being in opposition to the liberal measures already adopted by the local Government on the 17th February 1829, a protest meeting seems to have been immediately convened to pronounce a spirited expression of remonstrance of the inhabitants representing the entire wealth and intelligence of Calcutta. This meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 15th December 1829, in which the trio Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and Prosonno Coomar Tagore took a leading part among their enlightened countrymen, by sponsoring the resolution on the removal of the restrictions against European colonization and supporting it with strong pleas and arguments.[2] Applauding such an effort on the part of the natives the "India Gazette" remarked: "The strong and decided manner in which this Resolution was enforced on the attention of the Meeting by the mover, made a deep impression, and will be long remembered. That such a resolution should be moved, seconded, and supported exclusively by Natives, whose rights, it is considered by some are especially endangered by the proposition it contains, was well arranged; but it was evidently not a mere matter of arrangement. The support given to the Resolution by those public-spirited and intelligent Native gentlemen was cordial, clear, and convincing; and the facts they adduced deserve the serious consideration of those who have hitherto opposed the more general settlement of British subject in the country."[3] High hope was entertained that such a resolution would carry great and deserved weight at home.

Two classes of Europeans had settled in India—those inhabiting the principal towns, in the capacity of merchants, tradesmen or artisans; and those dwelling in the interior of the country, engaged almost exclusively in the plantation of indigo either as principals or assistants, whose number was very small. Now, against the European residents of the towns there was practically no word of complaint either from the enlightened natives or Europeans; they rather concurred in the opinion that nothing but benefit had resulted to the country from their presence and intercourse in the matter of progress of knowledge, social, moral and political, to a very considerable extent. Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore amongst the enlightened of the natives bore open and strong testimony to this opinion, though, of course, the *Chundrika*, the organ of the orthodox and conservative Hindus, thought fit to charge the European tradesmen with having superseded their native rivals and ruined them in their indigenous

[1] See *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, pp. 270-73.
[2] No. 223.
[3] P. 441.

trade. The letter of the "Impartial Zemindar" is a reply to such a charge.[1] However, the real misgiving was in regard to the case of indigo planters in the interior of the country. Those who were opposed to European colonization maintained that the evils which the misconduct of the European settlers created greatly exceeded the advantages which resulted from their residence, the chief and most handy example of which they found in the affrays etc. arising between the indigo planters and the ryots or between the planters themselves. Whereas, those who held the contrary view on the question, were of opinion that the settlement of Europeans in India, whether in the towns or in the interior of the country, had been productive of a large balance of advantages to both England and India, as well as to the consumers of the Indian products, and that the advantages would have been rendered much larger had there been no restrictions against them.

Indigo was, indeed, indigenous to India, but until British skill and capital were applied to its production, the quality of the produce was very inferior, and the quantity exported was negligible. But the improvement introduced by the British indigo planters only enabled it to command an extensive sale. And that it greatly benefited thereby both England and India economically could not be gainsaid. But those who disliked the European colonization in this country had found a very handy instrument of attack in some of the excesses of the indigo planters. An impartial and unprejudiced view of the matter, however, found the explanation of this fact not in any particular turbulence of the character of the parties, but more in the impotence of the law to protect their just rights and claims. The impotence of the then prevailing law in giving an efficient and quick remedy to the complaints of the parties concerned often compelled them to have recourse to violence for the maintenance or enforcement of their just claims, and encouraged fraud and oppression on the part of those who had them in their power.[2]

Since the time of the first agitation by the British inhabitants of Calcutta and the submitting of the petition to Parliament in 1827 to throw open Indian trade and remove the restrictions against European colonization in this country, Rammohun and his party had extended their consistent and cordial support to the above cause and tried to allay the misgivings lying against the character and conduct of the indigo planters. The pages of the "Sambad Cowmoody" bear eloquent testimony to the fact.[3] They were not blind to the benefits which the settlement of European merchants

[1] No. 228.
[2] See *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, p. 357.
[3] Nos 214-15

etc., in however small a number, had already bestowed on the country, but they also fully realised what great prospect it had of promoting further good of the country both in a political and in an economic point of view. Perhaps in answer to an official inquiry Rammohun had occasion to write to Mr. Nathaniel Alexander at this time in favour of the Indigo planters to the following effect: "I am positively of opinion that upon the whole the indigo planters have done more essential good to the natives of Bengal than any other class of persons. This is a fact which I will not hesitate to affirm whenever I may be questioned on the subject either in India or in Europe. I at the same time must confess that there are individuals of that class of society who either from hasty disposition or want of due discretion have proved obnoxious to those who expected milder treatment from them. But, my dear sir, you are well aware that no general good can be effected without some partial evil, and in this instance I am happy to say that the former greatly preponderates over the latter. If any class of the natives would gladly see them all turned out of the country, it would be the Zemindars in general, since in many instances the planters have successfully protected the ryots against the tyranny and oppressions of their landlords."

The way and manner in which Rammohun and his friends had come forward to support the cause was applauded by the English liberals of the time and their organs. They were fully conscious how this problem was fraught with the possibility for the good of both England and India. But the opponents of the measure was not idle. The notorious tory organ "John Bull" again came to distinguish itself by vituperation of the efforts of the liberals in no measured terms, and it got an ally and supporter in the orthodox Hindu organ "Samachar Chundrika." The Hindus, it has been said, were persuaded to present a counter-petition to Parliament in opposition to the petition of the British inhabitants presented to the authorities at home in 1827. They were prevailed upon to do so under the impression that the ultimate object of the prayer of the British inhabitants was to displace the native landholders from their estates by allowing Europeans to possess them, and to make a general effort to convert the Hindus to Christianity through them. The Rev. Dr. Bryce, the editor of the "John Bull", was suspected to have started the mischief, and he was not unsuccessful in his endeavour.[1] The orthodox party of the Hindus got up a petition on the subject,[2] and Mr. Bathie was entrusted to carry and present it to the Parliament with their suttee petition. A great controversy on the matter was started

[1] P. 411.
[2] No 219.

in the native press, in which the "Sambad Cowmoody" on behalf of the liberals, and the "Samachar Chundrika" on behalf of the conservatives, took leading parts. The *Chundrika* published various articles condemning the Indigo Planters in general with a view to show that European colonization would inflict great misery upon the country. To counteract the propaganda of the opponents of colonization and to allay the misgivings of his compatriots, a native landholder, who seems to be none other than Dwarkanath Tagore, published various letters and statements. He threw a challenge to "John Bull", who was carrying on the propaganda on behalf of the Company with great zeal and enthusiasm, to prove his case against the assertion he had made to the effect that "whosoever is disposed to oppose the unrestricted residence of Europeans in this country, provided certain changes shall at the same time be introduced into the system of administering justice, is an *enemy* to the natives and to their rising and future generations".[1] The *Bull* did not fare well in the controversy. But its zeal was not abated. The counter-petition of the orthodox Hindus was presented to the House of Commons in its sitting of the 31st May 1832.[2] And at this time the Rev. Dr. Bryce had presented himself in England and at a meeting of the Directors of the East India Company had taken opportunity to speak strongly against the colonization agitation.

However, the views of Rammohun and his followers tallied entirely with those of the advanced thought of the age, to which Lord Bentinck's government also became a convert.[3] Even the views of the orthodox Hindus, who had thought fit to oppose the movement, were suspected of being based not on sincere and unprejudiced conviction. We have seen how the Indian authorities were up to this time opposed to any scheme of European colonization in this country. Even Lord Bentinck used to think in the same way until the public agitation was started in this country and the circumstances of the time were responsible for a change in his previous opinion on the matter. The other members of His Lordship's council also agreed with him in his opinions, and the sentiments of the Government were communicated to the authorities at home in their despatch, dated the 1st January 1830, in answer to that of the Court, dated the 8th July 1829.[4] The Government held that the benefits resulting from the application of British capital, skill and industry far outweighed the mischiefs and inconveniences resulting therefrom. To guard against the mischief or evils they held that all that was necessary at the same time was some alteration of the laws and judicial institutions of

[1] P. 413.
[2] No. 220.
[3] No. 216.
[4] No. 217.

the country before any considerable relaxation could safely be made. This alteration was aimed at making all persons, European or native, residing in the interior of the country, subject to the same regulations and to the same local tribunals, civil and criminal. The view of Rammohun Roy entirely coincided with it. Even Lord Cornwallis, who was strongly opposed to any relaxation of the restrictions against European settlement in the then existing state of the institutions of India, considered that if judicial establishments were improved, free settlement of Europeans would be beneficial.[1]

There was sufficient reason for the above change of opinion on the part of the authorities here. When the question was examined by the Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament in 1813, the witnesses examined entertained the apprehension that any removal of the existing restrictions against the free settlement of Europeans in the interior of the country would see great evils accruing to India. The evils apprehended were that a large influx of the people would take place, many of whom would ill-use and oppress the natives, violate their social and religious prejudices to such an extent as might drive them to rebel and expel the British from the country, degrade the British character, make a combination and drive the Government out of the country as was done in America, etc. Such apprehensions were founded on the supposition that the colonists would continue to be subject, in criminal cases of an aggravated nature, to the courts at the Presidency exclusively. It was supposed by many that British subjects could not be placed in all respects under the jurisdiction of native courts without great inconvenience and to the degradation of the European character in the minds of the natives. But most of the evils apprehended had not accrued to the country. It was not surprising, therefore, that the majority of witnesses, who were examined before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1830, should have expressed sentiments favourable to the extended settlement in India of *respectable* Europeans only, possessed of capital and skill. The witnesses expected that from the immigration of such class of people greater advantages, than disadvantages, would result to the country.[2] In his evidence Rammohun had also occasion to give expression to a similar opinion.

However, the Court of Directors, in their reply of the 6th April 1831, to the Governor-General's despatch, dated the 1st January 1830, intimated their inability to accept their recommendation to relax the restrictive conditions against the settlement of Europeans in the interior of the country. They were neither ready nor willing to concede anything more than what had already

[1] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, p. 377.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, p. 373.

been done in the matter.[1] Thus the Resolution of 7th May 1824, remained the only one to regulate the permission granted to Europeans to hold land, extended in their application to indigo as well as other agricultural products, and the progressive plan to develop the vast resources of the country remained unfulfilled.

Rammohun had happily reached England by this time and had opportunity soon afterwards to express his views on the matter before the authorities at home.[2] In his evidence he discussed both the advantages and disadvantages of the measure in his usually sound and clear way, considering the chief stock arguments of the opponents of colonization, and suggesting proper remedies for the mischiefs or inconveniences likely to result therefrom. In conclusion he recommended that "educated persons of character and capital should now be permitted and encouraged to settle in India, without any restriction of locality or any liability to banishment, at the discretion of the government". Perhaps to disarm opposition he further opined that the measure should at least be undertaken experimentally, the result of which experiment might serve as a guide in any future legislation on the subject.

The agitation both here and in England on the matter, together with Rammohun's enlightened opinion, did not fail to have a desired effect on the decision of this most important and burning question of the day. The new Charter Act of 1833 made a provision to the effect that Europeans were free to go to, and settle in, any part of the territories in the possession of the Company before 1800 without licence, but they were excluded from going to, and settling in, the territories obtained by the Company since that period, where they could go and reside only upon licence from the local governments. However, these provisions opened the way and provided the means for the amelioration of the condition of the people through the agricultural, industrial and commercial development of the country, to which the contribution of Rammohun and his liberal followers had been in no way mean, and in the fitness of things it fell to the lot of his chief follower and co-adjutor, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, to show the way to his timid and unenterprising countrymen of how to avail themselves of the opportunity of the application of European skill, capital and enterprise for the accomplishment of the purpose for which they had pleaded. The necessity and urgency of the industrial, commercial and agricultural development of India has been felt more and more since this time, and the names of those who amongst their countrymen first realised it

[1] No. 218.
[2] No. 238.

and made the pioneering efforts in the direction, which has gradually ushered in a new age in this country, can never be forgotten.

We are next to consider the agitation for the abolition of the odious salt monopoly of the Company. Of all the monopolies exercised by the Company that of salt had been called the most pernicious, considered from "its injurious effects upon the comfort and morals of many millions of people, or the difficulties and impediments which it throws in the way of commerce, both internal and foreign, or the detriment which the fiscal resources of the state itself incurs through its operation".[1] It was, in fact, one of the ancient abuses of the country. It had also an ignoble association. It has been said that at the time of Warren Hastings and Lord Clive the salt monopoly was a private perquisite of the servants of the East India Company, who, in lieu of direct salaries corresponding to their rank or station, had certain shares assigned them in this monopoly, by which they enhanced the cost of salt on some occasions as high as 1,000 per cent. above its natural price.[2] And though the exorbitant price of this necessary of life above its original costs and charges had come down to certain extent at the time we are speaking of, still it did not lose anything of its odiousness.

The agitation against the salt monopoly of the Company was directed chiefly against that of Bengal. The quality of the salt produced, the miserable process of its production, and the miseries it involved were the chief points of attack by the anti-monopolists. About 1,25,000 native labourers or molunghees engaged in the manufacture of Bengal salt, were stated to be virtually in a state of slavery, every one of whom was in debt to the Company inextricably and for life, and not daring to engage themselves in any other employment. Further, a considerable number of them were used to be devoured by tigers every year, the manufactories being located in the Sunderbuns, and a much greater number were carried off by dysentries and fevers produced by the unhealthy condition of the marshy lands. In the manufacture of the monopoly salt the Government was employing agents on its own account, and after its manufacture it was carried to Calcutta and sold in large lots by periodical sales, the authorities pledging at the same time that it will not sell beyond a certain quantity in a year. British enterprise and skill were totally excluded by statute from either manufacturing or trading in it. The whole trade in the commodity consequently falling

[1] J. Crawfurd: *Inquiry into some of the Principal Monopolies of the East India Company*, (London 1830), p. 8.

[2] See Buckingham's speech at the Parliamentary Debates on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, July 22, 1833.

into the hands of a few wealthy natives at Calcutta provided them with ready means of entering into combinations and defrauding both the State and the consumer, thus practically forming a second monopoly. The Company allowed the purchasers to retain the salt in their warehouses a whole year on their making a deposit, and failure from injudicious speculations being frequent, the Government warehouses were often teeming with salt, while the consumers were paying an exorbitant price for it. And from the dearness of the necessary of life they were driven to smuggling or to the use of unwholesome substitutes. It has been said that the salt as it was first disposed by the Company was an ugly compound enough, and in the hands of the native dealers it having undergone further adulteration, what the consumers finally received was nothing but a filthy black compound, which a respectable farmer in England would have even been reluctant to give to his hogs. To protect their monopoly the Company's government had imposed a heavy tax on foreign salt, thus keeping it from competing with the monopoly price of the commodity.

The policy of the salt monopoly of the Company was against the systems pursued by all the civilized governments in the West. In France alone, under its ancient government, salt monopoly or *gabelle* existed which was strikingly illustrative of the extant Indian system. But this barbarous system, commenced in a barbarous age, was swept away like many other nuisances, with the great reform of the French government and the French society.

It was against the iniquity, odiousness and oppressiveness of the above monopoly system that agitation was started as the time for consideration of the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing nigh. Pamphlets, drawing the attention of the authorities at home as well as of the British public to the existing evils of the system, started being published in England, of which those by Messrs. J. Crawfurd and Robert Rickards, two of the most enlightened and liberal English gentlemen, who were at one time employed by the Company in respectable and distinguished positions on their establishments in India, deserve special mention, and which publications also gave signal for strong agitation on the matter.[1] It was against their allegations that a storm of protest was raised on behalf of the Company by its servants here, trying to show the absurdity or unjustifiableness of the charges. In this the English press here also joined on one side or the other, and the points in favour of, or in opposition to, the

[1] J. Crawfurd: *Inquiry into some of the Principal Monopolies of the East India Company* (London, 1830), and R. Rickards: *India* (London, 1829).

measure came to be discussed and threshed out. While the controversial war was thus going on Rammohun also, it seems, became involved in it. One of the strong, if not the strongest points in the arguments on the part of the Company in favour of the measure or system was that the oppressiveness or odiousness of the salt-tax was not felt or complained against by the natives, but that it was objected to only by Europeans, who were inveterate enemies of the East India Company. This argument must have seemed to Rammohun to be adding insult to injury, and to one of such letters of one of the Company's servants that he came to publish a rather caustic reply under a pseudonym, which very much annoyed the officer and made him come forward with a prompt and sarcastic retort, but in no convincing manner.[1] Shortly after this Rammohun had also an opportunity to express his sentiments on the matter in answer to the questions put to him on the subject by the authorities at home.[2] Rammohun in his convincing manner pointed out the real defects of the system, which were in entire keeping with the arguments of those who were already agitating against it. Rammohun's evidence was to the effect that the dearth of salt was felt by the whole community, and were it rendered cheaper its consumption would undoubtedly increase to a certain extent at least, if not to a large one, but from its cheapness its use was certain to be extended by the people in seasoning the food of their cattle. He advocated that English salt being much finer and cheaper than the monopoly salt of the Company should be allowed to be imported in India on certain duty being levied on it, which the majority of the natives would have no objection to use. And should it be supposed that the abolition of salt manufacture in Bengal would throw a large number of molunghees out of employ, they could be profitably employed in agriculture and other occupations, in which they had ample scope or field. The story of the miseries of the molunghees was a fact and a great existing evil, and that the agriculturists were much better situated both in respect of health and personal freedom than them. Regulations were indeed adopted to protect the molunghees, but on account of combinations of officers, the provisions were almost inoperative. He asserted further that the adulteration of the Company's salt was carried to such an extent that when it reached the consumer it was very little different from earth.

Previous to this, however, the Court of Directors seem to have come to realise some of the rigours of the existing mode of the Indian Government in managing the salt revenue. In their reply, dated the 2nd April 1832, to the Court's letter in which

[1] Nos. 239-40.
[2] No. 241.

the authorities had communicated their sentiments in favour of alleviating certain miseries arising out of the measure, the Government took pains to justify their mode or procedure by forwarding a report from the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in which, after a careful survey, they tried to prove that there was no dearth in the supply of salt, nor was the price at which it was sold felt in any degree burthensome by even the poorest classes.[1] It is significant to note that Lord Bentinck's signature does not occur in the despatch.

The Board first tried to prove that the quantity of six seers of salt on an average for each person was a liberal supply for the consumption of the people of Bengal, limited as it was to mere alimentary consumption, and very little, if any, was employed by the natives in the arts. Neither did they think that the tax was in any way burthensome. This was considered from two points of view. Considered with reference to the poor ryots' means the salt-tax was not burthensome, as it was the only tax that the ryots paid to the State, and in proportion to their earnings it was insignificant. Moreover, it was less burthensome than at the introduction of the monopoly. This they thought was based on facts collected not only from Revenue officers, but from personal inquiries made amongst intelligent native landholders and others. Were the tax oppressive, they held, it would certainly have been brought to the notice of the collectors, as had been done in many other instances. They found further complacence in the fact that were the tax oppressive at least the liberal native organs would have come out to protest against it, the absence of which proved that the charges against the oppressiveness of the tax produced from Europeans alone, who did not possess any practical knowledge of its effects, and who were still ignorant enough to imagine the molunghees to be a species of bondsmen. Even the enlightened Rammohun, they were relieved to remark, had only weakly urged against it. This feeble agitation was compared with the strong mode in which other assumed evils had been commented upon, and to minimise its strength they held that even this was done not from any actual experience or observation of the mischief it is said to produce, but because it is contrary to some general principle of political economy. This was the usual way with them to minimise the strength of his arguments in any mater, when they perhaps found no strong enough reason or argument to counter it. The Board further held that the salt-tax was one of the chief sources of the Government revenue, the machinery of which was so simple, the amount so certain, and the burden so light upon the people, that it was difficult to be commuted for any

[1] No. 242.

other tax less onerous to the inhabitants. The strongest point that they made out was that those who urged against it were mere theorists and adversaries of the Company's government, and it was but a political instrument in their hands.

However, as a remedy against the existing evils it was urged by the anti-monopolists that an open trade with moderate duties on foreign salt ought to be immediately substituted for it. The history of the salt monopoly evinced that it possessed none of the properties of a good tax. The example of the civilized western nations should, as far as practicable, be imitated in reforming the arrangements of the salt revenue in India. By this mode, it was supposed, the inhabitants of Bengal would be greatly benefited by their being supplied with cheap and good salt. The benefits in the personal comfort of the ryots and the improvement of their stock was to follow as a matter of course, and the internal commerce of the country was to derive activity and extension from the freedom conferred upon the salt trade.

The Parliamentary Select Committee in their report also recommended measures which came very near those above recommended by the anti-monopolists. The committee admitted the evils of the salt manufacture by the Government, and as a substitute they thought two other modes of collecting salt-tax or revenue suggested themselves, namely, an excise duty on salt manufactured within the Bengal provinces, and a duty on importation. As the manufacture of salt by private individuals would endanger the security of the revenue, they thought it expedient to recommend not to interfere with the existing system; but they at the same time thought it desirable that means should be adopted for encouraging a supply of salt by importation, in lieu of the manufacture by Government. They hoped that "under this system, the home manufacture might be gradually diminished, beginning in those districts in which the cost of production and loss of human life is the greatest, until so large a proportion of the consumption shall be supplied from abroad, that it might be safe to permit the free import of salt under a custom duty, the Government sanctioning the manufacture in such districts only (if any such there might be) where it could then be profitably carried on.... Under such an arrangement, a material reduction might be effected in the price of Salt, which would prove of the greatest advantage to the Native population of India, to whom a cheap supply of this necessary of life is of the utmost importance".[1]

Thus the agitation started against the Company's salt monopoly and salt-tax, and the support given to it by Rammohun, was not without its desired effect. On the renewal of the Company's

[1] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8. p. 69.

Charter in 1833, it is true that the monopoly was not at once abolished, but the way was made ready by the permission granted to the Indian authorities to do away with the evil gradually.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Last, but not the least, in importance was Rammohun's advocacy for the amelioration of the systems of judicial and revenue administration of the country. Considering the condition of his countrymen, he very rightly felt that the wisest course would be for him to recommend measures which would advance the cause of good government of the country. The prospect of good ensuing to this country from the connexion with British Government made him submissive to a foreign domination, however detestable it might have been for the time being. So he thought fit to join his hands with those noble-minded and far-seeing Britishers, who thought that the wisest and most honourable course which England could pursue towards India was to properly educate the natives and by a gradual development of the principle of civil and political liberty in the public institutions to prepare them ultmately to take the government of their own country into their own hands. Rammohun's unfailing and unceasing endeavour was to co-operate with such people to bring about such a desirable result. He pleaded for the introduction of such necessary changes as would remedy or correct the evils attached to the operation of the then existing systems of revenue and judicial administration of the country. And how enlightened and rational his recommendations were would be evident from the following brief discussion of the matter.

It was quite natural that Rammohun's evidence for the reform of the revenue and judicial administrative systems of the country should give rise to wide speculations. Speculations were rife as to whether his opinions would result in contributing towards the good of the country. A letter inviting opinions of the public on the subject was published in the "Samachar Durpun".[1] While the liberals, both European and native, entertained strong hopes ot the opinions of such an enlightened man as Rammohun contributing to the desired good of the country, the orthodox or conservative Hindus; as was natural with a prejudiced mind, vehemently asserted that no good could result from his opinions, as he was an enemy to his country and did not seek the general good of the people! Some of the deeply prejudiced people of the orthodox party took the occasion to attack his private character bitterly. But the liberals were not idle to reply to such unjust and pre-

[1] No. 243.

judiced charges.[1] Even the Serampore organ "Samachar Durpun" was loud in her appreciation of the opinions submitted by Rammohun on the judicial and revenue questions of reform. It opined that Rammohun was undoubtedly one of the ablest men of the age, and that no one was more capable of advising measures conducive to the benefit of India. "We deem it fortunate", it remarked, "that he has undertaken his journey to England just at the time when the momentous question of the future settlement of Indian affairs is under discussion, and his profound knowledge and sound judgment may prove of the highest service to this country. In none of the remedies which he has proposed do we see any thing which could lead his countrymen to suspect him of being an enemy to the welfare of India; on the contrary, should he be instrumental in securing those advantages to the country, not only the present, but every future age will justly consider him a benefactor to the country".[2] Such an open and appreciative sentiment on the part of the Serampore missionaries in favour of Rammohun, who had at one time antagonised him in the matter of his opinions on Christianity, was really heartening and happy, and worthy of them.

The inquiry of the Parliamentary Select Committee concerning the actual state of the Judicial administration in India was directed to the nature and extent of several alterations that were introduced into the Judicial Codes of the Presidencies since the renewal of the East India Charter in 1813, the success that attended them and the anticipations formed of their probable effect. In this regard questions to elicit information were put to the witnesses which related to the nature and causes of the delay in the administration of Civil and Criminal Judicature ; the forms of proceeding in the Indian Courts; the duties and qualifications of the Mahomedan Law Officers; the alterations that might be necessary to introduce into the system of Judicial Administration, if Europeans were to be permitted to resort freely to India, connected with which was the expediency of preparing a Code of Laws defining rights more distinctly than had yet been done, and laying down principles which should govern the Judicial Tribunals in adjudicating on questions of tenure, inheritance, succession and contract, as well as the expediency of establishing Legislative Councils in India, or the best means of otherwise providing for the preparation of local enactments calculated to ensure the pure and speedy administration of Justice. The questions also related to the system of education employed for preparing the Civil Servants of the Company to discharge their duties, embracing

[1] No. 255.
[2] P. 482.

investigation into the system of studies in England, and particularly that portion of them which was dedicated to the acquisition of the principles of general and particular law, as well as the system of instruction prescribed to Writers on their arrival in India, and the course of their employment and promotion in the several branches of Indian administration. Inquiries were also particularly made into the practicability and expediency of employing Natives to a greater extent in the administration of Justice, both civil and criminal; the education by which they had been prepared for their duties, and the effect of national habits and feelings on their moral character. The nature of the institution denominated "Punchayet", its resemblance to that of juries or of arbitration was also inquired into, as well as the fitness of natives to sit as jurors or as assessors in the courts, and their qualifications for discharging the duties of justices of the peace, etc. The inquiry thus covered a wide field, and the ability of Rammohun to answer such a variety of topics gave him no mean credit and to which his previous experience as Dewan etc. under the Company's Civil Servants. must have been of great help. In his evidence he says that he has been guided in the matter by his recollections, conscience and impressions alone left on his mind by long experience and reflection.

Rammohun considered the judicial system established by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 as well adapted to the situation of the country, and to the character of the people as well as of the Government; but that its practical operation was defective, owing to the want of a sufficient number of qualified judges to discharge the judicial office under a proper code of laws, entailing a variety of evils. Other obstructions to the administration of justice in the interior arose from the administrators of the law, and those who were subjected to it, having no common language; from the want of publicity in the proceedings of the mofussil courts; from the great prevalence of perjury and forgery; and from the proceedings being conducted in Persian—a language foreign to the judges and the parties alike. He was in favour of the introduction of English language in the courts on the ground that it would be the vernacular language of the European judges, and moreover, in spite of its having the same disadvantage of a foreign language as the Persian, its introduction would help to promote the desired study of English. Rammohun bore honourable testimony to the character and talents of European Judges, and he considered that the judicial branch of the service was "almost pure". Regarding the native judicial officers he opined that many of them were fully qualified for the task entrusted to them, and had proper care been taken in their selection all the situations might be filled with

credit by qualified persons. As a remedy for the defects in the judicial system, Rammohun suggested that a more extensive employment of natives should be made, and recommended "to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and firmness of the European". He was also of opinion that the ancient Hindu "Punchayet", having some analogy to the trial by jury, might be beneficially employed if reduced to a regular system, guided by proper checks and dignified by judicial forms. He also pointed out the inconvenience resulting from the transference of the duties of circuit judges from the judges of the provincial courts to the revenue commissioners. Such a combination of the functions of a judicial officer with a revenue commissioner was absurd. The Mahomedan Government had sense enough not to suffer any judicial officer empowered to try capital crimes to become a collector of revenues. The source of law's delay he ascribed to the irregularity in the discharge of judicial duties, and the want of proper discipline and control over the judicial officers. For these he suggested suitable remedies, one of which was the advisability of reduction in the number of appeals in the superior courts. The right of appeal to the King in Council, he thought to be a great source of evil for various causes, which were to remain so unless a specific court of appeal at home was created for Indian appeal causes above £10,000, and other defects were removed. In suggesting the remedy for the defects in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, he thought it highly desirable that the Judges should have the power of issuing the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*.

These are but the chief points of evidence in their bare outlines of the reform suggested by Rammohun in the system of judicial administration of the country, and it is striking to find how the opinions given independently coincided in important points with the most enlightened and progressive views expressed by others on the subject. Let us especially refer to the views of Sir Alexander Johnston, the enlightened and liberal Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Ceylon. These are contained in a Paper which the noble Chief Justice sent to Mr. Charles Fox, then at the head of the administration of affairs in England, at his request, in 1806.[1] This was a plan proposed for the improvement of the condition of the people of India. For the accomplishment of the task he proposed to give the natives a share in every department of the State, to introduce amongst them the arts, sciences and literature of Europe, and even to secure to them a free constitution of Government, adapted to the situation of the country and the manners of the people. With this view he proposed, *inter alia*,

[1] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 12, p. 147.

that the natives should be declared eligible to all judicial, revenue and civil offices; that all laws to be introduced should be publicly discussed and sanctioned by local assemblies or councils, in which the interests of every class of natives should be adequately represented by members of their own class, before these are adopted; that a law similar to the *Habeas Corpus Act* should be passed in India to afford protection against illegal imprisonment to every native and European in the British Indian territories; that the press should be considered and used as a powerful engine to form an enlightened public amongst the natives, for enabling the authorities to know the real sentiments of the people regarding all its measures, for preventing the public functionaries from abusing their power, and for protecting the Legislature in any improvements it might introduce against the prejudices of the ignorant and the intrigues of the disaffected; that the distinction between the King's and Company's courts of justice should be abolished, and that there should be but one system of administering justice throughout the country; that codes of law should be made and drawn up in the simplest language, and adapted to the feelings and to the manners of the different communities of British subjects, native and European; that criminal and civil justice should be administered according to the codes of law by judges and assessors educated for the purpose, as well as by juries; that there should be both European and native judges, who are to be educated for the specific purpose; that all criminal prisoners, European and native, shall have a right to be tried by a jury; that justice should be made cheap and brought as near as possible to their homes; that in order to form an enlightened and independent public amongst the natives, a native reporter should be attached to each court to report all the cases occurring before them, and that a native paper should be established in each province to publish all the circumstances connected with these cases and to encourage the natives to discuss without fear the nature of the decisions given by the judges of the courts; etc. Sir Alexander in his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1832 said that these suggestions made so long back still held good at the time, which were calculated to the promotion of the good government in India and securing it to the British Government. On a close scrutiny it would be found how Rammohun's evidence also possessed the germs of similar enlightened and progressive ideas.

It is also important to note that when Rammohun was suggesting such reforms in the judicial administration of India, the enlightened and liberal Lord William Bentinck, with whose thoughts and ideas those of Rammohun bore great resemblance or coincidence on several important matters, thought fit to intro-

duce extensive changes in the judicial system of the country by passing Regulations. One of these, (Reg. V. of 1832 of the Bengal Code), the preamble of which sets forth that "it is desirable to employ respectable natives in more important trusts connected with the administration of the country", provided for the appointment to various judicial offices, such as Moonsiffs, Sudder Ameens, Vakeels, etc. of natives "of whatever class or religious persuasion with salaries and allowances which appear liberal". Another established a Court of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut for the western provinces, which was to be an open court. Another empowered the Governor-General to invest the three Zillah judges with power to hold sessions and gaol deliveries, so as to expedite criminal justice.[1]

In India the land revenue formed the principal income of the State, and of the modes of its administration the most important and summary one was the Zemindary System, especially in Bengal, on the operation of which Rammohun was asked questions. The zemindary or permanent settlement of public revenue concluded by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 with the proprietors of land in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was held by Rammohun to have been advantageous to both the contracting parties, though not in equal proportion. Under this system half the gross produce went to the zemindar, of which he had to pay nine-tenths or ten-elevenths to the Government, reserving one-tenth or one-eleventh to himself, and the cultivator had to disburse the whole expense of seed and labour, and to support his family out of the remaining moiety. The Company's Government had introduced a new variety of the system in Bengal, and that arbitrarily, by recognizing all the zemindars as hereditary, and fixing the assessment to be levied on each in perpetuity.

A great body of evidence was taken on the nature, object and consequences of this permanent zemindary settlement system, of which Rammoun's was one of the most important. All the evidence concurred in pointing out that the purposes for which it was benevolently intended by the noble Lord Cornwallis, its author, were not attained. The practical operation of the system bore heavily on the cultivator or ryot, whom it was especially designed to relieve. "The causes of this failure may be ascribed, in a great degree, to the error of assuming, at the time of making the Permanent Settlement, that the rights of all parties claiming an interest in the Land were sufficiently established by usage to enable the Courts to protect individual rights; and still more to the measure which declared the Zemindar to be the hereditary Owner of the soil, whereas it is contended that he was originally, with few ex-

[1] No. 259.

ceptions, the mere hereditary Steward, Representative or Officer of the Government, and his undeniable hereditary property in the Land Revenue was totally distinct from property in the Land itself."[1] While the amount of revenue payable by the Zemindar to the Government was fixed, and they were debarred by the terms of the settlement from enhancing it, however productive the lands might be, no efficient measures were adopted to define or limit the demand of the Zemindar upon the ryots, who possessed an hereditary right of occupancy, on condition of either cultivating the land or finding tenants to do so. The opinion of Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, recorded in 1819, on the subject deserves quoting here. "Never", says His Lordship, "was there a measure conceived in a purer spirit of generous humanity and disinterested justice, than the plan for the Permanent Settlement in the Lower Provinces. It was worthy the soul of a Cornwallis. Yet this truly benevolent purpose, fashioned with great care and deliberation, has, to our painful knowledge, subjected almost the whole of the Lower Classes throughout these provinces to most grievous oppression; an oppression too, so guaranteed by our pledge, that we are unable to relieve the sufferers; a right of ownership in the soil, absolutely gratuitous, having been vested in the person through whom the payment to the State was to be made, with unlimited power to wring from his coparceners an exorbitant rent for the use of any part of the Land."[2] A similar opinion was recorded by Sir E. Colebrooke, then a member of the Supreme Council. He observed that "the errors of the Settlement were two-fold; first, in the sacrifice of what might be denominated the Yeomanry, by merging all tillage rights, whether of property or of occupancy, in the all-devouring recognition of the Zemindar's permanent property in the soil; and then leaving the Zemindar to make his settlement with the Peasantry as he might choose to require".[3]

Referring to the condition of the peasantry Rammohun also said in his evidence that such was their melancholy condition that it always gave him the greatest pain to allude to it. In his Paper on the Revenue System of India Rammohun observes: "With a view to facilitate the collection of revenue and to encourage proprietors to improve their estates, government liberally relieved them in the year 1793 from the distress and difficulties originating in the uncertainty of assessment, by concluding a perpetual settlement with them. But I am at a loss to conceive why this indulgence was not extended to their tenants, by requiring proprietors to follow the example of government, in fixing

[1] *Parliamentary Papers* (H. C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, p. 63.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 63-64.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 64.

a definite rent to be received from each cultivator, according to the average sum actually collected from him during a given term of years; or why the feeling of compassion excited by the miserable condition of the cultivators does not now induce the government to fix a *maximum* standard, corresponding with the sum of rent now paid by each cultivator in one year, and positively interdict any further increase."[1] He concluded his paper by beseeching the authorities to devise some mode of alleviating the miseries of the peasantry of India and thus discharging their duty to their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects. The condition of the peasantry was miserable not only under the Zemindary system but under the Ryotwar system of Madras as well. Rammohun says that "under both system the condition of the cultivators is very miserable; in the one they are placed at the mercy of the zemindar's avarice and ambition; in the other, they are subjected to the extortions and intrigues of the surveyors and other Government revenue officers". As a means of protecting these poor people, he suggested the disarming of revenue officers of magisterial powers, which was an essential part of Lord Cornwallis's plan, and the immediate investigation of charges brought against revenue officers by the judicial courts.

Thus, the admitted failure of the professed object of Lord Cornwallis's system of Permament Zemindary Settlement made it a matter of anxious inquiry to the authorities to ascertain how far the evils of the system were capable of being remedied. In the meantime we find that Lord Bentinck's government deemed fit to pass several Regulations for the amelioration of the revenue system of the country, which, though beneficial as far as they went, were not deemed beneficial enough, which to be so, required perhaps a revision of the permanent settlement itself.

Other topics under the head of Revenue Administration on which questions were put to Rammohun were the desirability of the European colonization of India and the measures adopted for land resumption. We have already dealt at some length with the colonization question in the previous section. What remains to be considered is the land resumption question. Previous to the time of his giving evidence, Rammohun had occasion to remonstrate against the land resumption proceedings of the Government and carry on an agitation against it both in India and at home. The passing of the Regulation III of 1828 gave him the occasion to do so. This Regulation was called the Lakheraj Regulation. By this Regulation large number of revenue-free lands were confiscated to the Government. It affected the interests of both the Hindu and Mahomedan subjects, but the latter is said to have

[1] See Rammohun Roy's English Works.

been the worst sufferers by its operation, and whose present educational and economic backwardness has been, to a great extent, ascribed to it. It stands to Rammohun's glory to have been the staunch protector of the rights of his countrymen, and like a true patriot he launched an agitation against it not only in India but in England as well. The main point in Rammohun's remonstrance against the above Regulation was that it was a breach of the assurance given by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, binding it not to disturb the holders of lakheraj or rent-free lands in their possession, unless their titles to such lands could be proved invalid in a court of law at the suit of the Revenue officers of the Government. But in defiance of this solemn pledge the Government passed the above Regulation of 1828 authorising the Revenue officers to dispossess the holders of those rent-free lands at their own discretion, without any judicial decree being sought or obtained against the validity of their titles to such lands. The invitation by public declaration, dated the 23rd February, 1829, by Lord William Bentinck of suggestions tending to promote the improvement of the administration of the country, as well as the general prosperity and happiness of the British empire in India,[1] seems to have encouraged the natives to submit petitions of remonstrance against the above Regulation. But of the petitions submitted that of Rammohun and his group was obviously the most important and weighty, to minimise which the authorities here had to take the trouble of meeting its arguments at some length, and write the following words to the Court of Directors in their despatch, dated the 23rd February, 1830: "Among the petitions against Regulation III, 1828, which have been noticed in a preceding part of this dispatch, there is one which we have stated to be anonymous; we have now to notice that an exact duplicate of that petition has since been presented to us, with the signatures of above 200 individuals annexed to it, accompanied by a letter addressed to our secretary in this department by four natives, named Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Pursunnoo Komar Tagore, and Rammohun Roy. The intelligence of the above-named individuals is acknowledged to be much superior to that of the native aristocracy in general. However much, therefore, we may doubt whether any considerable number of the petitioners are capable of understanding the arguments which it contains, we are not the less disposed to give due consideration to the expression of the sentiments of such individuals on a question which so generally affects the interests of the native community as well as those of the state".[2]

[1] See *Calcutta Monthly Magazine*, March, 1829.

[2] Quoted in a speech at the Calcutta Town Hall by Dwarkanath Tagore. See J. Crawfurd: *An Appeal from the Inhabitants of British India to the Justice of the People of England*. (London, 1839), Appendix, p. 25.

By the above remarks the authorities nevertheless paid a tribute to the superior intelligence and understanding of Rammohun and his followers, and had to admit that they proceeded with infinitely more ingenuity and ability than others.[1] The remonstrance of Rammohun, though at first failing with the local authorities, was not wholly without effect, as the authorities at home coming to know of it directed the Government here to take necessary steps to redress the grievances.[2] But this direction was not felt sufficient, and being disappointed in finding a remedy Rammohun, while in England, printed and circulated a pamphlet embodying the full history of the case which gave rise to his agitation, in order to draw the attention of the British public to what he thought was a violation of common justice and a breach of a national faith on the part of the British Government of India.[3] Rammohun's agitation was sympathised with by a leading paper like the London "Times", which wrote in its favour on more than one occasion.[4] It is true that Rammohun failed to gain the desired result as he did in many other matters, but it was not wholly without effect. He says that the enlightened Lord Bentinck, though not rescinding the Regulation, had thought fit to suspend the immediate operation or execution of it for the time.[5]

However, Rammohun's evidence on the zemindary system came in for some trenchant criticism from two opposite parties. While some thought that it was too much in favour of the zemindar class to which Rammohun himself belonged, others thought that it was against the interests of the zemindars. The "Bengal Hurkaru" especially held the first view, while the "Samachar Chundrika" held the latter. Rammohun's way of expressing his opinions in favour of the ryots sorely disappointed the *Hurkaru*, which expected that the denunciation of the system which was responsible for the miserable lot of the ryot should be something very strong and pungent. It had high expectations of Rammohun in the matter. Remarking on the point the paper held that Rammohun belonged to the hammers, but his evidence would be taken for that of the anvils at home.[6] But this criticism of the liberal organ "Hurkaru" should not be taken amiss. It was born more of supposed disappointment on its part, than of anything else. But in fairness to Rammohun it may be said that he was not a believer in revolutionary changes, and he did his best to entreat the authorities to bring in the desired change in the lot of the ryots

[1] See Letters to Court (Rev.), Feb. 23, 1830, paras. 126-30.
[2] P. 513.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] P. 519.
[5] See Rammohun Roy's English Works: Evidence on the Revenue System of India, Ans. 54.
[6] P. 486.

by alleviating their miseries and remedying the modes of oppression perpetrated on them by the zemindars and others. He must have been ashamed of the conduct of the zemindar as a class to which he chanced to belong, and there is no doubt that his sympathy lay fully with the ryots, and it was fully worthy of him. The *Chundrika's* charges against his evidence was made more out of prejudice and hatred than of anything else. It was nothing surprising to find it twisting his evidence to prove that he was an enemy of the Hindus, and especially against their religion and customs. But it is curious to find that the point on which it thought fit to criticise Rammohun, and on which the above prejudicial and most unjustifiable remark was made, it came to admit the same thing in another connexion not long after the remark was made, and that perhaps in an unguarded moment. But in any case it told the truth in which there was no difference between its opinion and that of Rammohun. The notorious tory organ "John Bull" was jubilant to find Rammohun's evidence being criticised by even the liberal English press.[1] It opined that discomfiture of the liberals was a laughable affair. Rammohun's evidence appeared to be sensible to the Bull, not for any love for him, but more for its sober way and tone. The *Durpun* again remarks in this connexion: "Rammohun Roy obtains little credit for his evidence. The *Hurkaru* rates him for being too favourable to the Zemindars; the *Chundrika* on the other hand is perpetually decrying him for having injured the Zemindars in his evidence. We offer no opinion on the subject. Great good will, we have no doubt, flow to the country from Rammohun Roy's visit to England, and from the exertions he is making. If we had any doubts on this subject, they would be dispelled by his having succeeded in displeasing both parties in India. The truth lies between them".[2]

In eulogy to Rammohun's evidence the "Bombay Courier" also thought fit to remark: "Already are we in a condition to appreciate the advantages likely to result from the visit of the intelligent Hindoo who is domicilated with us. In his answers to some series of questions proposed by the India Board, Rammohun Roy has expressed frankly his sentiments respecting a variety of very important points connected with the internal administration of British India. This evidence, probably the most valuable which has been hitherto recorded on Indian topics, is printed in one of the voluminous Appendices to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, where it is not likely to attract the attention it deserves. The Rajah has, therefore, judiciously

[1] No. 253.
[2] P. 495.

printed his answers in a separate work, with a few notes and elucidations".[1] Such eulogies were in no way undeserving or misplaced. It was openly confessed that for the best clauses in the new Charter Act of 1833, however wretched the Charter might have been otherwise, India was deeply indebted to Rammohun.[2] Thus it would be seen that his benevolent and patriotic exertions in this respect also did not go in vain, and his boldness must have given heart to his succeeding generations to come boldly forward and to lay before the authorities their grievances and aspirations, which was a *sine qua non* of Indian progress.

CONCLUSION

From the above brief survey it is manifest that the movements that Rammohun initiated, or thought proper to associate himself with, saw India set on the path to real progress and happiness in the various spheres of life and mind in a new way. It was fortunate for the motherland to have possessed such a bold, enlightened and patriotic son like him at a most important psychological moment when India's destiny was being determined or taking shape. It is no exaggeration to say that the rise of nationalism and cry for progress in this country, which from humble beginnings have now assumed such large proportions, are attributable mainly to Rammohun's patriotic and enlightened efforts at reform in the early part of the last century. It was he, above all, who was responsible for releasing the source of alertness of mind of his countrymen to such ends. It was a most happy thing that the torch that he lighted was not allowed to go out by his successors, nor was his legacy a luckless one. It was his enlightened followers, as well as the English-educated youths of the country, who carried his manifold movements to many a happy and desirable end. Kristodas Pal, one of the most distinguished English-educated youths of the succeeding generation, who lived to be an eminent leader of the country, voiced the real sentiments of his compatriots about the worth of Rammohun when he once remarked: "Is it not the 'educated' Native who has prolonged the sacred existence of the glorious movement of Rajah Rammohun Roy—the honourable name, at the mention of which the pulse of every true Hindu beats with quick emotion, and his heart leaps with joy?"[3] These youths became the torch-bearers of Rammohun. It would, nevertheless, be perhaps no mistake if we assert that the efforts of his distinguished posterity

[1] Pp. 501-02.
[2] See Russick Lal (?) Mullick's speech at the first death anniversary meeting of Rammohun Roy, *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1834, p. 259.
[3] See his discourse on 'Young Bengal Vindicated' at the Hare anniversary meeting on June 1, 1856.

for more than a century now have not been able to surpass Rammohun's comprehensive genius as yet.

For the regeneration of his compatriots in the various departments of their life and mind Rammohun realised that the first and foremost thing that was necessary was religious reform, *i.e.*, freeing their minds from adherence to low and narrow conceptions of God and values. This attempt at the religious regeneration of the Hindus came in for vehement condemnation and fanatical attack by those whose higher senses may be said to have been atrophied by the accumulated torpor of ages, but being possessed of the strong force that is the natural accompaniment of all truths, none could stop its inevitable and triumphant march. It is significant to find not only many of those amongst his opponents changing their opinions against him in their lifetime, but also the progeny of some of his leading opponents becoming converts to, and enthusiastic supporters of, his faith and movement. It is, indeed, for its being possessed of the needed potency that the Brahmo Samaj movement that he started came to be a force in the country, and the cry was raised that monotheism should be the national religion of the Hindus. The stirring of life and mind that Rammohun's movement initiated was not without visible effect on even those who did not dare to join his fold openly. Movements for religious reform of the Hindus came to grow later on in the country with some good result. A slight scrutiny would, however, reveal the fact that these were not isolated or independent growths, but were really steeped in the reformed thoughts and ideas of the Raja. By their move in the direction indicated by him the later reformers really paid a tribute to the genius of Rammohun. But it must be said that they dared not go the whole hog in the matter as the Raja did, and this may be said to have been still holding the great Hindu society back from achieving the desired results, which Rammohun's movement implied. Perhaps the most unique and distinctive characteristic of Rammohun's move to reform the extant Hinduism was its national implication or significance in its broadest sense, which has not been apparent to many as yet. The present political impasse, especially the communal one, furnishes perhaps the best illustration of what significance Rammohun's movement had for the unification and solidification of the people into a nation. The unification of the various communities on the basis of the fundamental unity and harmony of all religions, and making them realise that they were but children of one common Father, was the best solution of the knotty problems that have been disturbing the minds of the thinkers and leaders of the country most. The genius of Rammohun did not leave the solution at the stage of theory only, but tried to give it a practical demonstration

by establishing the Brahmo Samaj, a common place for the meeting and worship of the different communities of the country. This was perhaps the boldest and most novel experiment that was ever made, and its implications are now being gradually realised when many opine that had Rammohun's plan been adopted and followed by the Hindus the present problem would not only have been solved, but perhaps would not have arisen at all. The Hindu-Moslem problem is ascribed by many to political causes, but while this may be true apparently and partially, the real cause lies deeper in the conflict of religious ideas and practices, not in their essentials or fundamentals, but in their unessential details. Rammohun had a vision of the good that would result from his efforts when he remarked that his labours would come to be appreciated one day. It proved to be perhaps prophetic. The present political upheaval has unfortunately made confusion worse confounded, with the result that narrow ideas and ideals are masquerading as truly nationalistic ones and holding out palliatives; but such a state is bound to pass away when a clearer and calmer view would bring in its train a better realisation of the implications of Rammohun's ideas and ideals. Rammohun had a vision not only of a great but a united and free India. The possibility of such a state of things being brought about under the enlightened and liberal sway of the British in this country reconciled him to their regime, to which he endeavoured to reconcile his countrymen also. In fact, Rammohun's endeavour was an earnest one for Indo-British understanding, to which he contributed materially, and for which he was regarded by many an enlightened Britisher to be a true friend of the British empire in the East.

An ardent and enlightened love of God gave Rammohun the urge to launch his progressive movements, and being born an Indian it was his first duty to exert himself most for the cause of his country; but his nationalism was not narrow—it was really international in its outlook and character. All the people of the world were like brothers to him, and his compassionate heart went forth in agony to those who were in any way suffering from tyranny and domination, and he felt overwhelming joy when they were extricated from these. Rammohun's heart yearned to see all fellow-men leading truly godly lives. His broad humanity soon attracted the attention and won the admiration of many great men of the world, and he was regarded as a hero of humanity. His greatness and worth were also matters of no less appreciation and admiration among his own people. This is evidenced from the following remarks of the editor of one of the leading liberal English papers of the day. It observes: "The character of a nation is always in a great degree dependent upon the character of individuals. The

names of such men as Shakespeare and Milton and Bacon and Newton, give a more distinct idea of England's mental greatness than could be produced by an elaborate essay on the subject, and an Englishman proud of his country always points to these glorious specimens of human nature when the character of English intellect is the subject of discussion. The single name of Rammohun Roy is cherished by the more enlightened of his countrymen with gratitude and veneration because they feel how much they owe him. When foreigners speak with insulting contempt—as they often do—of the native intellect—the example of Rammohun Roy is appealed to as an answer".[1] Indeed, the name of Rammohun, above all, is one to conjure with. India ought to feel rightly proud to have possessed such a great son, and for all that he did for the regeneration of his motherland he should ever live in the grateful memory of his countrymen.

[1] *Bengal Herald*, January 17, 1841.

RELIGIOUS AND
MORAL

1. Appreciative notice of Rammohun Roy's pamphlet entitled "Translation of an abridgement of the Vedant." (February 1, 1816).

In the absence of news of a political nature, it may be interesting to our readers to be informed of a phenomenon in the literary world. This is the recent appearance of a pamphlet with the following title, written by Ram Mohun Roy:—"Translation of an abridgement of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical Theology ; establishing the unity of the Supreme Being ; and that He alone is the object of propitiation and worship." The singularity of this translation arises chiefly from its being the production of a learned Brahmin of great wealth and respectability, and whose acquirements in the languages of Europe, as well as of Asia, add to the weight of his opinions, and importance to his name.—We have not time at present to give an analysis of the work itself. There appears to be no question of the accuracy of the translation, but the followers of the established doctrines of Brahma, object to it as the translation of an *abridgement* of the Vedas, and not of the original work. The pamphlet is exceedingly curious, and whatever its intrinsic merits may be in a Theological point of view, displays the deductions of a liberal, bold, and intrepid mind. The following is the introduction to the translation:

[Here follows the Introduction]

The preceding introductory observations sufficiently explain the nature and object of the translation. Those conversant in Hindu Mythology will be surprized to find that a Brahmin should attempt to trace the origin of his religion to pure *Deism,* and contend that the metaphorical representations in the Veds were designed to be viewed in no other light than that of mere allegory!*

2. Another notice of the same. (February 8, 1816).

In our last paper we gave the Brahmin's preface to the translation of the abridgement of the Vedant and as a good deal of curiosity has been excited by our notice of that work, we have this day reprinted the whole of it for the gratification of our readers.†

[Here follows the text]

3. Further appreciative notice of the above pamphlet of Rammohun, together with an account of the Hindoo reformer. (1816).

We have been favoured with a sight of a Tract, printed at Calcutta in the present year, with the following title:—"Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered work

* *Government Gazette,* February 1, 1816.
† *Ibid.,* February 8, 1816.

of Brahminical Theology; establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being; and that He alone is the object of Propitiation and Worship: by Rammohun Roy."

Before we give an account of this curious Tract, it may be advantageous to our Readers to know something of the author.

Of Ram Mohun Roy, we have received reports from several friends. The substance of them is this :—

He is a Brahmin, about 32 years of age, of extensive landed property, and of great consideration and influence; shrewd, vigilant, active, ambitious, prepossessing in his manners, versed in various languages, and busily employed in giving Lectures to a number of his countrymen on the Unity of the Godhead. He is acquainted with the New Testament; and seems disposed to hear any thing which can be enforced by the authority of Christ.

Another account carries him farther as a Christian. It states, that he began his studies by learning Persian; as he considered a knowledge of that language necessary to every Native of any distinction. From Persian, he was led, almost as a matter of course, to Arabic and the Koran. . . . . . . Then he studied our Bible in English; and, in consequence, became a Christian. He has spread his doctrine to a considerable extent, and has several Hindoos of high caste and of fortune in league with him, who maintain his opinions. They call themselves a Society, and are bound by certain rules, one of which is, that no man shall be admitted into their number, except with this condition, that he renounce idol-worship. Of these rules, however, they do not seem to be uniform in the observance. One of the Society, though he professes to have renounced idolatry, yet keeps in his house a number of gods, as well as two large pagodas. His Society has granted him a dispensation on this head, because he possesses a certain quantity of land from the King of Delhi for this purpose; and, if he were to destroy his idols, he might lose the land!

One account carries the number of Rammohun's followers to nearly 500; and states, that they expect soon to be strong enough to enable him publickly to avow his faith, and, consequently, to lose caste; which he has hitherto not done, as it would impede his intercourse with many whom he had hopes shortly to convince. The Brahmins had twice attempted his life, but he was fully on his guard.

It is stated, that, after being baptized, he intends to embark for England, with many of his friends, in order to pass some years in the acquisition of learning at one or both of our Universities.

Ram Mohun writes and speaks English correctly. He has published different Tracts and Translations in our tongue, and in Persian and Bengalee, directed against the Hindoo Idolatry and Superstitions. The piece, of which we shall give an abstract, discovers little else than a discernment of the folly of the vulgar belief of his country; and a subtle, but unsuccessful attempt, to put a good meaning on the absurd statements of its more ancient and refined creed. His judgment may, possibly, be convinced of the truth of Divine Revelation; but one of our correspondents represents him to be as yet but a self-confident Deist—

disgusted with the follies of the pretended Revelations from Heaven, with which he has been conversant, but not yet bowed in his convictions and humbled in his heart to the Revelation of Divine Mercy.

We cannot forget the lesson which the history of the well-known Sabat has taught us, with regard to avowed Converts to Christianity, especially from among the more learned, and men of some pretension. After changing backward and forward, he is said to have rested in the profession of Christianity. We count nothing of this, except as it is a homage to the commanding evidences of the Gospel. When a man has once seen the force of these evidences, it is scarcely within the verge of possibility, that he should become so stultified as to return to the belief of any pretended Revelation. His proud heart may rebel against the humbling truths of the Word of God, and his carnal heart may rebel against its holy and self-denying precepts ; and he may be given over to his delusions, and reject, with the Deist, all Revelation, or, with the Atheist, deny the very being of God : but, having once seen and felt the nature and force of the evidences of Christianity, he must despise the pretensions of Mahomed and of all other impostors.

We do not mean to say that the heart of Ram Mohun Roy is not humbled, and that he has not received the Gospel as the only remedy for the spiritual diseases under which he labours in common with all men: but we have, as yet, seen no evidence sufficient to warrant us in this belief. We pray God to give him grace that he may, in penitence and faith, embrace with all his heart the Saviour of the World.

The singular production, which we have mentioned at the head of this article, is introduced by the following address :—

To the Believers of the only True God.

[Here follows the Introduction]

The Tract itself is short, extending to fourteen pages in quarto. It is an abridgment of the Vedant of Byas, whom Ram Mohun Roy represents as "the greatest of the Indian Theologists, Philosophers, and Poets". The author professes to give the real sense and meaning of the Vedant and Veds on the most important points of the Hindoo Theology, which he asserts to have been misunderstood and forgotten. His various positions are supported by passages from the Vedant or Veds ; and those, which appear to contradict them, are explained.

After asserting the necessity for mankind to acquire knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, but that this knowledge is limited to very narrow bounds, the author argues, from the Vedant and Veds, that creating and governing power cannot be attributed to any of the various objects to which the grosser Hindoo Theology attributes it ; such as, the Void Space, Air, Light, Nature, Atoms, the Soul, any God or Goddess of the Earth, the Sun, or any of the Celestial Gods. He asserts the unity, spirituality, omnipresence, and omnipotence of the Supreme Being—that He is the sole object of worship—that the adoration of Him is required of mankind, as well as of the Celestial Gods—that moral principle is a

part of the adoration of God, with reliance on, and self-resignation to, the only true Being, and an aversion to worldly considerations—and that devotion to the Supreme Being is not limited to any holy place or sacred country.

To what absurd subtleties and refinements the author is driven, in attempting to make out some meaning in the Hindoo Creed, the following extract will prove :—

"Some celestial gods have,..........................the object of adoration."

"The following texts of the Ved, viz..............allow them to remain idle."

The author promulgates a principle destructive of caste, and subversive of other peculiarities of Hindoo Superstition :—

"It is optional to those..........................and merely worshipped God."

Some beams of light break through the gloom. There is a measure of meaning and sense in the following passage :—

"The Ved now illustrates..........................such authority being found in the Ved."

The rise of this New Sect, the zeal and subtlety displayed by its founder, with its obvious tendency to undermine the fabric of Hindoo Superstition, are objects of serious attention to the Christian Mind. "Who knows", asks one of the friends from whom we have received these communications, "but this man may be one of the many instruments, by which God, in his mysterious providence. may accomplish the overthrow of idolatry?"—"What may be the effect of this man's labours", says another correspondent, "time will shew. Probably, they may bring the craft of Brahminism and caste into danger ; and God may be, in this manner, shaking the kingdom of Satan. However this may prove, that great work will be done: and, though reason and philosophy may not have a voice powerful enough to reach the hearts of these poor captives ; yet the Christian Missionary, whom Christ sends forth, will find *a mouth and a tongue, which no man shall be able to gainsay or to resist.*"*

4. A charge of literary forgery against Rammohun Roy by Mr. Ellis (of Madras) on the publication of the above work. (August, 1817).

A meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at Chouringhee on the evening of the 6th instant. Mr. Harington presided on the occasion. Several curious articles of Hindoo Sculpture, Painting, etc. had been received during the preceding two months, and were deposited in the Museum.

An interesting paper was read, written by Mr. Ellis, communicating a curious instance of literary forgery, or rather religious imposition. In 1778 a book was printed at Paris entitled L'Ezour Vedam, containing the exposition of the opinions of the Indian priests and philosophers, and said to be translated from the Sanscrit by a Bramin. It was said in the preface that the work was originally among the papers of M. Barthelemy, a member of Council at Pondicherry, that M. Moldave

* *Missionary Register*, London, 1816.

brought a copy of it from India, and presented it to Voltaire, who sent it in 1761 to the Library of the King of France. Voltaire had been informed that the chief-priest of Cherengham, distinguished for his knowledge of the French language, and the services he had performed for the India Company, was the translator of the Ezour Vedam, and appears to have believed it an authentic work. M. Anquetel du Perron was of the same opinion: M. Sonnerat, however, seems to have detected the error, and describes the Ezour Vedam as not genuine, but the composition of a missionary at Masulspatam, *sous le manteau Brame*. Mr. Ellis has since ascertained that the original of this work still exists among the manuscripts in the possession of the Catholic Missionaries at Pondicherry, which are understood to have belonged originally to the Society of Jesuits. Besides the Ezour Vedam, there are also among these Manuscripts imitations of the other three Vedas, each of them in Sanscrit, in the roman character, and in French. Mr. Ellis enters into a philological investigation of the Manuscripts to shew that whether the author were a native or a European, the work must either have originated in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, or have been composed by some one who had there learned the rudiments of the Sanscrit. He then gives a list of the manuscripts in the possession of the Catholic Missionaries and their contents;—they are eight in number. One of them concludes by denying the divinity of Brahma, and asserting him to have been a man in all respects resembling other human beings. They are all intended to refute the doctrines, and shew the absurdity of the ceremonies, inculcated by the Brahmins. The native Christians at Pondicherry are of opinion that they were written by Robertus de Nobilibus, a near relation of his holiness Marcellus the II. and the nephew of Cardinal Bellarmin, and who founded the Madura mission, about the year 1620. This personage appears to be well known both to Hindoos and Christians, under the Sanscrit title of Tatwa-bod'ha-swami, whose writings on polemical theology are said to resemble greatly the controversial parts of the Pseudo-Vedas, discovered by Mr. Ellis. That learned gentleman thinks it not improbable that the substance of them, as they now exist, is from his pen, and that they consisted originally, like his works in Tamil, of detached treatises on various controversial points, and that some other hand has since arranged them in their present form, imposed on them a false title, transcribed them into the Roman character, and translated them into French. It is said however that the manner, style, form, and substance, of the Pseudo-vedas do not bear the most distant resemblance to the writings, whose titles they assume. Mr. Ellis gives an elaborate analysis of the real Vedas, and compares them particularly with the forgeries. The whole scope of the Pseudo-vedas is evidently the destruction of the existing belief of the Hindoos, without regarding consequences, or caring whether a blank be substituted for it or not. The writings of Rammohun Roy seem to be precisely of the same tendency as the discussions of Robertus de Nobilibus. The mission of Madura appears to have been founded on the principle of concealing from the natives the country of the missionaries, and imposing them

on the people as belonging to the sacred tribe of the Brahmins (Romaça Brahmana was the title they assumed), and this deception, probably, led to many more.*

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5. Defence of Rammohun Roy against the above charge. (August 18, 1817).

In an article published in the last *Government Gazette* containing an account of a communication from Mr. Ellis, (we believe of Madras,) to the Asiatic Society, a literary forgery or religious imposition is mentioned to have been detected by Mr. Ellis. The forgery or imposition is imputed to one Robertus De Nobilibus, who is stated to have founded a mission to Madura about the year 1620, and the object of the alledged fabrication is thus described:—"The whole scope of the Pseudo-Vedas is evidently the destruction of the existing belief of the Hindoos, without regarding consequences, or caring whether a blank be substituted for it or not." It is then added, "the writings of Ram Mohun Roy, seem to be precisely of the same tendency as the discussions of Robertus De Nobilibus." Whether this remark on the writings of Ram Mohun Roy is to be ascribed to Mr. Ellis, or to the writer of the article in the *Government Gazette,* we are not enabled to decide,—neither can we discover to which of the writings of Ram Mohun Roy, the observation is attended to be applied: but, we cannot help observing, that the author of this attack on the writings of the extraordinary and highly-gifted individual alluded to, should in justice to that individual, have pointed out the particular writings and passages, against which he levelled his censure. According to our own humble opinion, Ram Mohun Roy has not been labouring to destroy the belief or religion of the Hindoos—but to convince them, that their sacred authorities have been interpolated and misinterpreted—that a system of ceremonial and worship has been introduced and practiced, inconsistent with—and repugnant to, the precepts inculcated in the Vedanta and other holy authorities ; and with a view to enable his countrymen to detect the errors which they have hitherto adopted, he has furnished them with genuine translations of parts of the scriptures "which inculcate not only the enlightened worship of One God, but the purest principles of morality." The Pseudo-Vedas alluded to by Mr. Ellis, were written it seems, to *refute the doctrines* as well as to show the absurdity of the ceremonies inculcated by the Bramins. Now, if we understand the writings of Ram Mohun, they are not intended to refute the doctrines which are to be found in the Hindoo Scriptures—but to exhibit these doctrines in their genuine language ;—and thereby to show, that many of the ceremonies of the present day; are neither enjoined by these doctrines, nor consistent with the pure system of Hindoo worship, which acknowledges only One God. To this *belief,* and to a rational system of worship, consistent with this belief, Ram Mohun is desirous of directing his countrymen: and unless the recommendation to worship the Supreme Being instead of 330,000,000 Idols be a *Blank,*—or the adoption of that recommendation, be a mischievous *consequence,* we are wholly at a loss to

* *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* August, 1817.

comprehend how the writings of Ram Mohun Roy, can deserve the censure which they have received.*

6. An appreciation of the worthy exertions of Rammohun Roy to reclaim his countrymen from their degrading and unjustifiable superstitions. (September, 1817).

A great diversity of opinion seems to prevail, respecting the probable cause of the epidemic, which has lately committed such ravages at Jessore, and Calcutta; and as we are sorry to learn, all over the Zillah of Raujeshy. As we have already informed our readers, some have ascribed the disorder to the immoderate use of *new rice,* while others have imputed it to feeding too plentifully on *sable-fish.*

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We could have wished, that some person, better calculated for the task than ourselves, would have undertaken the office of giving some account of the progress of this disease in Calcutta,—and of the means taken for arresting it ; but, as this subject has been but slightly noticed in the other journals, we shall attempt to lay before our readers, such information as has reached us during the last week; information, which we are sorry to say, evinces that the mortality, which has prevailed, may in a great degree, be attributed to the wicked artifices of those, who have taken advantage of the ignorance and superstition of the lower classes of the community—to the schemes of wretches, who by the prostration of the mind, have contributed to produce the mischiefs to the person, against which, they have pretended to insure the infatuated sufferers.

In our last publication we mentioned, the device which had been employed to alarm the natives in the vicinity of Calcutta: and that a newly created deity, had opened her Temple at Kidderpore, as the OLA BEBEE ; where those, who wished to avert her dreadful visitation, were required to sacrifice.—The struggle between her and the well known Kali, may also be in the recollection of our readers—and that it therefore became necessary to seek for protection at the shrine of each of the contending powers, which could only be obtained, by the *usual* ceremonies of propitiation.

It would appear that the rival deities were not satisfied with the offerings which they had respectively received: and that further measures were necessary to impress their worshippers with a proper notion of their power, during this season of mortality.—Kali to support *her* authority, caused a *circular*.to be promulgated; and in a mode calculated to give it publicity, which perhaps has not been equalled by the ingenuity, of any European ; and the effect of it, on the native population of Calcutta, has certainly been much greater, than that of the *circular* of Lord Sidmouth, which has recently been so much discussed. The following, we believe, to be a literal translation of this extraordinary document:—

**Ibid.*, August 18, 1817.

"Sri, Sri the Divine Kali Mother's *Commands.*

"Sri, Sri the divine Kali Mother commands.—The disease of Olaoot'ha has seized numbers of people. Therefore amongst women such as are heads of families, or men, will go to Kali-ghaut and worship *according to their* Means, and bathe in the sacred Old-Gunga. Thus they shall escape Ola-oot'ha'. Whoever shall contemn this order, his family shall be seized with Ola-oot'ha'. *Instantly on the receipt of this you are to write three copies of it and to distribute them in three places.* He or she who does not distribute these three copies, shall be afflicted with Olaoot'ha".

"Dated 29th of Bhadoor, (12th September)".

This order we understand was promptly obeyed by a great majority of those who received it, of whatever cast or race,—Native Portugueze, Moosulmans, and Chinese, as well as Hindoos. Numbers of poor *old women*, to whom the Circular was principally addressed, were seen tottering along the road on their pilgrimage to Kali-g'haut. The death of several of these unhappy creatures *after* having gone through the prescribed ceremonies and within a few yards of the temple, was not sufficient to open the eyes of the other victims of delusion, and the Registers of mortality kept by the Magistrates, bear record of the fatal effects of the wretched superstition of the people!

Encouraged by the success of this device, the Brahmins, a few days afterwards, had recourse to another, with similar effects.—A Cowrie was left at the doors of several of the inhabitants in different quarters of the town by some unknown agents of the goddess, with written directions to carry *it*, along with other suitable donations, to the temple at Kali-g'hat and to distribute *other three Cowries* with similar instructions. The Magistrates unfortunately have not yet found any means of opposing these infamous acts; but, there is every reason to hope that the rapid progress of education amongst the Natives, principally, if not entirely ascribable to the exertions of the Missionaries of Serampore, will secure the rising generation of the poor, from becoming like their fathers, an easy prey to the cupidity of a cunning, avaricious, and unfeeling priestcraft.

Such, we understand, have been the exertions of Kali to preserve her pre-eminence ;—but Ola Bebee, and *her* priests, have not failed to adopt the boldest measures, to maintain her influence on the minds of the terrified and distracted population. Were it not for the melancholy evidence, which our native country has afforded in the person of Johanna Southcote, we should hesitate to draw on the belief of our readers, by stating the following fact ; but which we shall relate, nearly in the words, in which we have the communication:—"An actual *soi-disante* Incarnation or Avatar of Ola Bebee appeared few days ago at the village of Sulkeea. She sat there for two days in all the state of a Hindoo goddess, having a young Braminee to attend on her as Priestess ; and was reaping a rich harvest from the terror she had sown in the minds of the people, when unfortunately her fame reached the ears of our indefatigable first Magistrate. Mr. Eliot gave orders to his native Officers to seize her and bring her with her co-adjutor to his Kuchheree; which indeed they did—but not without

much fear and trembling, and some artifice. They took it upon themselves to 'present the Magistrate's respects to her goddess ship and to request the honor of an interview'. She had not sufficient confidence in her own power to offer resistance, and therefore affected a ready acquiescence. The moment she got up to depart, the crowd who had assembled to worship—or from curiosity, fled in terror in all directions, and not a little astounded were the native officers of the court to hear, the worthy Magistrate accuse her of *imposture*—and after hearing what she had to say for herself, commit her to the house of correction for six months !—Not perceiving however, any marks of her vengeance for such an indignity, but hearing her on the contrary, sue for mercy like any common criminal, the peons at length gathered courage to lay hands on her, and convey her to the place of punishment ; where, she is at present employed in pounding bricks for the benefit of the publick, from whom she was so lately receiving peace-offerings''.

Though the very lowest classes are those on whom such impositions principally operate : there are some of the more wealthy Hindoos, who from motives not very obvious, lend themselves to the support of the superstition on which they are founded. One specimen occurred a few days ago, which deserves to be mentioned:—A wealthy Raja of Calcutta *thought proper* to dream that, Ola Bebee commanded him to go to his garden, where under a certain tree he would find a hollow, into which she had resolved to retire, and to take up her future residence. The news of the dream was industriously circulated—and accordingly an immense concourse of people, principally *females*, attended at a Pooja on the spot, on which the Rajah expended one thousand and one Rupees!

But to return from this digression—we shall mention what has come to our knowledge, respecting the means adopted in Calcutta to stop the progress of the dreadful disease in question—the miserable effects of which, we have attempted to describe. The *fatality* of the disorder, we are assured has been most vigorously and successfully resisted by the active and intelligent exertions of Mr. Blaquiere. A number of native Physicians have been engaged and stationed at the different Thannahs for the sole purpose of affording relief to those in the neighbourhood who might be attacked with *Cholera*. The Physicians are supplied liberally with the proper remedies for the disorder and with short written instructions to direct them in their application. Of fifty-one cases treated by eight of these men on Friday, only one patient died ; and his death is attributable to other circumstances, rather than to the inefficacy of the means employed.—The particulars of the success of the last two days' practice are not yet known, but it is said, that the results have been equally satisfactory.

We cannot conclude these observations, without expressing an anxious hope, that when the disorder in question shall have been subdued, some means will be devised to open the eyes of the wretched individuals who have been so cajoled and injured ; so that they may see and comprehend the infamy of the miscreants to whom we have alluded—and who have encreased and fattened on the public calamity. A letter, which will be found in a preceding page, most sensibly inculcates the necessity and the ***means*** of diffusing knowledge among

the natives of this country ; without which, superstition can never be overcome.—The prompt and degrading punishment, which has been inflicted on the female impostor by Mr. Eliot, will, we trust, prevent any similar attempt ; and we shall be happy to find that the more intelligent classes of Hindoos, have either ceased to dream—or to *relate* their mischievous visions. The praiseworthy exertions of Ram mohun Roy, to reclaim his countrymen from their degrading and unjustifiable superstitions, have already accomplished, what some years ago, was considered almost impracticable ; and we have no doubt, but that his writings, supported by his example, will in a short time induce every thinking and rational Hindoo, to look into the volumes which he venerates and considers sacred, for that instruction which should regulate his form of worship. If he shall be persuaded, that he ought to adore but One God, in spirit and in truth, he will soon follow the astonishing precedent that Ram Mohun has exhibited,—and burst asunder the chains by which the followers of *Bramins* are now kept in thraldom—and the absurd and sanguinary ceremonies, which are inculcated by the wicked and practiced by the ignorant, will cease to be observed. This alone will be a vast approximation to a *better* state of things, which, for a season we must rather desire than *expect*.

We shall conclude, this article which has been extended, much farther than we intended, by stating, as we have been informed, that amongst Ram Mohun's numerous converts from Idolatry, the minds of many are divided about the propriety of attending the celebration of the approaching Doorga Pooja festival. Those who are resolved to shew no honor to the manufactured goddess, are still unwilling to sacrifice the duties of politeness to their principles, by refusing to comply with the invitations of their friends. Most of them have however come to a compromise with their consciences, by resolving to accept of invitations to the *Naches* given on the occasion ;—but to take their leave as soon as they have paid their respects to the master of the house.*

7. Appreciative notice of Rammohun's book "Mandookya Oopunishad." (December, 1817).

We understand that Rammohun Roy, to whose character and laudable labours, we have formerly alluded, has just published a Bengallee Translation of the *Mandookya Oopunishud* of the *Uthuroee Ved*, with an abridgement of the Commentary of Hunksa Acharjee and an introductory preface.—This, we are informed, is one of the ten *Oopunishuds* on which the *Vedant* doctrine is founded. Its publication will put the people of this country in possession of arguments against the worship of Idols ; arguments which, we are assured, the Bramins will be at a loss to refute. The *Vedant* itself, with an English translation and commentary, is, we understand, in a state of great forwardness, and will probably be published by Ram Mohun before the end of March.

* *Ibid.*, September, 1817.

The unremitted exertions of this intelligent individual, to reclaim his countrymen from their present state of delusion and ignorance, deserve the highest praise ; and although the success of his labors, may not keep pace with his efforts—we are persuaded that in a short time he will perceive their beneficial effects. Many well-informed natives, resident at this presidency, are now perfectly convinced, that Ram Mohun has reason and the *highest* Hindoo authority, to support the opinions which he avows—and we firmly believe, are privately disposed to profess the doctrines, which his translations of the Shanscrit Scriptures inculcate ; but,—such is the influence of habit and prejudice—hitherto inveterate—that they cannot bring themselves to acknowledge what they believe. The dread of Braminical excommunication, will perhaps prolong the period of their religious thraldom—and prevent that reformation, which, as we have formerly said, will form the most important step to a much *higher* pinnacle of knowledge.

If the wealthier and more intelligent classes of Hindoos can be convinced that the worship of their multifarious Idols, is inconsistent with the precepts contained in the writings which they venerate and hold sacred ;—if they can be persuaded that the ceremonials, to which they sacrifice their time and property, will not produce any benefit to them, either now or hereafter :—and if they can be induced to pay their devotion to One God, whose attributes they can comprehend, and revere,—we may then look with confidence for a thorough reform in their system of morals; and whether or not, it shall please providence to enable them to comprehend the truths of revelation, they will unquestionably become better *men*. Should these *desiderata* be accomplished, at any period, however remote, we are satisfied that the intellectual exertions of Rammohun Roy, will be remembered with gratitude ;—and if the labours of Luther in the Western World, are entitled to be commemorated by Christians—the Herculean efforts of the individual we have alluded to, must place him high among the benefactors of the Hindoo portion of mankind.

We have been partly led to offer these observations, by the information to which we have adverted, respecting the works already published, and preparing for the press by Rammohun Roy ;—and partly by the following anecdote, which has been communicated to us by a friend : and which we believe to be correct in point of fact.

"Radhamohun, a Goshaeen Bhuttacharj, supposed to be a man of the first learning in Bengal, died at Santipore on the last day of the late Doorga Pooja, at a very advanced age. In his last moments, he is said to have made a public profession of faith in the Vedanta doctrines, to the great scandal of all the Idolaters of the place. When he was carried by his relations to the banks of the river, the Toolsee plant, was as usual, placed before him ; his relations were proceeding to inscribe his body with the name of Krishna, with clay from the Ganges,—and were calling upon him to pronounce the names of Gunga, Narayun, and Krisna ; when, to their great surprise and astonishment, he ordered them to desist, and to take away the Toolsee plant, as such ceremonies were worse than idle and a mere mockery of the true God ;—acknowledging at the same time with shame, that he had all his life from interested motives only, encouraged such practices,

and affirming to the last, that there is but One God, who is the source of all our faculties, and whose nature is incomprehensible."*

8. A reproduction with approval of an appreciative American notice of Rammohun's publications. (October, 1818).

We have been led to understand, from those whose local experience enable them to speak with confidence on the subject, that during the festival of Doorgah, in which there is a general suspension of business, and all is given up to devotion or pleasure, some Reports, either of the obscene rites of worship among the natives, or of the more guarded exhibitions of Nautches before their European visitors, are expected from those who profess to contribute to the information or the entertainment of the public.

We would not willingly be found wanting in either of these duties ; but we confess with candour, that our moral feelings are so shocked by the one, and our taste so offended by the other, that considering our animadversions as in no way likely to assist even remotely in a reformation of what we consider execrable in both, we would rather draw a vail over them till they can be spoken of in a way more consonant to our wishes and our hopes. Still, however, to show that we are not insensible to the expectations and desires of those who honor our columns with a perusal, we shall not omit the occasion of offering to them something appropriate.

An American Review has been lately put into our hands, in which we have seen with much pleasure that the able exposition of the idolatrous worship of the Hindoos, by the learned and philosophic Ram Mohun Roy, has reached even to that remote quarter of the globe, and that its merits and its probable consequences have been duly appreciated. The gratification of public curiosity would be of itself a sufficient motive with us to republish this document; but at the same time that we conceive an American critique on an Indian publication may be esteemed as a literary novelty, we hope that it may also be conducive to nobler ends ; and our personal knowledge of the virtuous and unsophisticated individual who has thus advocated the cause of truth, amidst obstacles from which any ordinary mind would have shrunk appalled, affords us an inexpressible pleasure in thus contributing our mite to his celebrity.

THEOLOGY OF THE HINDOOS.

A considerable excitement has lately been produced in India by the attempts of a very wealthy and learned native, named Ram Mohun Roy, to restore the pure doctrines of the Vedas. He has translated several chapters of these sacred books into the Bengalee language, and circulated them among his countrymen. The parts which he has translated, are those which treat of a Supreme Being, his character, and the worship he claims. These had been entirely overlooked by the

* *Ibid.*, December, 1817.

Bramins. He seems to have just views of the absurd and wicked practices of his countrymen in their religious ceremonies, and a strong desire to wipe out so gross a stain in the human character. Already he is said to have many followers. Numbers, who knew nothing of the Vedas, except from the interpretations of their priests, are made acquainted with its true and most important doctrines. They have formed themselves into societies, for the purpose of mutual improvement. Their influence is spreading, and strong hopes may justly be entertained of great and beneficial results.

We have before us three pamphlets, published during the last eighteen months in Calcutta, by Ram Mohun Roy. The two first are translations from the Vedas, with prefatory and introductory remarks. They were originally printed in Bengalee, but afterwards translated into English by the author. We purpose to give such extracts from the pamphlets as may serve to make our readers somewhat acquainted with the present religious notions of the Hindoos, the pure doctrines of their sacred books, and the views and motives of the learned native whom we have mentioned.

(Pp. 2—5 of the Introduction to Translation of the Ishopanishad quoted).

The author's great object seems to be, to do away the worship of idols, and introduce in its stead that of one Supreme Being. He begins, therefore, by making numerous quotations from the sacred books, showing, that the writers not only taught the existence and attributes of such a Being, but the proper mode of worshipping him. 'God is without figure, epithet, definition, or description—he, who is the eternal Being, is God'. 'The vulgar look for their gods in water; men of more extended knowledge, in celestial bodies; the ignorant, in wood, bricks, and stones; but learned men, in the universal soul'. 'The Supreme Spirit is one and unchangeable, He overspreads all creatures; is merely spirit, without the form either of any minute body, or of an extended one, which is liable to impression or organization. He is pure, perfect, omniscient, the ruler of the intellect, omnipresent, and self-existent. He has from eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes'. Many other passages, similar to these might be selected, but these are sufficient to shew that the notions of the Supreme Being, as expressed in the Vedas, are just, and calculated to lead the mind to true conceptions of his character and perfections.

But notwithstanding the repeated mention in these books of one over-ruling Power, invisible and incomprehensible, Ram Mohun Roy acknowledges, 'they indeed declare the divinity of many gods and goddesses, and the modes of their worship'. But still, he says, there is no contradiction. The authors of the books themselves affirm repeatedly, 'that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those, who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations, and that those, who are competent for the worship of the invisible God, should disregard the worship of idols'. He urges this point a good deal. In another place, after stating the doctrines of the Vedas relative to the unity of

the Supreme Being, and also of a plurality of gods and goddesses, he goes on to say, 'that the worship of the sun and fire, together with the whole allegorical system, was only inculcated for the sake of those, whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the invisible Supreme Being.' This is the only mode of interpretation, he thinks, by which the different parts of the Veds can be reconciled ; and if they will not admit of this explanation, he fears 'the whole work will not only be stripped of its authority, but looked upon as altogether unintelligible.' (Translation of the Cena Upanished, p. 5).

'Many learned Bramins', he adds, 'are perfectly aware of . . . . . and superstition.' (P. 9).

The author complains loudly of the bad effects that have resulted from the interpretations which Europeans have sometimes given of the idolatry of the Hindoos ; and which, although plausible, have no foundation. They have supposed that the idols used by the natives in their worship are not considered by them as actual gods, or as real personifications of the divine attributes, 'but merely as instruments and means for raising their minds to the contemplation of those attributes, which are respectively represented by different figures'. This opinion Ram Mohun Roy declares to be entirely erroneous, and he regrets that it should ever have been suggested, as the natives have since made great use of it in defending their absurd practices. It had never occurred to them, and it affords a stronger argument in their favour than any they have been able to advance. On this subject he makes the following remarks. In addition to the argument in question, they give a very animated picture of the present state of religious belief and worship among the natives of Hindoostan.

(Pp. 11-16 quoted).

The following arguments, he tells us, are the principal ones alledged by the natives in support of idolatry ; namely, 'those who believe God to be omnipresent, as declared by the doctrines of the Vedant, are required by the tenets of such belief, to look upon all existing creatures as God, and to show divine respect to birds, beasts, men, women, vegetables, and other existences,—and as practical conformity to such doctrines is almost impossible, the worship of figured gods should be admitted'. Another argument is, 'no man can have, as it is said, by the Sastra, a desire of knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, unless his mind be purified; and as idol worship purifies men's minds, it should therefore be attended to'. And lastly, 'idol worship has been practised so many centuries, that custom renders it necessary to continue it'. These arguments the author confutes at large, and as it may be supposed, without much difficulty. He brings forward constantly in support of his positions the authority of the sacred books themselves.

We have thus far considered the prefaces and introductory remarks only of two pamphlets, which, however, comprise much the greater part of each. What remains are translations from such parts of the Vedas, as treat of the existence, unity, and attributes of the Supreme Being. These pamphlets are entitled, Translation of the Ishopanishad, one of the chapters of the Yajur

Veda—and Translation of the Cena Upanishad, one of the chapters of the Sama Veda.

The third pamphlet, which remains to be noticed, is entitled, A defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry at Madras, by Ram Mohun Roy, printed at Calcutta in 1817. The works, which we have above mentioned, with some others of the same author, called forth an answer, it seems, from some person in Madras, whether a native or European it is uncertain, though there are some reasons to think the latter. What motive a christian could have, however, for writing in defence of idolatry cannot be so easily determined. But whoever may have written it, Ram Mohun Roy has returned a very spirited and a very satisfactory answer. In this he exposes anew the pitiable delusions of his countrymen, the indecency and wickedness of their religious ceremonies, and the wretched effects which they produce on their morals and happiness.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, because it is novel, at least in this country, and because it is likely hereafter to attract much attention. Ram Mohun Roy is not a Christian, it is true, but the doctrine he inculcates differs very little from the christian doctrine respecting the nature and attributes of the Deity. It is the same in its spirit and objects. If he can introduce it among his countrymen, it will be a great step taken towards advancing the cause of christianity in the East. It will be taking down one of the strongest barriers which the christian missionaries have to surmount. New facilities will be offered for prosecuting their benevolent and indefatigable labours ; and by the use of these means, and the aid of Divine Providence, we have more reason, than we ever had, to hope for a permanent and happy change in the moral condition of a large and populous section of the globe.*

9. Notice of a letter from Rev. Deocar Schmid to Rammohun Roy. (1819).

From the statements which Mr. Deocar Schmid had read in the missionary register and in the Madras Courier respecting Ram Mohun Roy, he became very desirous of entering into a correspondence with that extraordinary man. He addressed, therefore, a letter to him, in April of last year, in which he urged on him, at large, and unquestionably with much vigour, the duty and advantages of embracing Christianity. At the date of the last advices, no answer had been received.†

10. Another notice of Rammohun's book "Munduck Opunishad". (1819).

We understand that Ram Mohun Roy, who has acquired a well founded reputation from his meritorious attempts to enlighten the minds of his bewildered

* *Calcutta Journal*, October, 1818.
† *Missionary Register*, quoted by *Asiatic Journal*, 1819.

countrymen, has lately published a translation of the *Munduck Opunishud* of the *Uthervee-Yed* according to the gloss of Sunkara-charjie ; the object of which is to convince those whose minds may be open to conviction, that this, as well as the other books of the Vedanta, although they in some degree tolerate the introduction of idol images as an assistance to those who without material forms would be unable to raise their conceptions to the idea of impalpable spirit, yet that their main scope and tendency is evidently to inculcate the adoration of one great and invisible God of nature.*—B. C. April, 17.

11. An account of the meeting of the followers of Rammohun Roy. (May 18, 1819).

We learn with great satisfaction that the meritorious exertions of Ram Mohun Roy, have already produced a most powerful effect on the Hindoos in Calcutta and its vicinity. An intelligent Correspondent has assured us, that an assembly of the followers of the Vedantic doctrines, took place on Sunday the 9th instant, at the house of Kishun Mohun and Brij Mohun, sons of the late Radha Churn Majumdar, well known to many of our Calcutta readers as a respectable native gentleman. The meeting was attended by some of the members of many of the families, most eminent for wealth or learning amongst the Hindoo inhabitants—but we regret that we are not enabled to mention their names, as a public notice of them, would show the friends of Rammohun Roy their own strength, and encourage the timid to avow their real opinions.—There is no question that the leaven of religious reformation is now strongly fermenting, and that liberality of sentiment on general subjects, is making most rapid progress amongst the natives of all classes.

At the meeting in question, it is said, the absurdity of the prevailing rules respecting the intercourse of the several casts with each other, and of the restrictions on diet, &c. was freely discussed, and generally admitted—the necessity of an infant widow passing her life in a state of celibacy—the practice of polygamy and of suffering widows to burn with the corpse of their husbands, were condemned,—as well as all the superstitious ceremonies in use amongst idolaters. Select passages from the Oppunishuds of the Veds, in support of the pure Theistical system of worship were read and explained ; and Hymns or songs were sung, expressive of the faith of the audience in the doctrines there taught.†

12. The Divine Authority of the Bible and Vedas, briefly discussed in a Letter from the Rev. Deocar Schmid to Ram Mohun Roy, on his translation of the Kena Upanishad. (August, 1819).

The occasion of this judicious letter is given us in Mr. Schmid's own words, in the following statement:—"Delighted by those sentiments which I found

* *Asiatic Journal*, 1819.
† *India Gazette*, quoted by *Asiatic Journal*, May 18, 1819.

expressed by Rama-mohuna-raya in his Preface to an Abridgment of the Vedanta, in his Introduction to a translation of the Kena Upanishud, and in his reply to the late Senkara Sastri in Madras, I resolved, as at that time I could not have the pleasure of conversing with him personally, to write to him the letter which is hereby communicated to the Public. However my opinion respecting the religious principles of Rama-mohuna-raya may have been corrected in consequence of the personal intercourse which I have had with this gentleman since my arrival in Calcutta, I entertain still the same sentiments with regard to the Pantheistical nature of the system of the Vedas, which I have expressed in this letter ; and the arguments against the pretensions of the Vedas and in favour of the Bible, which are brought forward therein, appear to me at the present time as weighty and convincing, as when they were first written. I publish, therefore, the present pamphlet in the hope, that it may excite and increase a spirit of religious inquiry among those natives who possess a sufficient acquaintance with the English language ; and that it may, by the blessing of God, induce some of my readers, heartily to receive, as the rule of their faith and practice, the Christian Scriptures, which, as they are the only authentic records of all divine revelations, are, consequently, alone able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

In this letter Mr. Schmid, after expressing the pleasure he had felt in witnessing the noble and courageous stand made by Rama-mohuna-raya, against the degrading superstition and idolatry into which the Hindoos have fallen, and his hope that "relying on the goodness of Almighty power which alone enables us to obtain that which we earnestly and diligently seek for", he would be enabled to proceed farther in search of the truth, introduces his subject with a fact well worthy the consideration of Rama-mohuna-raya and his friends, and which though familiar to those acquainted with Divine Revelation and the present state of religion in the world, must to them be almost wholly new. It is, that not only has the true Religion, founded on Divine Revelation, become corrupted and adulterated through the depravity of human nature ; but that "even False Religions, established by Deceivers or Fanatics, have, in the course of time, lost a great deal of that appearance of wisdom and godliness which they originally possessed, and have become more injurious and destructive to the temporal and eternal happiness of their votaries, than they were at the beginning." This is a fact which is illustrated by numerous instances, beside those which Mr. Schmid so justly adduces of the Parsees, or the worshippers of fire, and the opinions and practices of the present Mahomedans, who indeed, by their worship of deceased persons to whom they ascribe a great degree of sanctity, have transformed the Mahomedanism of Bengal into nearly as complete a system of idolatry as Hindooism itself, although Mahomed grounded his highest pretensions as a prophet, on his absolute rejection of idolatry. Probably in its beginning, the Pouranic system now prevailing in Bengal, was not precisely that obscene and abominable system of idolatry which now prevails: it has certainly been farther corrupted within these last sixty or seventy years, by what may be termed the Tantrika system, or that taught by the various *Tuntras ;* a system which is said to be daily gaining ground in Bengal, particularly around the metropolis, and which even by the regular Hindoos themselves, is, from its

excessive obscenity and licentiousness of morals, regarded with abhorrence, and termed, the "Left-hand path".—*Boudhism*, which possibly originated in an abhorrence of cast, and of the pride and luxury of the brahmuns, pampered as it was by the numerous bloody sacrifices offered to Shiva, Vishnoo, Krishna, Doorga, and the other deities of the Pouranic system, and which consequently exploded both the doctrine of sacrifices, and the existence of these Pouranic deities, is now become in Ceylon, in Tibet, in Ava, Siam, and Tonquin, and throughout China and Japan, either wholly a system of idolatry of which Boodh, under the names of Goutuma or Gaudma, and Foe, is the principal, and his most famous followers down to the present time, the inferior objects ; or else it is transformed, as among the more learned in these various countries, into a system of complete Atheism. The doctrine of *Confucius* and his immediate followers, which, while it inculcated an idolatrous reverence for deceased ancestors, and for the "high places", the mountains, and the rivers, still spoke in the highest terms of Heaven, as ruling all things by its will, as rewarding the good and punishing the evil, is now become little better than a system of Atheism, which in reality acknowledges no Supreme, beside reason or the fitness of things, and leaves the mind as much bewildered, as the idolatry of the Boudhists, or even that of the Hindoos. Thus every religion in Eastern Asia, is become so thoroughly corrupt and licentious, as to disgust the minds even of its own votaries, the moment reason is suffered in any degree to perform its office.

But what shall we say to the fact that the True Religion itself has been corrupted, as by the Romish, the Greek, the Armenian, and other Churches? *That this fact proves it to be wholly of God, and that it is constantly deteriorated in proportion as it is mixed with the inventions of men.* It will be evident from hence, that it can never be purified, and preserved in a state of purity, but by a perpetual recurrence to the sacred Fountains from which it is derived, and that this recurrence can never be secured, but by the free circulation of the Sacred Scriptures among all ranks of men ; for personal religion is the concern of all. Hence it is easy to account for the opposition at any time made to the free and general circulation of the Divine Writings, while the degree of this opposition, often marks the degree of corruption existing in any church or ecclesiastical body. Did their doctrine and discipline perfectly accord with the Sacred Scriptures, no church could have any thing to fear ; and did any ecclesiastical body sincerely desire that what is contrary thereto, may be rectified or removed, they would gladly assist in the research and examination.

But perhaps some may say, "the free circulation of the Scriptures tends to promote Sects". Of this there can be no doubt ; but is this a thing to be lamented? Is it not the natural operation of truth on the mind? If without a perpetual recurrence to the Sacred Fountains, religion be continually liable to deterioration, this recurrence will of course *begin* with individuals, however widely it may at last extend. No discernment of error in science and philosophy has ever begun with the *many*, and descended to the *few*. Individuals, applying to a subject with peculiar diligence, of course first discover its aberration from reason, just analogy, or the original rule, and mention their ideas to others. Should the truth of these ideas be universally perceived, they become those of the *many*, as is now the

case with the Newtonian system of philosophy, which in poor Galileo was so pestilent a heresy as to be rewarded with a dungeon. But if idleness, pride, prejudice, and above all, interest, should stop the progress of these ideas, they remain with the few, who of course form only a *section* of the vast circle of mankind, not greatly distinguished from the rest as long as their ideas are not made the subject of opposition. But should these few, by imprisonment, or fine, or exclusion, or by some stigma affixed, on account of their ideas, be *cut off* in any degree from the rest of their neighbours, they of course become a *Sect,* although the ideas for which they are thus stigmatized, are no less just and accurate, than as though they had been received by the many. The great secret then of preventing *Religious Sects,* lies, not in withholding the Scriptures, but in circulating them with the utmost freedom, and in standing ready to rectify the doctrine, discipline, and government of any church, by what shall evidently appear to be the plain sense and meaning of the Sacred Scriptures. If this be first discerned by a few, as has been the case with scientific truths in every age, the way to prevent these few becoming a sect, is, neither to fix any kind of stigma on them for their peculiar ideas, nor to cut them off in the least from the great mass of mankind ; but carefully and dispassionately to weigh their ideas by the standard of the Sacred Writings. By this course, if the ideas of any sect have no foundation in scripture, they will gradually evaporate: and if they be just, they will become the ideas of the many in proportion as they are examined with diligence and candor. Thus will religious sects gradually disappear, and all will make the Sacred Scriptures the only rule by which they worship God in spirit and in truth.

But although Mr. Schmid has modestly introduced his discussion relative to the Vedas by calling Ram-mohuna's attention to this fact, this was by no means necessary. The Vedas were never really better than they appear at present ; and Mr. Schmid's ideas of them, as far as they extend, are perfectly just, notwithstanding his ingenuous acknowledgement relative to his slight acquaintance with the subject. The system does not teach the existence of one Supreme Being *distinct from the world,* but a kind of Pantheism, which while it professes to make God the only being which *really exists,* divests him of all his moral attributes, robs him of his infinitely glorious character, and in reality reduces him to an empty shadow. A very slight view of the subject will be sufficient to confirm this.

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Such then is the system of the *Vedas* so celebrated in India. That this system should have given way to the Pouranic system, and that legislators and magistrates should have wished to substitute the tales of *Yuma,* the king of Death, and of the Hindoo Hell, for a system so completely subversive of all morality, will excite no surprize. Melancholy indeed must be the moral state of India, and the whole of Eastern Asia, (on which however is suspended all the happiness of its inhabitants), when this system is the only relief from the most obscene and senseless idolatry. That the authority of the Holy Scriptures and of this system cannot stand together, will be evident by merely comparing therewith the first verse of the Sacred Volume, "In the beiginning God created *the heavens and the earth.*"

The author of this sensible and well-written letter, has brought within a very narrow compass, a highly valuable portion of argument respecting the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures ; and has concluded the whole by a most important observation, that it is not a historical faith in the Scriptures, which will render them the means of salvation ; to produce this effect we must be as firmly persuaded of the truth of its doctrines as we are of our very being ; we must *approve* as well as believe them, before they will affect our minds. In other words we must "receive the truth in the love of it," before it will ever change our hearts. The careful perusal of this letter we would earnestly recommend to Ram-mohuna-raya, whom we highly esteem for his courageous opposition to error and corruption of manners, as far as it has extended, and should rejoice to see him make the word of God, "the man of his counsel."*

13. An account of a new form of oath-taking by a follower of Rammohun Roy. (July, 1820).

During the present sitting of the Supreme Court, a native, in giving evidence on a case therein pending, refused to take the oath in the usual manner, viz. on the waters of the Gunga. He declared himself to be one of the followers of Ram Mohun Roy, and in consequence not a believer in the imagined sanctity of the river. He offered to be sworn by the Vedas, as a believer in these writings analogous to the European method as it respects the Christian scriptures. We understand that his simple affirmation was taken, as practised in England by the society of Quakers.†

14. An appreciation of the reforming movements of Rammohun Roy. (September, 1820).

The lapse of time has done much toward weakening the spirit of eastern superstition ; and the press will do more. Already has it begun to feel the power of this wonderful engine, and even in the very infancy of its establishment, has the press shaken the firm faith of many a zealous idolater. The attacks of Ram Mohun Roy on the polytheism of India, and the system of burning widows, have produced rejoinders and explanations, every multiplication of which tends only to exhibit the weakness of the system ; and many who heretofore reposed the firmest belief in the dogmas of that faith which their ancestors have credited for ages, have now begun to waver. The meritorious exertions of this enlightened Native, are, we trust, only the commencement of an uninterrupted series of discussions which will issue in the final establishment of truth, and the confusion of error. He has done much ; —he has led the way in bringing to the crucible of public investigation, doctrines which have received the implicit credence of his countrymen from the remotest antiquity. Thus aided

* *Friend of India* (Monthly Series), August, 1819.
† *Asiatic Journal*, July, 1820.

by a division among its internal and natural defenders, the attacks on the citadel from without afford a speedier prospect of capitulation.* . . . .

15. Extracts from Rev. Marshman's observations on certain ideas contained in the Introduction to Rammohun's "Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Happiness and Peace." (September, 1820).

A few months ago when it was announced that a compilation from the four Gospels by a native of India, (it was supposed Ram-mohun Roy), was in the press, designed for the use of his countrymen, much interest was excited in all who had witnessed his laudable endeavours to expose the folly of that system of idolatry universally prevalent among his countrymen. The idea of a well informed Hindoo's bearing witness to the authenticity and excellence of the Divine Writings, and recommending them to the perusal of his countrymen as being able to make them wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus, delighted all who felt an interest in the happiness of their Indian fellow-subjects, and regarded their reception of the Sacred Oracles in all their divine authority, as the grand means by which this could be secured.

In proportion however as the friends of religion were delighted with the idea of a Selection from the Sacred Scriptures by a Hindoo, which should impart to the minds of his countrymen his own ideas of their excellence, was their disappointment and regret, when they found that this Compilation entitled "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Happiness and Peace," instead of exhibiting those precepts as a sample of the whole Scriptures, and representing them as affording indubitable proof of the authenticity of its narratives and the reasonableness and importance of its doctrines, were in reality separated from that gospel of which they form so important a part, and held up as forming of themselves the way of life ; an idea which perverts the grand design of the gospel, and frustrates the grace of God in the salvation of men, the apostolic axiom applying with as great force now as ever, "If righteousness come by the law, Christ is dead in vain."

But great as was this disappointment, it was heightened by their perceiving that the Introduction to this Compendium, instead of treating with reverence the other parts of the Sacred Oracles, unhappily tended rather to impugn them, the reader being told that "historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of free-thinkers and anti-christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at best to carry little weight with them." These hints respecting the rest of the Sacred Writings, particularly when taken in connexion with the note added at the foot of the page as a specimen of these fabricated tales more wonderful than the miracles of Christ, "that Ugusti is famed for having swallowed the ocean when it had given him offence, and for having restored it by urinary evacuation, and that at his command also the Vindya range of mountains prostrated itself and so remains ;" appeared likely to convey ideas of them so

* *Friend of India* (Quarterly Series), September, 1820.

contrary to that deep and just reverence with which both the doctrines and the miracles they contain must be regarded if they became the means of salvation, that those who duly venerate the Sacred Oracles, could not but feel grieved that they should be thus held out to those, who, despising idolatry for its grossness and folly, might probably be enquiring for something on which they might build their hopes of future happiness.

It may be proper to observe, that we do not in the least censure any one's forming a Compilation from the Sacred Scriptures, whether it be of its preceptive, prophetic, or doctrinal parts. We not only think that Ram-mohun Roy had as fair a right to fix on the preceptive part, as any one else has to select its doctrines, but that such a compilation might have been highly useful. But it is of importance that every compilation be given as a *sample* of the Sacred Writings in all their excellence and importance, and not as a substitute for the whole ; in such a way as to create a deep reverence for every part of the Scriptures, and not so as to depreciate the rest of the word of God. For a Compilation therefore to be represented as containing what is peculiarly excellent in the Divine Writings, and other parts to be described as comparatively of little value, we think highly injurious to them and to the best interests of men. It is on this ground that we regret the manner in which the Compilation is introduced to the natives of India: for what the Introductory Preface strongly intimates, the "Defence" of the work since published actually affirms, that "it is too true to be denied, that the Compiler of these moral precepts separated them from some of the dogmas and other matters, chiefly under the supposition that they *alone* were a sufficient guide to secure peace and happiness to mankind at large." These moral Precepts were then presented to the Natives of India as being of themselves sufficient to secure happiness and peace to mankind, while the great Doctrines of salvation were omitted as comparatively unimportant,—and even the Miracles of Christ to which he himself refers the Jews as calculated to constrain belief, should they even refuse his teaching, were omitted as apt at best to carry little weight with them, being much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia. How different his idea of these miraculous works must be from that of Jesus himself, will appear in the sequel.

We cannot but consider it as a duty we owe to the cause of truth—to our Hindoo fellow-subjects,—and even to the Compiler himself, to enquire whether his thus treating the doctrines of Christianity arose from want of proof in the Sacred Writings respecting them,—or from his want of diligence in weighing and examining those proofs of their Divine origin which must have fallen in his way while making this Compilation, and which are decidedly implied in many of the precepts inserted therein. In doing this, were we to have recourse to the authority of Christ's Apostles whom he commissioned to promulgate his doctrines after his ascension, we might demonstrate their truth and importance by an overwhelming cloud of witnesses. But uncertain as we are whether the Compiler reposes equal confidence in the doctrines of the Apostles as in those taught by Christ himself, we shall confine ourselves to those furnished by the Authors of the Gospels alone.

In making this enquiry we are assisted by two data furnished by the very title of this Compilation. The precepts of Jesus are termed "the way to happiness

and peace." To deserve this name however, not only must they have been delivered by one whose veracity is indubitable, but by one most thoroughly acquainted with the connection subsisting between the creature and the Creator, and with the nature and state of mankind. Without the former they could be of no value ; without the latter they would be totally inapplicable to the state of men, and could no more ensure happiness to mankind, than the laws of Draco secured happiness and peace to Athens. Whatever Jesus has said therefore, deserves full acceptance for its truth, and the knowledge it displays both of God and of man. Further, to render the Precepts of Jesus a sure guide to happiness and peace, we require the most perfect veracity and accuracy in the Narrators of these sayings and precepts. As Jesus wrote nothing himself, our having a single saying of his delivered as really spoken, depends on the veracity of the relators, and the accuracy of their information. The truth, benevolence, and wisdom of Jesus, and the faithfulness and accuracy of the Four Evangelists then being so fully conceded in the very title given to this Compendium, we confess ourselves quite at a loss to account for the Compiler's not being convinced even by their testimony alone, of the truth and importance of those *doctrines* which must have met him so often while forming this compilation.

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When these doctrines then so thoroughly pervade the teaching of Jesus, why were they omitted and his "moral precepts" *alone* given as the way to happiness and peace? How could these doctrines be deemed unimportant of which Jesus himself testifies that "they are spirit and they are life? To lay before men mere moral precepts as the way to happiness and peace,—and at the same time to remove from their view those doctrines which are the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, what is it but to consign them over to eternal death? That the most excellent precepts, the most perfect law, can never lead to happiness and peace, unless by causing men to take refuge in the doctrine of the cross, it requires little reflection to discover. A law, to deserve the name, requires *perfect* obedience on pain of its penalty being inflicted. How mistaken the idea that a law observed *occasionally*, or *partially*, can never speak peace! What is *partial* obedience to the statutes forbidding robbery, murder, or treason? Can obedience for numerous years to these be regarded, if a man violate them but once! Is his murdering *daily*, necessary to constitute him a transgressor? Must a man have plotted treason against his sovereign every day of his life, to render him a traitor? Should he have obeyed the law fully for thirty, forty, or fifty years, will not the first breach of it render him guilty? If he obtain mercy and escape punishment, it must be because the law in his case is set aside: the law knows nothing of mercy. But what man has ever perfectly obeyed for a year, or a month, or a single day, the law commanding supreme love to God and disinterested love to his neighbour? To set the most excellent precepts, as the way to happiness and peace, before men who have *already violated* them, what is it better than mocking malefactors condemned to death, by telling them, that they need fear nothing if they have never violated the law? Separated from his doctrines, the precepts of Jesus can no more give peace than the law as given by Moses. To those who have already violated the

Divine precepts even in thought, (and this includes every man on earth), must not every glimpse of happiness and peace arise from the *doctrines* Jesus taught together with his precepts? Yet the Compiler of this Selection unhappily omits them, because they have been a source of dispute to unbelievers and anti-christians.

It is however scarcely just to charge on the "dogmas," or doctrines of Christianity those wars and that bloodshed which have occurred between nations merely termed Christian. War and bloodshed existed before the promulgation of Christianity in the world. Neither Christianity therefore, nor its "dogmas," created the *causes* of war and bloodshed. They existed in the human mind long before its doctrines were published ; and it requires but a very slight acquaintance with history to convince any one that the quarrels and feuds between the Arians and the Orthodox in the fourth and fifth centuries, were little more than that struggle *for power and wealth* which the cupidity and ambition of the human mind have exhibited in every age of the world, and that the "dogmas" which were made the pretext, merely furnished the *occasion*. Between the Papists and Protestants there was never any dispute respecting the Deity of Christ or of the Holy Spirit ; and the oceans of blood which were spilt by the former, has far less to do with the truth of any doctrine, than with the preservation of that secular power and wealth possessed by one party, and denounced by the other as contrary both to scripture and reason. The same may be justly said respecting the fiercest disputes between Protestants themselves. Among them indeed there has been little bloodshed on account of "dogmas" or doctrines of any kind ; in general the disputes among them have ostensibly related to church government and rites and ceremonies ; but the real object has been, the preservation of that power and wealth connected with ceremonies or forms of church government already established. All the war and bloodshed therefore, and the greater part of the disputes for which the "dogmas" of Christianity have been made answerable, ought to be placed to the credit of that ambition and cupidity, which Christianity *found* in the human heart, but never *created* there. Let the "dogmas" of Christianity be separated wholly from wealth and power either as the reward of supporting or of opposing them, and in future we shall witness little of bloodshed respecting them,—and possibly little of fierce dispute. Even then however, if the doctrines of Christianity are of God, they will certainly be opposed by all who think that their opinion of themselves and of human nature is far nearer the truth, than that which God has expressed by these doctrines ; and to expect that men should not cavil against them, is to expect that the carnal mind, while enmity against God, should manifest the most cordial submission to the doctrines taught in his Sacred Word.

Is it, however any dishonor to these doctrines that they have been the subject of dispute? Is it any wonder that men, in God's estimation transgressors, but in their own, righteous, should dispute against the truths which convict them? What prisoner ever yet welcomed the witnesses which proved him guilty? or hailed with joy the statute which condemned him to death? But is a doctrine to be suppressed because it has been made the subject of dispute? It can scarcely be unknown to the Compiler of this Selection, that *the very being of a God*, has been for numerous ages the subject of dispute among the most learned of his own country. But does he account this a sufficient reason for suppressing this doctrine? He knows that he

does not. Why then should he omit the *doctrines* of Christ and his Apostles, because men have made them the subject of dispute? That Jesus himself esteemed this no *dishonor* to them, is evident from his expressly forewarning his disciples that this would be the case. He even declares with reference to them that he came "not to send peace on the earth, but a sword"—that he came, "to send fire on the earth," and almost longed to see it kindled. Yet did he view this as dishonorable to the doctrines from which he expected these effects to spring? Why then did he not withdraw them? They were as yet scarcely published by himself, and not at all by his Apostles. But if He, whose precepts are the guide to happiness and peace, did not refuse to teach them ; surely we need not. If he, who so loved men as to lay down his life to render them blessed, thought it important to their happiness that these doctrines should be published throughout the world, we need not profess a greater regard for the peace of mankind, than he really felt.

While the testimony of Jesus himself to his Doctrines is so decisive, we cannot but wonder that his Miracles should not have found greater favor in the eyes of the Compiler of this Selection, when the amazing weight *which Jesus himself attaches to them,* could scarcely have escaped his notice. . . . . . .

But perhaps the Compiler imagined them apt to carry little weight with them among the Hindoos because *not done in their sight,* as they were in that of the Jews. Candor indeed requires this to be supposed ; for if it be not, how can we account for the awful difference of opinion between him and their great Author respecting them? A little reflection however will evince the futility of this idea. If the weight of miracles consists in their being *seen,* rather than *testified* by credible witnesses, reflect for a moment within what narrow limits their weight must be confined. The miracles of Jesus could carry no weight with them in the very next age. Of course none of these had *seen* his miracles, why should they allow them any weight?—Even in the same age, they could carry little weight with them in any other country. They could of course carry no weight with them at Rome,—in Greece—or indeed any where, except in Judea, for who in these countries had *seen* them done?—Further, as each work could only be done in *one place,* their weight would be confined to a very small number even among the Jews themselves! How few even of them had actually *seen* a miracle performed by Jesus. We know that Herod had not,—and probably many others of his enemies, who were still inexcusable in rejecting him.

If *credible testimony* however were not esteemed equivalent *to actual sight,* both as ground of belief and of action, the whole of the business of life would soon cease. We must give up at once all our knowledge of History: that Cyrus or Alexander, Scipio or Pompey, Mahomet, or Aurungzeeb, and a thousand others, ever existed, we know not, for we never *saw* them ; we have only the testimony of others to the fact, and this perhaps not very credible.—We must also relinquish our knowledge of other nations. How many of us in India have ever *seen* London, or Paris, or Madrid, or Constantinople, or Pekin! we merely believe these cities exist, on the testimony of others.—The public business even of the country in which we dwell, must also be suspended: how little can any one in authority *actually see* of what may now be passing in India or even in Bengal? And all mercantile transactions must cease at once, for who in Calcutta

has seen the present state of the market in Europe, in China, and elsewhere? As they have no other proof than the testimony of others, and possibly this uncertain, how can men be expected to risk their fortunes when they *have seen* nothing with their own eyes?—The Courts of Justice too must be at once closed, for what Judge has ever *seen* the roberries and murders committed which are brought before him? or even what Jury? These when they sentence a man to death, have nothing to rely on but the testimony of others whose honesty may not always be above suspicion. Yet on this evidence does a judge pronounce a sentence which involves the death of a fellow-creature, and feels that to forbear, though *he has seen nothing* of the matter himself, would be to betray his trust, and violate his duty to his sovereign and his country. Could he do more had he seen the whole transaction with his own eyes?

It is evident therefore that *credible testimony* has the same force in urging us to duties of the most important nature, as our having witnessed things ourselves. But if the testimony of the Evangelists be not credible, how can "the Precepts of Jesus" be "the guide to happiness and peace?" And if their testimony respecting the *sayings* of Jesus be so worthy of credit, how came their testimony respecting his *acts,* to be apt at best to carry so little weight with it? As they both rest on precisely the same authority, our ingenious friend must either admit the full weight of the *miraculous deeds* of Jesus, or no longer present his countrymen with his *sayings* or precepts, as the guide to happiness and peace.

If we combine all these facts, it will be evident that Jesus *must be* regarded as God equal with the Father, expiating the sins of men, and saving them by his mighty power—or the whole of the Gospels, no less than the rest of the Sacred Scriptures, must *be* rejected as a cunningly devised fable, involving a tissue of arrogance and deception unparalleled in the history of mankind. That one who had invited men to learn of him from his "being meek and lowly in heart" that they might "find rest to their souls"—taught men "that he who exalteth himself shall be abased", and that there is nothing hid which shall not be made known and come abroad"—solemnly affirmed that he sought not his own glory, and yet that he was "the truth" itself, and that heaven and earth should pass away, but not his word, should after this declare himself to be equal with the Father, to have come down from heaven to expiate the sins of men and save them from the love of sin, to govern the world, and to be about to judge all mankind after previously raising them from their graves—and *yet there be no truth in this declaration respecting himself* would form, (with deep reverence be it spoken,) a combination of arrogance, falsehood, and folly, unequalled in the annals of human imposture. And that all this should be found in One whose precepts are allowed by the most unbiassed to be worthy of being set before mankind as a sure guide to happiness and peace, involves a fact far more wonderful than any miraculous relation given in Scripture. We intreat the Author of this Selection to weigh these things with the utmost care, not only for the sake of his countrymen, but from a regard to his own immortal interests, so deeply affected by that declaration of Jesus, "no man cometh to the Father *but by* me"; and that solemn warning, "If ye believe not that I am *He,* ye shall die in your sins." In examining this subject we have carefully avoided every expression that could

give him a moment's pain ; and we beg to assure him, that while our grand object has been to place the truth clearly before him, if there be found a single word of that nature, we are unconscious of any such wish, and intreat him to pardon the unintentional offence.*

16. An account of arrangement made to meet the demand for Rammohun Roy's publications. (November, 1820).

Most of our readers are well acquainted with the praiseworthy exertions of Baboo Ram Mohun Roy for the improvement of his countrymen, and no doubt unite with us in ardent wishes for his success. We, in common with many others, considering the English version of his publications what would prove highly interesting to our friends in Europe, have frequently regretted that they were not procurable by purchase ; and we therefore feel great pleasure in announcing, that for the future any or all of them may be obtained at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road. The superintendent of this establishment, it appears, partaking in the feelings of regret we have expressed, has induced the Baboo to forward a few copies of all his works for this object ; they consist, as we are informed, of translations of the Vedant ; of three chapters of different Veds ; two defences of the Monotheistical system, which this gentleman conceives to be inculcated in the Veds ; two conferences between an advocate and an opponent of the practice of burning widows alive ; and a selection of the moral discourses of our Lord, entitled "The Sayings of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness". Altogether they form ten pamphlets, which will be disposed of at a low rate, and the entire proceeds to be applied to the funds of that useful institution, the Calcutta School Society.†

17. Another account of a meeting of the followers of Rammohun Roy. (1820).

The Monotheistical doctrine of religion, so readily reconciles itself to every mind capable of reflection, and the puerility of the contrary system is so apparent to those who have the courage and independence to think for themselves, that the number of Hindus who openly profess the Vedantic doctrines increases in a very rapid progression amongst that class, especially whom birth, education, and station in life, as well as intellectual endowments entitle to the term respectable. With the slavish system of idolatry, such a host of prejudices inimical to the best interests of society at once vanish, that the philanthropist cannot but partake of the pleasure with which we note the occurrences that indicate its approaching overthrow. Amongst these the most obvious, perhaps, is the frequency with which the professors of the purer doctrine meet together, with the view of promoting free discussion, as the readiest means of strengthening them-

* *Ibid.*

† *Madras Government Gazette* (April 6), quoted by *Asiatic Journal*, November, 1820.

selves in the maintenance of what they have come to consider as truth. We have heard of another of these meetings, held at Kidderpore, on Sunday, the 30th May, at the house of Motu Chundru, a near relation of the Rajah of Burdwan, and a divan in the Salt department. This gentleman having closely studied the Vedantik system, and investigated the arguments advanced against it, has warmly embraced its doctrines, and to manifest the sincerity of his opinions, invited a number of his friends to an Unitarian meeting, similar to those we have already had occasion to describe ; but, from the rank and character of the convoker, more numerously attended than usual, by Hindus of the first respectability and learning. The following translation may serve as a specimen both of the poetry composed for this occasion, and of the opinions professed by the audience.

See Time's destroying hand efface
Each form that vision's power can trace,
Think you then human sight extends,
To Him on whom e'en Time depends?
That soul if no one can pourtray,
Which animates our mortal clay,
Say how can human eye embrace,
The Mind that fills all Nature's space?*

18. A letter in defence of the Second Appeal of Rammohun Roy to the Christian Public in defence of his "Precepts of Jesus." (July 12, 1821).

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

Sir,

Ram Mohun Roy may be known by name to most of your Readers; and it is probable that many of them have heard he has forsaken the Idolatry and all the Superstitions of the Hindoos: but excepting those who are personally acquainted with him, few are likely to be duly informed of his acquirements, his conduct, and his present religious belief. *The Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the* "Precepts of Jesus", a Work lately published by him, will make us acquainted with his religious belief, will enable us to form some idea of his acquirements, and cannot fail of producing in every *Christian*, great regard for the Author, and a strong interest concerning so illustrious an Individual: and the more we learn of his conduct the more will he be raised in our estimation.

The worthy motives by which Ram Mohun Roy is actuated, have caused him to print the Work in question, and several previous Works, at his own expense, to distribute them among his acquaintance and such other persons as are likely to take an interest in the important subjects on which he has written. His last publication, that above-mentioned, is too large to be reprinted in a Newspaper ; but its contents are so important, and do the Author so much credit, that I hope some competent person will prepare a compendium thereof, and have the same published in the *Calcutta Journal*. In the mean time, you will oblige me by printing the

* *India Gazette*, quoted by *Asiatic Journal*, February, 1820.

two portions which accompany this letter: the first portion commences in page 159, and ends in page 164, the other commences in page 172, and extends to the end of the Work. If such persons, as on reading these Extracts feel a sufficient interest to desire to peruse the Work with attention, apply to the Author for copies, it is probable he will readily comply with their request, as far as the number of copies printed will admit.

Here we observe an Individual, born and bred in a Country benighted under the most gross Idolatry and Superstition, who, by a just use of that understanding which our gracious Creator has given to mankind to guide them to all truths, having discovered the falsehood of that System of Idolatry and the absurdity of those Superstitions, conscientiously abandoned both, and thereby subjected himself to inconveniences and dangers of which persons living in more enlightened societies can hardly form an idea. Next, he directed his attention to the Christian Religion; and that same just and honest use of his understanding, which discovered the falsehood and absurdity of Idolatry and Superstition, satisfied him that *Jesus* was the Messiah, that he was employed by God to reveal his will to men, and to make known to them the only true Religion. He observed the internal and Historical evidence of Christianity to be such as demonstrated its truth. Blessed with the light of Christianity, the dedicates his time and his money not only to release his countrymen from the state of degradation in which they exist, but also to diffuse among the European Masters of his country, the sole true Religion—as it was promulgated by Christ, his Apostles, and his Disciples.*

Calcutta, July 12, 1821.

A FIRM BELIEVER IN CHRIST.

19. Another letter on the same. (August 2, 1821).

To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

Sir,

I cannot imagine with what view the Letter in your Paper of this date, on the subject of Ram Mohun Roy, has been written, unless it be intended as a *puff collusive* to his Pamphlet lately printed. This was not necessary. It is not indeed on a subject or of a nature to make a noise, in the present times especially, when so many distinguished persons are taken up with the hope of crushing the JOURNALIST, or with joy at the belief of having accomplished this end, and therefore have no leisure to study Theological questions.

Ram Mohun Roy is a very remarkable person; he has been led by reading and thinking to quit Hindooism in his search after Truth, and to embrace Christianity according to the Unitarian Scheme. His opinions appear to be, in some respects also, nearly what are called *Arian*, he regards Christ as a Divine person, existing before the world, invested by the Father with power greater than the Angels, but still as inferior to God the Father Almighty. He is such a

* *Calcutta Journal*, August 1, 1821.

Christian as Dr. Priestly, and the late Duke of Grafton, and the English Unitarians of the present age.

Believing myself that he has stopped short of the truth on some important doctrines of our Religion, and that in particular he is entirely mistaken in his views regarding the Atonement, I hope that he will persevere with an earnest and humble mind in his enquiries, and that he will be led hereafter to think more entirely with us, than he does at present.

Many able and excellent passages might have been quoted from his Pamphlet, but your Correspondent has quoted only two, which contain his arguments against the Orthodox doctrine of a Trinity. They are nearly the same as have been urged and replied to again and again, and may be briefly put thus ; the Unitarian argues that he cannot understand the doctrine of a Trinity: but the Churchman replies "Neither do I, but yet the different parts of that doctrine seem to me to be plainly found in Scripture. The whole subject is above Human Reason, and I know that there are cases even in these Sciences which are most susceptible of strict investigation, where conclusions apparently opposite and utterly inconsistent with each other are yet separately demonstrated to be true."[1]

This is not a subject, however, to be disposed of in a few paragraphs, or to be discussed with any advantage in the columns of a Newspaper.

I make no doubt the respectable Author of the article in the *Friend of India,* which has drawn forth this Pamphlet, will take notice of this Reply to his Strictures. A short and clear article on the subject, with references for fuller information to the best writers on the Divinity of our Saviour, and on the Atonement, might be of service to many enquiring and serious persons.

I have to request your excuse for the space I have occupied, but I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation at the candour and excellent temper shewn by Ram Mohun Roy.

Calcutta, August 1, 1821. A CHRISTIAN.

Note of the Editor.

We agree entirely with our Correspondent in the high praise due to Ram Mohun Roy for his temper and moderation, and we esteem highly his zeal and intelligence; but having now exercised our impartiality by suffering these different views of his labours taken by our Correspondents to appear in our columns, more for the information of our distant Readers than from entering at all into the merits of the question, we trust that we shall be spared further notice of the subject, not only because we have always considered Theological Discussion unsuited to the columns of a Public Journal, but also because the Pamphlets spoken of are accessible to all who feel a desire to peruse them for themselves.*

[1]Every Mathematician knows that it is proved by demonstration that the asymptotes of a hyperbole constantly approach nearer to that curve the more they are prolonged—and yet that if they were to be prolonged to infinity they would never meet. R.M.R.

* *Ibid.,* August 2, 1821.

20. A rejected letter of a native on the same. (August 15, 1821).

The mild and temperate spirit that pervades every line of this intelligent Native's Rejected Letter, as compared with the intolerant anger and fury of the Layman's denunciation, to which it is a Reply, and which was so readily Accepted by the Hurkaru that it was published in breathless haste in one of its Evening or Extra Sheets, will convince our Readers of the utter worthlessness of all the empty professions of the Editor of that miserable Paper; and shew them that he is incapable of the exercise of that impartial justice, which the interests of Religion, and the amelioration and improvement of the Natives of India demand. He can find space for the lowest and most contemptible writings from day to day, directed against "The Journal,"—(seemingly now the only subject on which either himself or his Correspondents can bestow a thought; for we have seen neither Letters nor Editorial remarks that have not had "The Journal" for their theme, for we know not how many days past)—and at the same time denies to a Native of learning and talent the insertion of such a Letter as the present, to the tone and spirit of which the most furious Bigot could not reasonably object. This production of a Native Indian, will be read in England with admiration of its temper and composition, as indicating the refinement of the mind that gave it birth; although it has been rejected by the narrow and contracted spirit of one calling himself an Englishman, yet proving by this act, how much he is inferior in understanding and in liberality, to this enlightened Hindoo.

The following is the Rejected Letter:—

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

Sir,

Having in a late Number admitted into your pages some very serious remarks on a Publication by Rammohun Roy, I trust that you will in justice to him give a place to the following Reply:—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

SUTYU-SADHUN.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

Sir,

I saw a Letter written by "A Layman" in your Paper of the 2d. instant, on the subject of a Letter and Extracts from a late Publication of Rammohun Roy's, given in the *Calcutta Journal* of the preceding day. The tone of resentment and asperity which runs throughout the whole Letter, indicates plainly that the Layman was actuated in his mode of expression and reasoning rather by momentary passion than by cool judgment. His principles as a Christian will, I hope, upon more mature consideration of the subject, serve more effectually to make him aware of the uncharitable spirit which pervades his Letter, than a reply couched in a similar style of expression.

The Layman declares, in the concluding part of his Letter, that "Religious Controversy is the last article that should appear in a periodical Publication;"

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yet with great inconsistency he fills almost two columns with religious argument, a short notice of which I beg now to offer.

Rammohun Roy observes, in his Appeal, that "if it was a practice among the Christians to study the Old Testament first and then the New, Christianity would not be liable to be encroached upon by human opinions:" The Layman, in noticing this assertion, affirms positively that "in the very first chapter of Genesis, the Trinity in Unity is distinctly avowed ;" but he does not refer to the passage or text in which the avowal of Trinity in Unity may be found: I regret to say that, for my own part, so far from being able to discover such avowal, I cannot find the least allusion to Trinity nor even a word expressing the number Three in any part of the chapter.

I am aware, however, of the arguments by which this supposed avowal is inferred; and would beg the Layman's patient attention to the discussion of them in Rammohun Roy's Appeal, page 96. In noticing the following assertion of Rammohun Roy, found in the Extract, "What credit can be obtained in proving one is not three, and the same Being cannot be God and Man?" the Layman questions him, whether he can explain how the soul and body make one man? how we feel them, distinct though united? and then concludes, that if Rammohun Roy believes these things without being able to explain them, he should not reject the mystery of the Trinity in Unity though beyond comprehension. The Layman would not, I suppose, draw such a conclusion in a cool moment, were he to pay attention to the following passage, found in the same Extract from the Appeal of Rammohun Roy, that appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* : "It is too true to be denied, that we are led by the force of the senses to believe many things that we cannot fully understand: but when the evidence of our senses does not compel us, how can we believe what is not only beyond our comprehension, but *contrary* to it and to the common course of Nature, and directly against Revelation, which declares positively the unity of God as well as his incomprehensibility, but no where ascribes to him any number of persons or any portion of magnitude?" Let the Layman point out first where and how the force of the senses, or any mathematical administration, depending also upon the senses, compels us to believe Trinity in Unity, and the union of God and man, as it does with regard to the soul and body; and let him shew such Revelation as ascribes to God any number of persons and any portion of magnitude, and then put the above questions to Rammohun Roy, and require him to believe the mystery of Trinity in Unity, which is not only beyond our understanding, but also contrary to it.

As the Layman states, "that such a person as Christ did exist, and that he did those things which are recorded of him in our Gospel, is admitted both by the Jews and Mohammuddans", I must beg to remind him that though the Jews admit that such a person as Jesus lived, they utterly deny that the Christ has appeared, as they still expect Christ or Messiah (which is synonymous with Christ) for their final delivery. Mussulmans, also, though they admit the existence of Christ, yet deny his most meritorious work, I mean his death on the cross, and class him as a prophet much below the rank of Mohummud.

The Layman recites the extracts from Locke and Newton, and thus interprets them as the declared Proofs of the Trinity. "The Saviour is allowed by Locke to be our Lord and King and by the term Lord and King the *spiritual* Lord and King must be meant, which is the strongest expression, for the Deity of the Saviour. I have no doubt that by the term Lord and King the spiritual Lord and King is understood ; but I cannot see what relation these titles bear to the *Deity* of Jesus; Divines are called spiritual Fathers, and the Pope was acknowledged some hundred years ago by almost all Christians, and is at the present age considered by a majority of Christians, as their spiritual King. So also the Bishops of the British Parliament were in the time of Locke, and still are termed spiritual Lords; but neither Divines in general, nor the Pope himself, nor the Bishops of England, can therefore be considered as bearing titles that imply their being possessed of the divine nature. The Layman might perhaps have been better justified, according to the Trinitarian mode of arguing, in drawing this conclusion from the language of Locke, did we not meet with the phrase "promised and sent from God," added to the term "our Lord and King;" or had he found the words "from the Father," instead of "from God," as no one will scruple to confess that a Being promised and sent by any *other* Being, must be considered distinct from and subordinate to the Being by whom he is said to be so promised and sent.

Again, the Layman infers from the words of Newton, that as he represents it be the duty of Christians to worship God and the Lamb, that great man must have believed in the divinity of Christ; for that if the Lamb is not God, such worship is idolatry. He neglects to notice the distinction made by Newton between God and the Lamb; for while he represents God receiving worship as sitting upon his throne and living for ever and ever, he considers the Lamb as *exalted* above all by the *merits of his death*. It is no idolatry to worship the Lamb with that idea of his nature; but it would be of course idolatry, according to Sir Isaac Newton's views, to worship the Lamb as sitting upon the throne and living for ever and ever. The subject of worship offered to Christ is fully discussed in Rammohun Roy's Appeal, page 48.

As to the offence of publishing the sentiments that appear so very obnoxious to the Layman, I may observe what I believe to be the fact, that Rammohun Roy, as a searcher after the truths of Christianity, did keep the result of his enquiries to himself, and contented himself with compiling and publishing the pure Precepts of Jesus alone, as he thought these were likely to be useful to his countrymen in the present prejudiced state of their minds against Christianity. But on the publication of these Precepts, he was unexpectedly, in some Periodical Publications, attacked on the subject of the Trinity, and he was consequently obliged to assign reasons for not embracing that doctrine.

I am not at all surprised at the reference of the Layman to the penal statute against those that deny the Divinity of Christ ; for when Reason and Revelation refuse their support, *Force* is the only weapon that can be employed. But, I hope the English nation will never exhibit the disgraceful spectacle of endeavour-

ing to repress by such means, opinions, for the truth of which the authority of the Bible itself is appealed to by my countrymen.*

Calcutta. I am, Sir, your obdient servant,

SATYA-SADHUN.

21. A letter from Rev. Dr. Ryland to Rammohun Roy, on his examination of the Scriptures. (January 1, 1823).

[Apart from the interest which attaches to the following remarks, from the peculiar circumstances which called them forth, they possess independent merits. They exhibit all that sound sense and lucid simplicity of expression which generally characterizes the other productions of their eminent author. They are besides admirably suited to our present purpose, viz., that of furnishing a brief popular view of a subject on which it is our intention, in future numbers, to insert a series of more elaborate articles.—*Ed.* C. C. O.]

Bristol, January 1, 1823.

Dear Sir,

Though I have often heard with pleasure of your disposition to inquire after truth, and of your examination of the Scriptures; yet you can know nothing of me, unless you can recollect that our brethren at Serampore or in Calcutta have mentioned me as an old minister, who was concerned in the first establishment of the Baptist Mission, which sent Dr. Carey, &c. to India. I hope, however, that you will read, with patience and attention, a very few remarks, which I feel inclined to make, on your third Number of the Brahmunical Magazine, in reply to Number 38 of the Friend of India.

I profess to write influenced only by the love of truth, and by sincere benevolence towards yourself; and I trust you will, so far at least, give me credit, as not to refuse noticing the remarks I shall now offer to your serious consideration.

How far you profess yourself convinced of the inspiration and divine authority of the Old and New Testament I cannot ascertain. But, if you have found in the Bible a far superior kind of morality to what you can find in any other writings whatever, it is surely worth while carefully to examine it. These writers were really authorized to make known the will of God to man, and did speak as they were inwardly moved by an influence truly divine and supernatural.

For if, notwithstanding the purity of their morality, they spoke falsely, when they said, "Thus saith the Lord", and the Lord did not speak by them, then they cannot be exempted from the character of impostors and liars: though it must, in that case, remain a very strange and wonderful thing, that men, who durst to make such high, but such false, pretensions, should yet give such a system of morality, and advance such sublime ideas of God's natural and moral perfections, as no other even ever attained to, but by their means.

Their honesty and simplicity indeed, in other respects, freely recording each other's faults and their own, &c. may well enhance our surprize, that they should thus speak lies in the name of the Lord; but still nothing can excuse them, if they pretended to speak by inspiration, while they were not inspired.

* *Ibid.*, August 15, 1821.

If they were not divinely taught and commissioned to reveal the things of God, then we may borrow just as much as we please from their writings, and at the same time reject what we please.

But if, indeed, it can be satisfactorily proved, by innumerable miracles, often wrought in the presence of a multitude of enemies; by a variety of prophecies, many of which have been fulfilled by divine providence long after the delivery of the predictions, and some of which are still fulfilling; by the moral character of the penmen, and especially by the unparalleled character of Christ, which the Evangelists have drawn, without the addition of a single encomium on their master, or an invective against his enemies and murderers ; by the goodness of the doctrine, and the importance of the discoveries made in the Scriptures; and also, by the blessed effects which they have had on the hearts and lives of all those who have received them with genuine faith; if I say, by all these sources of evidence, it can be proved that these writings are really a divine revelation, then we ought not to refuse our assent to whatever they testify, merely on account of its being what we could not have discovered of ourselves, without such a revelation.

A true revelation may justly be expected to contain, not only many things clearly stated, of which a very sagacious man might have attained some vague idea without it ; and which even persons of inferior capacity *would* have found out, by the exercise of their reasoning powers, *if* they had not been criminally inattentive, and prevented from discovering them, by the depravity of their hearts: but also many things which no human intellects could have discovered, without divine information.

When natural history and philosophy present us with so many mysterious facts, which we can neither deny nor explain ; when we cannot account for vegetation, magnetism, electricity, the voluntary motion of animals, the union of soul and body in man, &c. shall we object to a revelation strongly proved to be divine, because it tells us something concerning the nature of God, which neither our senses nor our reason could have found out without it; and which even now they are revealed, one cannot fully comprehend as to the *modus* of them?

The doctrine of the Trinity, taken by itself, as detached from other doctrines of Scripture, might seem an unprofitable speculation ; but viewed in connection with the whole plan of human redemption, it appears indeed to be of great importance.

Who will dare to affirm, that it is impossible, that there should be a distinction in the divine nature, which is more than nominal or official, and yet does not amount to the existence of three separate Gods?

Let it be particularly kept in mind, that we do not say, that God is three, in the *same* sense in which he is one ; and therefore it does not involve any contradiction.

If, indeed, we should, for a moment, conceive of the existence of three Gods, and yet consider them as co-equal, co-eternal, and possessing the very same natural and moral perfections, so that where the one is, there the others are; what the one knows, that the others know; what the one loves, that the others love; what one wills, that the others will ; surely this would not only be infinitely different from the existence of three Beings of different abilities, and even of opposite

dispositions ; but it would soon appear more difficult to point out the difference between them, than their unity.

However, the Scriptures teach us, the Unity of the Godhead, or the Divine Essence; and yet teach us to believe a Trinity in the Godhead, for which we cannot find a better term than a distinction of persons: as there are three, to whom the personal pronouns, I, thou, and he, are applied. See John xiv. 16, 26. Christ required his disciples to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and the Apostle Paul invoked spiritual blessings from the same divine persons. We also find divine attributes and divine works repeatedly ascribed to each of these persons, and the Scriptures represent divine worship as being paid to them.

The terms "Father" and "Son" are used to express the distinction between the first and second persons; and doubtless were chosen as the best adapted to our understandings, to point out the difference: yet not exactly corresponding with the application of these terms to creatures who come into the world in succession. Yet it should be remembered, that these terms are correlates; he is not a Father, who has no Son. We believe that the first person was always the Father, and the second was always the Son. We believe the Father to be God, and the Son to be God ; but yet the Son is not the Father, because that is the term employed to express the distinction, not the unity.

We believe, that the Holy Spirit formed our Lord's humanity in the womb of a virgin; but we have no idea of a sexual intercourse, which would imply a previous incarnation of the Spirit. The formation of our Lord's humanity was "a new thing in the earth", effected in a peculiar and miraculous manner. Our Saviour properly called himself "the Son of man", because we had really assumed our nature, by uniting to himself a human body and soul, though he had no human father, nor was descended from Adam by ordinary generation, and thus was totally uncontaminated with sin, which has infected all our race.

The dove, which appeared at the time of our Lord's Baptism, and the tongues of fire, which rested on the heads of the Apostles, at the day of pentecost, were visible symbols of the Holy Spirit; but the Spirit himself is omnipresent. as the Psalmist implies, when he asks, "whither shall I go from thy Spirit?"

I have already suggested, that to us the doctrine of the Trinity is important, chiefly on account of its being connected with the glorious plan of human redemption. "We cannot understand this scheme, unless we know who the Saviour is. Nor can we rationally, and with comfort and satisfaction, believe and trust in him, unless we know his sufficiency as a Saviour; his sufficiency in power to subdue our corrupt inclinations to sanctify our souls, to conquer Satan and all our spiritual foes, and to uphold us to the end ; his sufficiency in wisdom, to disappoint the devices of our grand adversary, and of all men who are employed in his service, and to make us wise unto salvation; his sufficiency in goodness and grace, to forgive our sins, to watch over us continually for our preservation, to intercede for us with the Father, and to dispense to us grace to help in time of need ; and the sufficiency of his merit, and the price of his redemption, or his propitiatory sacrifice, to atone for all our sins, and to procure

our acceptance with the Father. Now, if he be a divine person, his sufficiency in these and in all other respects appear at once. But if he were not a divine person, might we not doubt, yea positively deny, his sufficiency? How should a finite price redeem us from an endless or infinite punishment? How should a finite atonement satisfy for crimes deserving a punishment without end? If Christ were a mere creature, we might well disbelieve, either the Scriptural doctrine of endless punishment, or the sufficiency of the Redeemer. No wonder, therefore, that those who disbelieve the divinity of Christ, do generally, if not universally, disbelieve the endless misery of those who die impenitent."

If therefore you reject the doctrine of the Trinity, you must also reject the divinity of Christ, the need and the efficacy of his atonement, and all that constitutes the *Gospel,* or *glad tidings* of salvation to the lost and the guilty.

You must also, in full contradiction to the whole tenor of Scripture, deny, that men are lost and guilty, and deserving of being made the objects of the divine displeasure.

You must also lose sight of the extent and spirituality of God's law, and entertain very different ideas of the moral government and moral attributes of God, from those which are evidently taught us in the Scriptures.

For if God loves righteousness, and holiness infinitely, and hates all iniquity proportionably, then he will be sure to display his righteousness, in his final treatment of all mankind. And he will never exercise pardoning mercy, but in a way that shall increase our reverence of his majesty, purity, justice, and truth ; at the same time, that it encourages us to trust in him, for a full and free salvation.

The whole law is summed up in one word—Love. It is divided into two great commandments: the first demands the whole heart for God, and says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and shalt serve him with all thy might." And the second is like unto it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". "On these two commandments", our Lord says, "hang all the law and the prophets". The first four commandments of the ten, delivered on Mount Sinai, direct us how to shew our love to God; and the six last of those commandments direct us how to shew our love to our neighbours. The prohibitory form in which they are delivered, strongly implies, that they were given to depraved and sinful creatures, and the last or tenth commandment shows the spirituality of all the rest; that they prohibited not only the outward act, but the inward inclination to sin.

Now no man can be found, who considers the second great commandment too strict, when viewed as the rule of other people's conduct towards *himself.* He is very willing that all men should be prohibited under pain of God's displeasure, to injure him ; and that they should be required to love him as they love themselves. But if you readily admit it to be right, that all men should be obliged to love you, is it not equally fair, that you should be required to love them? And if it is perfectly right, that all men should be required to love me or you, must it not be right that they should be required to love God.

But does the native disposition of men teach and incline them, most earnestly and sincerely, to keep this good and holy law? Or if we compare their hearts

and lives with the divine law, shall we not see abundant evidence, that they all have sinned, and fallen short of the glory of God, and are most plainly in a fallen, depraved, and guilty state?

And did not Moses enjoin it upon the Israelites, that on their entrance into the promised land, they should all assemble together, on two neighbouring mounts, and there solemnly rehearse the blessings and curses of the law? and were not all the people, twelve times going, obliged to say, Amen? While the last of the twelve curses ran in these remarkable terms, "Cursed be he that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them;" and to this they were all obliged to say, Amen. Now, to this awful curse are all our race exposed; so that by the deeds of the law, no flesh living can be justified. All are most righteously exposed to this dreadful malediction.

From this tremendous doom there is no deliverance, but through the obedience unto death of God's incarnate Son. But "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us."[1]

This, O Ram Mohun Roy, is confessedly the great mystery of godliness. Other foundation, for the hope of a sinner, can no one lay, but that which is laid by God himself. This is the word of reconciliation, by which peace is preached unto you who were afar off, and to them that were nigh.[2] Now, in Christ Jesus, we who some time ago were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ,[3] and to make this Gospel known to all nations, for the obedience of faith, we would gladly be at any expence in our power, to send Missionaries to the ends of the earth. For we are fully convinced, that there is salvation in none other. There is no other name under heaven, given among men, whereby a sinner can be saved, but the name of Jesus, who hath made peace by the blood of his cross. Oh! that you may receive this glorious Gospel of the blessed God with your whole heart; and thus set your seal to the truth of his testimony concerning his Son, whom he has set forth as a propitiator for sin, through faith in his blood; through whom alone God can be just, while he justifies the ungodly. Do not, I beseech you, reject the counsel of God against yourself, but flee for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before you in the Gospel, and thankfully accept of the great Salvation.

I most earnestly wish you would read with attention, and with earnest prayer, the third chapter of the Gospel of John, the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the third chapter of the Epistle to Titus. Oh! that you would read the whole Scriptures with an unbiassed mind. If they do not contain a revelation from God, it is unaccountable that they should contain a morality unspeakably superior to the writings of the whole heathen world, whether in the East or in the West. But if they are a revelation from God, they must be wholly received, or wholly rejected.

You mention a number of literary works, written within a few years past by your countrymen. We do not call in question their ability to write on various

[1]Gal. iii, 13.
[2]Eph. ii, 15.
[3]Eph. ii, 13.

subjects. But what way can they point out to eternal life? What ideas have they of a future state? Do not many of your writings represent the enjoyments of heaven of such a nature as to suit the most depraved taste of polluted sinners ; instead of describing it as a state which can be enjoyed only by the pure in heart? Or, if some have a less sensual idea, do not they represent it as such an absorption in the Deity, as annihilates all personal consciousness?

Have the Hindoo writers any fixed standard of morality, which extends to the very springs of action, and the thoughts of the heart? And have they any knowledge of such a way of acceptance with God, as will at once assure the sinner of safety and the enjoyment of the divine power, and at the same time clearly display the justice of God, and his infinite abhorrence of sin, while he manifests the unsearchable riches of his grace: and which, if it be truly embraced, will infallibly constrain the sinner in future to walk in newness of life, while he rejoices in his deliverance from that punishment which he is conscious his sins had justly deserved?

It is not the name of a Christian which will be of essential service to any man ; nor that would be of the least avail to you, if you were to take it upon you, without receiving the truth in the love of it, and having your heart sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus. We testify to our own countrymen, that they are dead in trespasses and sins, till they are quickened by divine grace, and born of God.

But you well know the cruelties and the obscenity which attend the very worship of idolators. You have doubtless seen the carvings and paintings on the car of Juggernaut, which our Missionaries say, they cannot describe. You know, that the picture which Paul gave, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, of the state of the ancient heathens in the West, (which we know from the writings of the Greeks and Romans that are still extant, was awfully just), is too fully applicable to the various nations of the East.

You may, from a partial and speculative acquaintance with the Scriptures, derive a light like the twilight, which will enable you to correct some abuses, which, without this aid, you would not have corrected for many ages to come: but we wish you to enjoy the meridian light of Gospel-day ; to follow fully, whithersoever he goeth, Him who has illuminated life and immortality. Thus being justified by faith, you shall have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom believers have access by faith into that grace wherein they stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God ; and find that this hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in your heart by the Holy Spirit, which is given unto you.[1]

Do examine if genuine Christianity is not intended to introduce the true believer to sublimer enjoyments and expectations than you have yet realized, and not merely to correct men's outward morals.

I have not time to go through all the doctrines of Christianity, and to carry on, at this distance, a long discussion of them. But I again exhort you, earnestly

[1]Rom. v. 1, &c.

and affectionately to examine closely the Evidences of the Divine Authority of the Scriptures, and if you see reason to believe, that the writers of our sacred books were indeed taught of God, I trust you will be concerned impartially to examine their contents, and to unite with that examination most earnest prayer to God, that he himself would lead you into all the truth, and then shall the truth make you free.

Your opposition to the Divinity of Christ will doubtless excite some of our countrymen to send you plenty of books, to keep you from advancing much farther into the essence of Christianity. If I refer you to any thing besides the Scriptures themselves, I would request you (as I apprehend you will understand our language) to borrow of some of our Missionaries, one book, not very large, Mr. Scott's Essays ; do give this the reading, and compare it with the Bible. On one point only I am obliged to differ from that excellent man, but it is of very small consequence to me, whether you adopt his opinion or mine, provided you are brought to agree with us, on other subjects of superior importance.

I know of no motive that could influence me to trouble you, with these few remarks, on your piece in the Brahmunical Magazine, but that sincere desire after the salvation of a fellow-creature, which must influence every one who has felt the love of Christ, and which I trust will be found, in the last day, to have influenced

Your cordial well-wisher,

JOHN RYLAND.

P.S.—Though the Doctrine of the Trinity is not so *fully* stated in the Old Testament as in the New, yet there are several intimations in the former of a plurality in the Deity. The common name for God is a plural noun, and though generally united with singular verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, is yet sometimes connected with these parts of speech in the plural number ; as in Gen. i. 26, and in many other places,[1] which I need not now enumerate. And the Messiah is often predicted in the Old Testament as a Divine Person.[2] And ill would his coming have been represented as so great a blessing, and he himself have been described, as "a light to enlighten the Gentiles", if God foresaw, that the vast majority of his followers, especially the most serious and devout, and those that have sealed their doctrine with their blood, would through their misunderstanding of what he said of himself, and what the prophets and Apostles said of him, be led into idolatry for many centuries, and make for too much of him ; and this previously to the time in which it was foretold, that he should be most highly exalted!

I might just mention the general ideas prevalent among most heathen nations, concerning a triad, a divine incarnation, and with respect to sacrifices, as being, in all probability, the confused and distorted remains of an original revelation, handed down by tradition from Noah, but which in the course of so many ages, and through so uncertain a mode of transmission, became strangely altered and obscured.*

[1]Gen. iii, 22, xi, 7, xx, 13, Ps. lviii, 2, &c.
[2]Isa. vii, 14, ix, 6, liv, 5. Jer., xxiii, 6, &c., &c.
* *Calcutta Christian Observer*, February, 1833.

22. An appreciation of Rammohun's laudatory efforts at reform. (February 22, 1823).

The Free Press of Calcutta!—It must gratify every friend to the progress of human reason to learn, that notwithstanding the difficulties so long considered insuperable, a glorious change is effecting in British India. The free press of Calcutta has operated most powerfully in reforming the most inveterate and revolting abuses. The effect of seven native presses at work in that great city has been to triumph over Hindoo superstition in its strong hold. The celebrated Hindoo Reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, has held public monthly meetings at Calcutta, for the purpose of freely discussing the tenets of his religion, and exposing the cruelties practised under it. By the way, a Mr. Adam, a Baptist Missionary, awakened by arguments of this Hindoo Reformer, has declared himself an Unitarian, and established an Unitarian press. This conversion gave great umbrage, in a certain quarter, and the Attorney General was applied to, to interpose the shield of some antiquated statute, to protect spiritual intolerance. As became his talents and his character, the enlightened Lawyer assured the—, that these days were passed. Mr. Adam, consequently remains at Calcutta, supported and encouraged by some of its most respectable inhabitants, who are about to erect an Unitarian Chapel for him. Such are the blessings of unfettered discussion.*

23. Remarks on the "Humble suggestions to his countrymen, who believe in the One True God", another book of Rammohun. (March 15, 1823).

The following little Tract, lately published here by a learned Native, in the English and Bengali Languages, gives an account of certain divisions among the Hindus not much known, we believe, to the English Public: and presents a picture of Hindu Notions on the subject of Religion, which cannot fail to be interesting to those who investigate the phenomena of the human mind. The Christian Reader will doubtless smile at the resemblance, the Author fancies he can trace between the three great sects among the Hindus, and what he esteems the three corresponding divisions of Christians; but, if we make due allowance for the medium through which this Native of India,—educated in ignorance of our Scriptures, imbued from his early youth with the doctrines of the Vedas,—must view such subjects; we cannot, comparatively speaking, deny him the praise of liberality. The charitable disposition he inculcates towards persons of a different faith, and forbearance towards even those whose speculative notions are the most abhorrent to one's mind, deserve, abstractedly considered, our unqualified approbation, and we hope this small Essay will produce a beneficial effect among his countrymen.

* *Morning Chronicle,* quoted by *Calcutta Journal,* February 22, 1823.

The author himself, it would appear, is of the sect of Vedanties, who have rejected the popular polytheistical notions of the Hindus ; a sect which is said to have been increasing rapidly in Bengal of late years. Taking the opinions inculcated in the following Tract, as a specimen of their views and sentiments, it must certainly be matter of congratulation with all friends of mankind, that the dark superstition of Hinduism is assuming so enlightened a form; since even a partial reformation, is one step gained ; and the destruction of a single error must help to clear the way for the full reception of revealed truth.*

[Here follows the Tract]

24. Lt. A. White's statement on the unitarian doctrines of Rammohun Roy. (March 29, 1823).

The translations of the Christian Scriptures, exhibiting the great truths of natural and revealed religion, unincumbered with the cruel superstitions, the severe austerities, the interminable ceremonies, which disguise these principles in Hinduism, will present a pure model by which they may reform their faith, while the elementary course of instruction which is now beginning to operate in India will afford them the means of correcting the geographical, chronological, and astronomical errors which pervade their sacred books. The authority of the priesthood beginning now to be canvassed by the inferior orders of society, the Bramin will find it expedient to mitigate its exercise; and the monopoly which he possesses of communicating divine knowledge will be broken up from the greater facility of its attainment. Other individuals who have acquired this religious knowledge may aspire to communicate it, and will be listened to ; and thus the powerful barriers which prevent talents from rising to their proper level will be removed, and the social union will henceforth begin to be regulated by the principles of reason and justice. It is the introduction of the art of printing, and the powerful impulse which has been given to education by the enlightened spirit of the European community, to which we must confidently look forward as affording the only chances of improvement in India. When we look back to the profound abyss in which the human mind was sunk in Europe, from the third to the fourteenth century, and recollect what the discovery of the art of printing did in raising humanity from this depression, is it too much to expect that the same beneficial influence will result from its application to Indian literature. This alone may effect a moral change in the vast continent of Asia. Already the dawn of improvement has manifested itself; the celebrated Bramin Rammohun Rae having demonstrated, from the Vedas, that the unity of the Supreme Being is inculcated in these works, and that he alone is the object of worship. He regards the worship of inferior deities, the institution of casts, the restrictions with regard to food, and numerous observances of this faith, as aids required by the imperfection of the human faculties, and which may be discarded by those who

* *Calcutta Journal*, March 15, 1823.

have attained to the knowledge of this truth. He has established a small sect in Calcutta, the worship of which approaches nearly to that of a philosophical deism. It is encumbered with no dogmas or ceremonies ; it consists principally of hymns expressing the unity of the Supreme Being, the love which human creatures owe to the benevolent author of their existence, and the beauty and grandeur visible in his works. I write from recollection of a translation of one of these hymns which appeared in a Calcutta newspaper, and may be in error as to the character which I have ascribed to their worship; but such is the present impression upon my mind. It is a mistake to suppose that the lower orders of the Hindoos are ignorant of the existence of the Supreme Being; at least, they are familiar with the name, independent of the Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Shiva; but what is remarkable, no separate worship is paid to the Creator. In this respect, they are precisely on the same footing with the Catholics, with whom the intellectual idea of the Deity is effaced, by the more powerful impression which is made upon the senses by the visible representations of the virgin or the saints. This enlightened Hindoo Rammohun, has rendered a signal service to his countrymen in exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband; he has endeavoured to prove, by extracts from the Vedas, that this duty is unsanctioned by Scripture. This naturally produced a defence of this doctrine, with numerous texts from the sacred writings in support of it. This controversy has excited a powerful interest amongst the intellectual few: as might be expected, the force of numbers seems to be with the established opinion ; but at least it is consolatory to reflect that his reasonings have had a fair hearing, which affords every hope that the cause of humanity will ultimately triumph. Nothing can be inferred from the quotations from the Vedas which have been exhibited by either party. Like the sacred books of other religions, they afford texts which support each side of the question. Of late, the attention of this benevolent man has been directed to the laudable purpose of introducing the pure morality of the gospel amongst his countrymen.

Although unconverted to Christianity, he has published a compilation of the moral precepts of Jesus, entitled, *"The Guide to Peace and Happiness"*. The peculiar doctrines on which the salvation of the Christian rests, are omitted, on the principle "that historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and Anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at least to carry little weight with them." Such are the sentiments expressed in his preface; which are further illustrated in a note to this passage, which places the Christian miracles on the same footing with those of the Hindoo mythology. See the above extract of his sentiments in a review of his work, in an interesting missionary publication, ***The Friend of India,*** for September 1820. It is to be regretted that Rammohun had not expressed himself in a more becoming manner on this important subject; it would have been better if he had clearly stated the grounds on which he rejected the evidence of the Christian miracles.*

* *Ibid.*, March 29, 1823.

25. A letter on the morality of the Hindus as stated in a publication of Rammohun Roy. (June, 1823).

To the Editor of the *Asiatic Journal.*

Sir,

As Mr. E. A. Kendall is preparing to gratify your readers with a disquisition on profound principles respecting the morality of the Hindus, and as I find that *some* stress is really laid on the opinions of intelligent members of the Hindu community, I am induced to trouble you with the following extracts from a publication by Rammohun Roy, the Brahmin: the Ishopanishad of the Yajur Veda—Calcutta, 1816, Introduction, p. 11, &c.

"Sorrow and remorse can scarcely fail, sooner or later, to be the portion of him, who is conscious of having neglected opportunities of rendering benefit to his fellow-creatures. From considerations like these it has been that I (although born a Brahmin, and instructed in my youth in all the principles of that sect), being thoroughly convinced of the lamentable errors of my countrymen, have been stimulated to employ every means in my power to improve their minds, and lead them to the knowledge of a purer system of morality. Living constantly amongst Hindoos of different sects and professions, I have had ample opportunity of observing the superstitious peculiarities into which they have been thrown by their self-interested guides; who in defiance of the law, as well as of common sense, have succeeded but too well in conducting them to the temple of idolatry: and while they hid from their view the true substance of morality, have infused into their simple hearts a weak attachment for its mere shadow.

"From the chief part of Hinduism, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet; the least aberration from which (even though the conduct of the offender may in other respects be pure and blameless) is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion from the society of his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of caste.

"On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of Hindu faith is considered in so high a light, as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation.

"Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace.

"A trifling present to the Brahmin, commonly called Prayaschit, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, is held as a sufficient atonement for all those crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution.

"My reflections upon those solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have never ceased to contemplate with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, induc-

ing,, for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling: and this in various instances, but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction, and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites.

"I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race, who I cannot help thinking are capable of better things; whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny."

These extracts will, I imagine, Mr. Editor, suffice to convince every candid person who is *compos mentis*, what opinion Rammohun Roy holds respecting the actual effects on the human mind and character of the tenets of Hinduism as they are actually and popularly held.*

Your obedient servant,
COLON.

26. A further notice of Rammohun's publication "Humble Suggestions to his countrymen who believe in the One True God." (October, 1823).

A sinlgular publication has just appeared in India, entitled, "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in the One True God, by Prosonno Koomer Thakoor, Calcutta, 1823." The author who is an anti-polytheistical Hindoo says, in his advertisement,—"My object in publishing this tract is to recommend those to whom it is addressed, to avoid being harsh or abusive language in their religious intercourse with European missionaries, either respecting them or the objects of their worship ; however much this may be countenanced by the example of some of these Gentlemen." The writer embraces in his good will, not only all denominations of his countrymen, but Christians also, whom he appears to divide into three sects; Socinians, Trinitarians, and the "Constructors of Images" (Roman Catholics); each of which, he thinks, has a prototype among the Hindoo sectaries. The Socinians he particularly claims as brethren. "Those Europeans", he says, "who believe God to be in every sense one, and worship him alone in spirit, and who extend their benevolence to man as the highest service to God, should be regarded by us with affection, on the ground of the object of their worship being the same as ours. We should feel no reluctance to co-operate with them in religious matters, merely because they consider Jesus Christ as the messenger of God and their spiritual teacher; for oneness in the object of worship and sameness of religious practice should produce attachment between the worshippers." Trinitarians, however, "are not to be treated in an unfriendly manner;" because, says the ingenious author, "many of our own countrymen, without any external image, meditate upon Ram and other supposed incarnations, and believe in their unity!" This sort of sceptical liberalism seems to be much upon the advance in India ; and it should afford a powerful inducement to the friends of Christianity to endeavour to fill up with the divine doctrines and

*Asiatic Journal, June, 1823.

holy precepts of the Bible, the void that will be caused in the native mind in proportion as the increase of knowledge banishes the fictions of heathen superstition. We cordially rejoice at every increase of Hindoo knowledge and liberality; but the following "humble suggestion" is a proof how little of sound theology or intelligible morality is to be expected from Oriental Unitarianism:—"He who is skilled", says he, "in playing on the lute (veena), who is intimately acquainted with the various tones and harmonies, and who is able to beat time in music, will enter without difficulty upon the road of salvation!"*

27. Extracts of Rev. Marshman's Review of Rammohun Roy's "Final Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the Precepts of Jesus". (December, 1823).

We have now before us our author's Final Appeal to the Christian Public against the Atonement and the Deity of Him whom the blessed in heaven constantly adore as having "redeemed them by his blood not of every nation, and people, and kindred, and tongue." In this appeal, our author, as if understanding the nature of Jesus better than those who now see his face in the realms of light, anew denies that he ought to be adored, or that he has redeemed any by his blood; and makes his final Appeal to the public in behalf of the Precepts of Jesus against his Atonement, insisting, that the grand end of his coming into the world, was, not to redeem men by dying for their sins, but (like Mahomet) to give them precepts, by obedience to which added to repentance, they may save themselves. The blessed in heaven and he therefore, are perfectly at issue on the subject; and, appalling as is the thought, it is a melancholy fact, that the Indian public are now called upon to say whether they do not believe that they who "see the Redeemer as he is", have acted wrong all these centuries in *adoring* "the Lamb that was slain", and that they ought immediately to change the subject of their songs of praise.

Before we examine our author's arguments against the Atonement and Deity of the Redeemer, courtesy to him requires that we should take some notice of his Introductory Remarks. We therefore begin with his Preface, from which we learn, that he has at length taken a dislike to large publications in this controversy. On this subject few are more capable of judging. He has answered a reply of thirty-two pages by one of a hundred and seventy-three; and in the present instance one of a hundred and twenty-eight, by a volume of three hundred and seventy-nine, beside a preface of seven. No one therefore has a better right to complain of large publications on this subject than himself, as he has created the evil of which he complains. Nor is he unwise in expressing this dislike precisely at this period. While he insists that our Reply contains as many words as his, he cannot deny that his present Appeal contains more than double that quantity. Should this Appeal then be answered, not after his example by one of double its quantity, but merely by one of equal size, and should he continue as he has begun, doubling in each reply his quantity of letter press, his next must consist

* *Calcutta Christian Observer*, October, 1823.

of nearly eight hundred pages. With whatever grace therefore, this complaint may come from him who has created the evil, no one can doubt of the wisdom of its being made at the present time.

To some however it may appear doubtful whether his new method will be found more favorable to the attainment of his object. We ought to suppose that in this work of nearly four hundred pages, our author has added nothing beyond what he deemed necessary to the support of his cause. But were this quantity divided into "monthly portions of a dozen or sixteen pages", the whole could not come before his readers in less than two years ; and perhaps those who have little "leisure or perseverance", may find it quite as difficult to keep their minds on the stretch respecting this subject for the space of two years, that they may connect the first portion of argument with the last, as to read through a volume of four hundred pages in two months. And without thus connecting the whole in their minds, their judgment when formed, can be of little value.

Our author urges however, that our Reply to his last Appeal, is really as long as that work, although it is nearly fifty pages less. Granting this, our author should remember that it was a reply, and that in his replies to us he has always more than doubled our quantity. Our readers however need not fear that we are about to double his quantity of letter press in replying to this Appeal. We do not think that the Atonement and the Deity of our Lord Jesus require any such labor to demonstrate their truth, and we hope that we shall not give them in reply three or even two hundred of our pages. In this Number indeed, we do not intend to trouble them with one hundred, as we shall now merely consider our author's allegations against the Atonement of Christ, reserving those which he has brought against his Deify for our next. But before we enter on these, we must notice some of his preliminary remarks, lest he should accuse us of neglect.

Our author begins with begging permission to notice "a few *unjust insinuations* in some parts of our essay." As any one who may support truth itself by incontrovertible arguments, may be said to insinuate or imply that his opponent has been supporting error, which unless he be convinced of his error, his opponent will be sure to deem *unjust,* it is scarcely possible wholly to avoid charges of this nature if an opponent chuse to make them; since the more convincing the arguments against his opinions are, the stronger will be the insinuation that he has been hitherto in the wrong. We fear therefore that we must in some measure plead guilty, for we did intend, not only to imply, but to prove that we thought him in the wrong. But of any other unjust insinuation we are certainly guiltless as far as relates to intention. So firmly are we convinced of the Atonement and Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, that it would grieve us to employ not only the least unjust insinuation in their defence; but even a weak argument, assured as we are, that if nine-tenths of those capable of being employed, were wholly dropped, so many would remain to establish those doctrines, that even the gates of hell could not prevail against them.—We would advise however, that on subjects so important as this, the public should never have their attention turned from the real state of the argument by complaints of "unjust insinuations". This is an exhaustless subject of complaint ; and the cause of it generally lies deep.

If a man be successful in defending his cause, all such insinuations fall to the ground: and if he be not, he is seldom pleased; and hence he may easily find insinuations against him in one shape or other in almost every argument, though nothing may have been farther from his opponent's intention.

Among these imagined insinuations of ours, we find one to be, that we have charged our author with "the arrogance" of taking upon himself "to teach doctrines directly opposed to those held by the mass of real Christians in every age". Here we must inform our readers that "arrogance" is not our phrase; and that we have used no such word respecting him: all we can justly claim of this, is, "his teaching doctrines directly opposed to those held by the mass of real Christians in every age." Since this however is a fact which our author does not attempt to deny, we wonder at his being angry that it has been said. As he really does it, we did not expect that he would have been ashamed or displeased at its being affirmed of him; hence we had no idea that this would be accounted "an insinuation", and still less an *unjust* one. We now begin to fear that we have filled our whole reply with insinuations; for there is not an argument brought which does not at least *imply* that we believe him wrong from beginning to end.

But we are ready to suspect that the "insinuation" must lie in the word "teach", for he says p. 5. "In reviewing the first appeal the Rev. Editor fully introduced the doctrines of the Godhead of Jesus and the Holy Ghost, and of the Atonement, as the only foundation of Christianity, whereby he compelled me, as a professed believer of one God, to deny for the first time publicly those doctrines; and now he takes occasion to accuse me of presumption in teaching doctrines which he has compelled me to avow." We hence imagine that our author must have been put out of temper by some mistakes respecting the word "teaching". In using this word however we did not mean, that he went out on the high road like a missionary, and taught such as he met, or sat down under a tree with them ; although had he done so, we should not have greatly blamed him; for when a man has found the way to heaven, we think he ought to teach it to others as far as he has opportunity. Nor, on the other hand, did we suppose that he concealed his ideas when in conversation with his friends, but that he disseminated them whenever he found occasion, which we considered as warranting the application of the term, not to say that he had now published them to the world, which rendered the term still more proper. And if we *have* "compelled him to avow" what he before believed, we cannot see that we have been guilty of any great crime; for we think it quite as well for a man to avow even his disbelief of the Atonement and the Deity of the Saviour, as for him to hold it secretly without avowal. We however feel it an unspeakable consolation, that if we have compelled him to *avow* this disbelief, we did not *create* it in him: had we, we should never have forgiven ourselves this side of the grave.

Our author after thus complaining that we compelled him to avow these doctrines, with a strange inconsistency, expresses his astonishment that before this his avowal, we only feared that he held them. We did indeed greatly fear that he disbelieved the Atonement and the Deity of Christ, when he published

"the Precepts of Jesus" ; but as we were not certain that he had openly avowed such disbelief, we felt unwilling to charge him with it, lest we should do him injustice, much as we feared the real state of his mind. Surely in this there can be little which ought to displease him.

Another of these insinuations is, that "vanity has led him to presume that freedom from the powerful effects of early religious impressions has enabled him to discover the truths of Scripture in its most important doctrines more fully in three or four years than others have done by the most unremitting study in thirty or forty". Here too we must remind our readers that "vanity" is our author's addition; and that we have not even mentioned the word as applicable to him. It is created by his own displeasure at our maintaining his own words relative to "early religious impressions", together with, what must be a fact if it be really *the truth* which he has discovered, and which therefore ought to excite in his mind no kind of anger.

As to his being *"pretty sure,* that no one possessed of merely common sense will fail to find out the unscripturality of the doctrine of the Trinity", after studying the Scriptures in the way he mentions, he should recollect that his being "pretty sure" of this, is no kind of argument. We might be "pretty sure" of the contrary, and this would be none; but it would be just as good as his. Both, unless intended to prejudge the case, would be wasting paper and the reader's time, and would tend only to awaken the suspicion that the cause which resorted to such modes of support, was really driven to straits. Of precisely the same nature is his assertion relative to "a few independent and diligent natives studying attentively both the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and then offering their sentiments as to the doctrine of the Trinity being scriptural or a mere human invention."

Our Author has his anger again kindled by what he terms our "holding up to ridicule" his suggestions relative to studying the Scriptures unbiassed by early religious impressions, because we observed that, "could it be relied on indeed, his compendious method would deserve notice with a view to Christian education, as then the most certain way of enabling any one to discover in a superior manner the truths and doctrines of Christianity, would be, to leave him to the age of thirty or forty without any religious impression". Here too we must beg our reader to recollect that "ridicule", is wholly our author's term, as well as the "vanity" and "arrogance" with which we are said to have charged him before. If he wishes to persevere in the search after truth however, we would advise him to guard against these ebullitions of irritation. The only question here is, whether this be a legitimate inference from his reprobating so strongly the effect of early religious impressions in biassing the mind; and if it be, which he does not attempt to deny, to be offended at the imagined ridicule it brings in its train, to some of his readers may possibly appear somewhat bordering on the ridiculous.

Our author's classing the doctrine of "the Trinity in Unity" with a Hindoo's believing that his idol is endued with animation, or with the polytheism of the Hindoos "brought up with the notion of the godhead of the sun, of fire and of water", or "the polytheistical faith of the Greeks" who believed in Mars, and

Venus, and Juno, and Jupiter, we presume he does not adduce as argument. If he does, we think he himself can scarcely be ignorant, that in doing it he is wretchedly begging the question in debate. Before he had ventured on such classification, indeed, we think he should have shewn that the Hindoos profess to prove "the godhead of the sun, of fire, and of water", from inspired writings as fully authenticated, as much tending to abase all human pride, and as evidently intended to promote real holiness, as the Sacred Scriptures; and that the Greeks had inspired writings equally authentic, and equally holy in their effects, on which they founded the godhead of Jupiter, and Mars, and Juno, and Venus. Till he has done this, he may, by acting thus, lead the young and unwary to class the Sacred Writings with the cunningly devised fables of the Hindoos; he may indeed lead those "altogether indifferent to religion", and "those who are rather unfavourable to the doctrines of Christianity as generally promulgated", to whom he appeals in this work, to such a disregard of the Sacred Writings as may end in their eternal ruin. But as for those acquainted with the subject, while such miserable begging of the question may convince them of the state to which his cause is reduced, it will only move them to pity the man who, if the Holy Scriptures will not establish his own dogmas, can be well content that they be classed with the Hindoo and Greek legends of idolatry.

Our own acquaintance with the Hindoos convince us however, that it is not their belief of "their idols being endued with animation", which keeps up idolatry among them, but their love of that iniquity which this system fosters. Let them once love "righteousness and true holiness", and no prejudices of education will detain them in idolatry. Nor is it any wonder that the "sublime works among the Greeks", and "the Vedant among the Hindoos", have totally failed in suppressing idolatry, when, amidst all their sublimity, they so completely foster human pride and the sins of the heart. In doing this, they leave a man just as much alienated in heart from a pure and holy God, who "cannot look upon iniquity" and, who "will not give his glory to another", as idolatry itself. It is therefore not strange that the Greek writings, sublime as they are, never extinguished idolatry in a single village. But the doctrines of the Atonement and Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, have destroyed the reign of idolatry and iniquity in every heart in which they have been cordially received. Has Satan now learned to cast out Satan? If he has, where is the *veracity* of Him whose precepts are, "the guide to happiness and peace?"

Our Author takes it for granted that all those who believe in the Atonement and Deity of Christ have blindly adopted the creed of their parents: and insists that "the unbiassed judgment of a person who has searched the Scriptures only for a twelve-month with an anxious desire to discover the truth they contain, ought as far as authority goes in such matters, to outweigh the opinions of any number who have either not thought at all for themselves, or have studied after prejudice had laid hold of their minds". He therefore thinks, he may perhaps be excused for the confidence with which he maintains his own opinions against those of so great a majority who appeal to the same authority for theirs, inasmuch as he

attributes their different views, not to any inferiority of judgment compared with his own limited abilities, but to the powerful effects of early religious impressions.

But in this does not our author deceive himself? Had he no early religious prejudices? Was he not brought up in the Hindoo system? Granting him therefore, that for which he has not yet adduced a shadow of proof, that in rejecting the Atonement and the Deity of Christ he has found the truth; how came he to surmount those early religious impressions, and to find the truth? Will he say that it is through the Divine goodness manifested to him? If he does, will he add that he alone and those who disbelieve like him, are the sole objects of this goodness, while those who believe the Atonement and Deity of Christ are abandoned by the Divine goodness, and thus declare himself and them the only favorites of heaven? Or will he say that he did it by his own diligence and strength of mind, and that those who believe in Christ's Atonement and Deity have not equal diligence and mental strength, and thus declare that he and his companions "are the men, and wisdom shall die with them?"

He would therefore do well to consider the obvious meaning of this language, which he uses so abundantly. If his opponents were brought up from their infancy in the belief that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin", and that he is "God over all blessed for ever more", was he not brought up in the belief of the Hindoo system, which teaches that a man who has been guilty of a thousand acts of wickedness, is still capable of doing acts of merit which in themselves deserve a place in heaven? Should he say, "I was diligent and examined things for myself", will he venture to affirm that his opponents have not been equally diligent in examining things for themselves? Should he add further, "My success proves my superior judgment or superior diligence. In rejecting the Atonement and Deity of Christ I have found *the truth* while my opponents in holding these doctrines have held fast error ;" would not this be begging the question still in debate? May not his opponents have possessed equal judgment, diligence, and impartiality, and have *held fast* the Atonement and Deity of Christ, *because* the more carefully and impartially they examined the scriptures, the stronger appeared the evidence for these doctrines? This argument therefore, upon which he lays so much stress, when duly examined will be found lighter than a feather; and this superior freedom from religious prejudices which is to give a twelve-months' examination of the scriptures greater authority than many years' examination by others, resolve itself into a mere bubble. All royal ways of arriving at the truth utterly fail: indeed they only serve to sink the side on which they are retained, by displaying the wonderful opinion its supporters have of themselves. After all the question itself is left to be decided precisely by the weight of solid argument adduced on either side.

We confess indeed that we now have our doubts whether our author *may really* have surmounted his own early religious prejudices, and whether he be not under the influence of them to this very day ; and as on his own principle this may throw light on his disbelief of the Atonement and the Deity of the Saviour of men, it may not be wholly foreign to the subject if we state our reasons for these doubts ; since if his early religious prejudices were in direct opposition to

for the sins of mankind ;" and then "regrets, that we should have adopted such an irregular mode of arguing in solemn religious discussion". Really we were not aware that the Scriptures held out TWO *ways to heaven*. We thought that if Christ's death and merits were the way, men's own merits *could not* be so too ; and that there was no other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved. We thought that "if righteousness came by man's obedience to the most perfect law, *Christ is dead in vain*:" nor did we think it possible that any man who had studied the scriptures, could think that to prove Christ's death to be the *only* atonement for sin, was an "irregular way" of proving, that man's repentance and obedience were none whatever.*

28. Rev. W. Adam's letter to the Rev. William Yates, one of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries, on the original grounds of the Missionary Controversy with Rammohun Roy. (May, 1824).

Sir,

It is now more than two years since the publication of your Seven Essays, purporting to be "A Defence of some important Scripture Doctrines", in reply to Rammohun Roy's First and Second Appeals to the Christian Public, during the whole of which period no public notice has been taken of them, either by the advocates or opponents of reputed orthodoxy. It is no part of my present business to inquire into or to explain the causes of this apparent neglect. The former may have overlooked this expression of your zeal in behalf of their favourite opinions, through circumstances over which you could have no controul ; and the latter may have declined a controversy with you, either because your arguments appeared too weak to need, or too strong to admit of, refutation. As the situation in which I am placed, together with your occasional references to me, may seem to have given you a claim upon my attention, permit me to assure you that my silence hitherto has not proceeded either from contempt or fear. It has not proceeded from the low estimate which I may be supposed to have formed of the merits of your work; for you appear to me to have come to this controversy better prepared and to have conducted it in a more becoming manner than your fellow-labourers in the same cause. Nor has it proceeded from an unwillingness to join issue with you on the important points involved in the Trinitarian Controversy. Of this I cannot give you a more satisfactory proof than by informing you of my intention, as circumstances may enable me and my health and leisure will permit, to address to you a Series of Letters on the principal subjects which your Essays embrace.

Your Essays are published in the name of the body of Baptist Missionaries in Calcutta, and thus carry with them all the weight and influence which it is in the power of that body to bestow. It would have perhaps been better if their name had been altogether suppressed and your own substituted in its place. I

* *Friend of India* (Quarterly Series), December, 1823.

shall afterwards have occasion to notice the particular reason assigned for this course, but at present I refer only to the general aspect which it has upon the subject. Bodies of men frequently say as well as do things which the same men, as individuals, would be either ashamed or afraid to say and do; and the opinions which persons deliver in a collective capacity will commonly be found to command greater deference from the majority of mankind, than should be accorded to their intrinsic merits, or than would be accorded to the opinions of the same persons taken separately and singly. For these and similar reasons it is desirable to divest controversy of all such adventitious weights—to place truth on the basis of its own proper evidence—to make every man responsible only for his own opinions and resonings—and, if his opinions are erroneous or his reasonings fallacious, to prevent him from eluding the exposure they merit by taking refuge under the name of a religious body, with which he happens to stand connected. While, therefore, I could wish that the Title-page had more fully corresponded with the fact of the case, yet I duly appreciate that regard to truth and fair-dealing which led to the intimation contained in the Preface, that the Seven Essays, although published "in a unite rather than in an individual capacity", "were written by one person"; and although your name is not given, yet it is so well known to those who interest themselves in the subject, that I make no apology for the mode of address which I have adopted, and for framing my language in the same way as if it had been formally announced.

It is not solely, nor even chiefly, on your own account that I take the liberty of thus publicly addressing you. The doubts respecting the Trinity which you and I once entertained in common, have, it would appear, been dissipated from the minds of both, and, if I may judge from the zeal which you display in your "Defence", have tended to confirm you more than ever in a belief of that doctrine which they have led me entirely to reject. I cannot be expected to applaud, and it does not belong to me to condemn you, for the conclusion to which you have come. But, the reclaimed doubter is commonly found to be a very determined believer, and I should therefore betray geat ignorance of human nature if I were to hope to make much impression on you by exhibiting the evidence of more scriptural views and a more rational faith than those which you at present maintain and defend. Nor is it the love of controversy which induces me to meet you in the field of argument which you have chosen. I have no ambition to distinguish myself as an expert disputant, and if I had, the consciousness of my own inferiority in the qualifications necessary to ensure success and the recollection of our former intimacy would be sufficient motives either to retire from the struggle of opinions altogether, or, at least, to seek for another opponent. Besides, while I am fully convinced of the great advantages resulting to the public at large from the free investigation of popular opinions, I am not unconscious of the danger to which those immediately engaged in the investigation are exposed, of losing the true spirit of Christianity in their search after its genuine doctrines—a loss which the certain discovery of them will not compensate. It is, therefore, neither the hope of your individual conviction, nor the love of controversy which forms my principal motive in addressing you. That motive,

I hope, is the love of truth, the value which I place upon religion, the desire which I feel to see Christianity triumph over the mistakes of its friends not less than the opposition of its enemies.

In your Essays I discover unquestionable proofs of that learning, acumen, and piety employed against Unitarianism, for which I had previously known you to be distinguished, but I also discover equally unquestionable proofs of great and unaccountable ignorance of some of the subjects which you treat, strong and undeserved prejudice against your opponents, and the most injurious misrepresentations both of their principles and characters. I might console myself with the reflection that your charges and mis-statements have not received a wider circulation than the book in which they are contained ; but the fact is that you are not singular in making them. The same or similar charges and mis-statements are found in almost every Trinitarian publication, whether occasional or periodical, are frequently delivered with imposing solemnity from the pulpit by the organs both of Episcopacy and Dissent, and are generally regarded as true because they are not publicly denied and seldom even privately contradicted. Regarding, therefore, the cause of Unitarianism as that of pure Christianity—a cause sometimes perhaps not uninjured by the mistakes and imperfections of its friends, but constituting in itself the light of heaven and the truth of God—I cheerfully engage in a reply to your work chiefly with a view to explain the fundamental doctrines of Unitarian Christianity ; to remove the prejudices that are entertained against its professors, and to correct the misrepresentations which, perhaps, no bad design, but in most cases, and I am willing to hope in yours, only want of information may have occasioned.

Before, however, proceeding directly to a consideration of the doctrines you have advanced and the arguments by which you endeavour to support them, I think it desirable to make some general remarks upon the Missionary Controversy with Rammohun Roy, whose Appeals gave occasion to your "Defence", and upon the Rev. T. Scott's Essays on the Deity of Christ, etc. etc. which you have deemed of sufficient value to republish and prefix to your own. Both the controversy in which you have thus sought to take a prominent part, and the Essays upon which you have thus stamped your unqualified approbation, furnish abundant proofs of the erroneous views of Unitarianism and the unjust prejudices against Unitarians which are propagated by Trinitarian writers ; and more will appear as I advance in the examination of your Essays.

The Missionary Controversy with Rammohun Roy has received less attention than it deserves. The character of the parties—Christian Missionaries on the one side and a Hindoo Brahmun on the other—renders it novel and extraordinary ; and although most people may consider its details uninteresting, there are perhaps, few in the religious world by whom its objects or its results will be regarded as unimportant: while both in its origin, progress, and termination, suggests some weighty reflections, and furnishes some valuable lessons which are worthy to be placed upon record. In taking a general view of this controversy, I shall consider, first, the alleged *grounds* on which it was begun ; secondly the *manner* in which it has been conducted ; and, thirdly, the *effects* which it has produced. The first

of these particulars will occupy the remaining part of this Letter, and in the remarks which I shall make upon it I shall confine my attention to the first publication on each side of the question. The first in the Series is entitled, "*The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness ; extracted from the books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists. With translations into Sungscrit and Bengalee. Calcutta: printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road,* 1820 ;" and consists of four pages of an Introduction, designed to recommend the Precepts of Jesus as the Guide to Peace and Happiness, and eighty-two pages of Extracts from the Authorized Version of the Four Gospels. Soon after the publication of this work, an article appeared in the Friend of India for February, 1820, No. XX, p. 23-31, partly by "A Christian Missionary," and partly by the Editor of that periodical, prefering several grave charges against the Compiler of the Precepts of Jesus. On the principle already explained, according to which I have prefixed your name to this Letter, it appears proper to state that Rammohun Roy has since avowed himself to be the Compiler, that the "Christian Missionary" is commonly understood to be the Rev. Deocar Schmid, of the Church Missionary Society, and Chaplain to the European Female Orphan Asylum, and that the Rev. Dr. Marshman of Serampore was the Editor of the Monthly Friend of India at the date of these publications. The subsequent publications consist only of Replies and Rejoinders, and therefore do not require to be noticed when we are inquiring into the alleged grounds on which the controversy was commenced.

1. The first charge which has been brought against Rammohun Roy, and against which he has deemed it necessary to appeal, is that of "depreciating the value of other parts of the inspired writings," and of "venturing to intimate, in the Introduction, that the dogmatical and historical matter" of the New Testament "so far from being necessary for the instruction, guidance, and comfort of mankind is rather calculated to do injury." The following is that part of the Introduction which has been adduced in support of this charge, and it is particularly deserving of attention, as it seems to be almost the only passage that has given ground for the remaining charges also.

"I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the *New* Testament, the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding. For historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of free thinkers and anti-christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia,[1] and consequently would be apt at best to carry little weight with them. On the contrary, moral doctrines tending evidently to the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind at large, are beyond the reach of metaphysical perversion, and intelligible alike to the learned and to the unlearned."

I shall now inquire into the justice of this charge and the relevancy of the proof that has been brought in its support ; and in order to show that the charge

[1] Ugusti is famed for having swallowed the occean when it had given him offence, and having restored it by urinary evacuation ; at this command also the Vindhyn range of mountains prostrated itself and so remains.—(*Wilson's Dictionary*).

is unjust and the proof irrelevant, I ask nothing more than that the one be compared with the other. Where is the attempt to depreciate the value of other parts of the inspired writings? Where is it said that the dogmatical and historical matter of the New Testament is calculated to do injury? I can discover no such attempt: I can trace no such meaning. To ascribe such a design to the Compiler, and such a tendency to the language he has employed, can be the effect only of a distempered imagination or of a blind zeal—an imagination which creates dangers where they are not to be found, or a zeal which seeks for opposition where none is intended.

It may perhaps be said that to represent some parts of the Scriptures as *more likely* to do good, when detached from the remaining parts than when taken in the connection in which the Sacred Writers have placed them, is in Mr. Schmid's phraseology, the "*ne plus ultra* of arrogance." But is it not a fact that the Scriptures, if read at all, must be read in separate portions? Is it not a fact that Missionaries are in the constant habit of distributing the New Testament without the Old, the Gospels unaccompanied by the Epistles, one Gospel or one Epistle detached from the other Gospels and the other Epistles, and even a very small part of one book, such as the history of Joseph, or the sermon on the mount, disjoined from the other parts of the same book? Is it not a fact that numerous writers, including Mr. Schmid and yourself, have published Systems of Divinity, Summaries of the Holy Scriptures, and Harmonies of the Gospels in the words of Scripture, but in which almost every passage is separated from the connection in which it originally stood? By what reasons then, do these Orthodox Missionaries and writers justify the liberties which they have taken with the sacred text? Obviously by he same reason which Rammohun Roy has assigned for the course he has pursued. They must have considered that by thus separating, mixing up again, and moulding the language of Scripture into the form which best suited their own taste and judgement, it would be *more likely* to improve the hearts and minds of men than in its original texture and shape. The Compiler has carried this system to a much less extent than the Missionaries have done, and both have done it on precisely the same principle and with precisely the same object in view, and yet it is the Missionaries who turn round upon him, and accuse him of depreciating the rest of the Scriptures and even of representing them as calculated to do injury.

This sameness of principle and object will perhaps be denied, or rather is in fact denied, by alleging that the portions and summaries of the scriptures which Missionaries are in the constant habit of distributing are given only as a *sample* of the whole, whereas the Compilation of the Precepts of Jesus is presented as a *substitute* for the rest. Now it happens that both of these statements are incorrect. It is not correct that Missionaries distribute the separate portions and summaries of the Scripture which they have published, only as specimens. As far as my experience and knowledge extend, I can recollect few instances in which such an intimation was given, but many in which it was not given, and in which, consequently, the native was left to conclude, that he had been put in possession of the whole of the Christian Scriptures when only a portion of them had been given to him. In such cases it was justly supposed that if he was interested and instructed by the book which he had received he would naturally prosecute his inquiries respecting

Christianity ; and this result might be expected to follow from a perusal of the Precepts of Jesus, as well as from the perusal of any Missionary abstract or compilation. Nor is it correct that Rammohun Roy proposed to supersede the rest of the Scriptures by the Precepts of Jesus. If he did, his language to that effect may be quoted, whereas I have already shown that he has only stated it to be his opinion that the moral precepts of Jesus, when presented alone, would be *more likely* to benefit his countrymen than when mixed up with doctrines, histories, and miracles ; and surely to publish the moral precepts of Jesus without these accompaniments cannot be more calculated to "injure the cause of truth" than to publish[1] *only* THE DOCTRINES of the Bible respecting the nature, attributes, and works of God, as if the religion of the gospel had no connection whatever with morality.

To prove Rammohun Roy's design to depreciate the rest of the Scriptures, it can only be further urged that he has admitted the liability of historical and some other passages to the doubts and disputes of free thinkers and anti-christians. Here an obvious distinction is to be made between the *fact* of this liability, and the *causes* of it. The causes of it are not to be found in the falsehood or original obscurity of the scriptures, but in the ignorance, the pride, and the prejudice of mankind. If these causes did not exist Divine revelation would command the universal assent of rational beings. But the fact itself of this liability, which is all that is asserted by Rammohun Roy, is indisputable, or at least cannot be disputed except by those who are determined to shut both their eyes and ears. Read the Heathen and Deistical controversies, from the days of Celsus and Porphyry to those

[1] This Mr. Schmid has done in the first and only number yet published of "A Summary of the Holy Scriptures", &c. "composed in the words of Scripture", both in the English and Bengalee languages. Calcutta, 1820.

In the compilation of this work Mr. Schmid has laid himself open to a charge of as serious a nature as that which he has with so little reason brought against Rammohun Roy. Although he professes to have composed it in the words of Scripture, yet he has not hesitated to make various additions which school-boys, converts, catechumens, and other natives for whom chiefly (See Advert. p. iv) it is intended, will be apt to regard as of equal authority with the Scriptures themselves. Thus, the following words are added in p. 46: *"The nature and attributes of this unknown God will now be made known to you"*. In p. 210: *"In the one divine essence there are three persons, called the Father, the Son (or the Word), and the Holy Ghost"*. In p. 216: *"The Father is God"*. In p. 218: *"The Son is God"*. In p. 244: *"The Holy Ghost is God"*. In p. 355: *"There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost ; and these three are one"*. Now although in the English part of the publication all these additions are distinguished from the language of Scripture by being printed in the Italic character, yet in the Bengalee language no such distinction is or can be used, and therefore all native readers, at least, are left to conclude that Mr. Schmid's additions are the words of inspiration.

I am aware that in adding the last passage quoted, Mr. Schmid has the example of the Authorized English version to keep him in countenance, but in following it he has deserted the example of Luther, the Father of the Reformation and the Founder of the Lutheran Church, of which he professes to be a member. Luther refused to admit I John v. 7. into his German translation as long as he lived, although after his death it was surreptitiously added, and is retained to the present day. Can a man of Mr. Schmid's information and acuteness be ignorant that it is no part of the words of John? I would respectfully refer him to Sir Isaac Newton's Dissertation on it in his Letter to Le Clerc, to Griesbach's Diatribe at the end of his New Testament, to Porson's Letters to Travis, to Michaelis's Dissertation in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. IV. ch. xxxi, or, to go no farther, to an Article in a late number of the Quarterly Review, containing a refutation of Bishop Burgess's lame attempt to revive the credit of this exploded passage. Bishop Marsh has said, and justly, that "it is not less inconsistent with the principles of religion to ascribe the authority of Scripture to what is not Scripture, than to refuse our acknowledgement where such authority exists" ; and a greater than Bishop Marsh has taught us that to "add unto" is as criminal as to "take away from" the words of inspiration.

of Gibbon and Hume, and you will no longer question the doubts which anti-christians have entertained respecting historical passages. Listen to the wranglings of the thousand sects into which the Christian world is divided, and you will at once acknowledge the disputes to which the exercise of free and independent thinking on other passages has given occasion. To assert therefore the mere liability of the historical and dogmatical parts of scripture to such doubts and disputes is to assert nothing but what is true, and at the same time nothing but what is perfectly consistent with the most sincere reverence for the entire volume of inspiration.

Instead, therefore, of perceiving any indications of a wish to depreciate the rest of the scriptures or to represent them as calculated to do injury, which is the very weighty charge brought against Rammohun Roy, I can perceive only a useful, sincere, and judicious endeavour to recommend a peculiarly valuable portion of them to the perusal and attention of his countrymen. And in the opinion of every enlightened Christian, this endeavour was not likely to be the less useful because he described the improvement of their hearts and minds as the primary end of all religion, nor the less sincere because, while he acknowledged the doubts and disputes to which certain passages are liable, he laboured to exclude from his compilation whatever was calculated to occasion doubts and disputes amongst them, nor the less judicious because he sought to disarm their prejudices by introducing them to an acquaintance with the Christian scriptures, through the medium of those plain and necessary requisitions of faith and duty which few will refuse to admit, however much they may be forgotten and violated.

2. The next charge which has been brought against Rammohun Roy's Introduction to the Precepts of Jesus is that he has attempted to invalidate the miracles of Christianity, by classing them with those of Hindooism. It is thus stated in the words of Dr. Marshman :

"The Deist and the Infidel will be delighted to find the miracles of Jesus Christ classed by a well informed Hindoo with the sage Ugusti's drinking up the ocean in a fit of passion, and his causing the Vindhyn mountains to prostrate themselves before him, described to his countrymen as being such, as, if narrated, 'would be apt at best to carry little weight with them', and hence represented as being better suppressed, though his Precepts are excellent".

I have already quoted from the Introduction the passage on which this charge is evidently founded.

Dr. Marshman is well acquainted with the ambiguity of language, and has no objection sometimes to employ it to his own advantage and the discredit of his opponent. To class the miracles of Christ with those of Ugusti may signify either to mention them in the same connection, or to attribute to them equal authority. Again, to describe the miracles of Christ as being "apt at best to carry little weight with them" may refer either to the low estimation in which they would be held by those for whom the compilation was intended or to the low estimation in which they actually are held by the compiler himself. And, lastly, to represent them as being better suppressed may relate to a temporary suppression rendered necessary by the ignorance and prejudice of the Hindoos preventing the perception

of their truth, or to a perpetual suppression advocated by Rammohun Roy because he considers that they are false. Now in each of these cases admitting of two opposite constructions it is only the latter one that can be regarded as in the slightest degree favourable to the cause of the Deist and the Infidel, and yet this is the construction which Dr. Marshman has adopted, notwithstanding its palpable incorrectness. Even Mr. Schmid, strongly as he objects to the language which Rammohun Roy has employed, might have taught him that in the Introduction there is nothing more than "a *juxta position* of the miraculous relations contained in the New Testament and of the impure fictions of Hindoo mythology;" and the reference which is made in the passage under consideration to "the natives of Asia" and to the light in which the Christian miracles *"would be"* regarded by them, sufficiently shows that he meant only to give an opinion of the inutility, in present circumstances, of urging this branch of the Christian evidence upon the attention of Hindoos. If this opinion be erroneous, let it be shown that it is so. But the mere delivering of such an opinion can never be represented, except with the grossest injustice, as an attempt to invalidate the miracles of the gospel and as affording a matter of triumph to the Deist and the Infidel.

Dr. Schmid has left it to Dr. Marshman to be the author of this charge and has contented himself with disputing the correctness of the opinion on which Rammohun Roy has acted, in excluding the miracles of Christ from his compilation. "I am utterly at a loss", he says, "to conceive how a reasonable man can image that the silly nursery stories which form the substance of the Hindoo religion and literature, can in any wise diminish the weight which the well authenticated narratives of the benign and highly significant miracles of the holy Jesus carry with them !" Rammohun Roy rests his opinion on the one class of miracles appearing to the natives of Asia *less wonderful* than the other, a statement to which apparently, Mr. Schmid has not adverted, or at least which he has not attempted to disprove. This consideration does not appear to me to possess the weight which Rammohun Roy ascribes to it, but although the subject is one which requires investigation and involves important consequences, yet it is foreign to my present purpose to enter into it at large. I think it of more importance to remark that, for a reason suggested by Mr. Schmid himself, the miracles of the New Testament can be in present circumstances urged upon few Hindoos with much prospect of advantage to the Christian cause. The narratives of Christ's miracles he justly describes as well authenticated, and this forms one of the principal grounds of their superiority to "the silly nursery stories" of Hindoo mythology. We may therefore consider him as admitting that if they were not "well authenticated" they would not deserve the credit which they now receive. But a miracle the narrative of which is *not authentic*, and a miracle the narrative of which *cannot be proved* to an objector to be authentic, amount, as far as that objector is concerned, to one and the same thing. Now, in the present state of knowledge among the Hindoos, how few are there that can feel the force of the evidence that convinces Mr. Schmid of the authenticity of the Evangelical narratives, and yet until they are both capable of feeling and do feel its force, they must necessarily regard the miracles of Christia-

nity in the same light as he regards the miracles of Hindooism. In such circumstances the mere publication of the miracles of Christianity *without the evidence which supports them* will only afford an occasion to the ignorant and prejudiced to ridicule what they will call "the silly nursery stories which form the substance of the" Christian "religion", and to express their surprise how they "can in any wise diminish the weight" of the stupendous and well authenticated miracles of Hindooism. It clearly follows that the miracles of Christ should be urged only upon those who, from their previous habits and acquirements, are likely to perceive the force of the evidence upon which they rest and to appreciate the peculiar characters by which they are distinguished. Nor does this impose upon the Christian Missionary to the Hindoos any extraordinary hardship. It is the glory of Christianity that it possesses various kinds of evidence adapted to the diversified circumstances and characters of mankind, each by itself sufficient to prove the Divine authority of our religion. To employ therefore only one kind, or even all the kinds of Christian evidence, under all circumstances, and for the conviction of persons of all descriptions of character, would argue not our reverence for Divine authority or the value we place on Divine Revelation, but rather a contempt for the provisions of infinite Wisdom and Goodness.

It is worthy of remark, in relation to this subject, that the primitive apologists for Christianity, although they lived so much nearer the age of miracles than we do, were frequently compelled by local, temporary, and occasional causes to lay much stress upon them than their intrinsic value required and their own convictions dictated.[1]

The last charge, and that which has been most vehemently urged against Rammohun Roy, is that of representing Jesus Christ as a mere Teacher of morality, who has neither the will nor the power to examine whether his precepts are obeyed. It would not, however, be doing justice to Dr. Marshman if I were not to quote the language which he has thought himself at liberty to employ on this subject.

"It is well known," he says, "that in Britain and on the Continent there are many, who, while they do not openly deny Him, earnestly wish to degrade the Redeemer of the world to a level with Confucius or Mahomet, and to contemplate him as the Teacher and Founder of a Sect, instead of adoring him as the Lord of all, the Redeemer of men, the sovereign Judge of quick and dead. These, viewing the Compiler of this work as a man new to the subject and not yet biassed, (as they term it) to any system of doctrine, will insist on his being far more likely to discover the genuine meaning of the Scriptures, than those who, educated in a Christian country, have been conversant from their youth with the generally received interpretation of Scripture : and giving him full credit for having examined the whole of the sacred writings in the closest manner, will be pleased beyond measure to find that by the testimony of an intelligent and unprejudiced heathen they have in Jesus Christ a Teacher who *cannot* search the heart—a Saviour (if the name may be still used) who does not reduce them to

[1] See Paley's Evidences, Part III, Chap. V, particularly the quotations from Justin, Irenaus, Laotantius, Origon and Jerome in pages 334, 335, 338-340.

the mortifying necessity of giving up all their boasted rectitude of intention and submitting unconditionally to his mere grace for salvation,—who while he, in their opinion, duly appreciates their native goodness of heart, by submitting to them the noblest and most equitable precepts, never intends, as the Judge of all, to examine whether they cordially obey them, nor indeed lays claim to that Divine Nature, which alone could render Him capable of judging the secrets of the heart, the hidden springs of action, at the great and final day".

As Dr. Marshman has not adduced any evidence in support of this accusation, I can only refer to the whole of Rammohun Roy's Introduction or to the quotation from it contained in a preceding page, for the probable grounds upon which it rests.

I shall have occasion, in a subsequent letter, to express the gross and shameless misrepresentation of the Unitarian Doctrine which the above paragraph contains. At present I only remark that a writer can expect little credit to be given to his assertions who classes "rectitude of intention" among the depraved principles of human nature, which it is the proper business of the Saviour to reduce mankind to the necessity of surrendering. If Unitarianism were, in its leading principles, what he has described it, or, in its practical requirements, what he has represented his own system to be, I should never be found among its advocates.

This ravings of an ignorant and intemperate zeal against Unitarians "in Britain and on the Continent" are mixed up with similar accusations against Rammohun Roy. What I would ask, did Rammohun Roy say or do to subject him to these accusations? Where has he described Jesus Christ as a mere moral Teacher, on in level with Confucius or Mahomet? Where has he said that Jesus Christ never intends to examine whether his precepts are cordially obeyed, and is not capable of doing so, if he would? I search in vain for such words or for the opinions which they express in the Introduction to the Precepts of Jesus, although this was the only one of his publications on Christianity that had appeared at the time Dr. Marshman advanced these serious allegations.

The charge against Rammohun Roy of having represented Jesus Christ as a mere Teacher of morality, like Confucius or Mahomet, must have originated in the fact that he attempted to publish the Precepts of Jesus without his Doctrines. But this fact does not support the conclusion which is drawn from it. It is clear from the publication itself that he ranked Jesus Christ, considered even as a moral Teacher, much higher than any that had preceded or followed him, and no reason for this avowed preference could be more probable than that he considered His precepts to possess a higher excellence and a more commanding authority. Besides, the same argument will prove, among other things, that Mr. Schmid, who has had the honour of leading the way in this objection as well as in the whole controversy, considers the religion of the Bible to be a mere system of doctrines unencumbered with morality. He has permitted the First number of his Summary of the Scriptures to remain four years before the public without any addition, and although it treats only of the nature, attributes, and works of God, and is much more thoroughly purged of moral precepts than

Rammohun Roy's compilation is of doctrines, yet I hear of no objection that has been made to it. Has it been found out at last that it is safer to believe mysteries without practising morality, than to practice morality without believing mysteries? Neither the nature of Rammohun Roy's publication, therefore, nor the language of his Introduction will authorize the conclusion that he considered Jesus Christ uninspired, like Confucius or Mahomet, or inspired only to teach morality.

I have said that Rammohun Roy *attempted* to publish the precepts of Jesus without his doctrines. Did he succeed in the attempt? On the contrary, Mr. Schmid asserts, and asserts truly, that he has, "from a happy inconsistency", or rather from a positive necessity", introduced "several", he might have said many passages of a dogmatical nature into his compilation, which one would think might have mitigated the censures that have been passed upon it. The fact is that a considerable confusion of ideas, if not a great incorrectness of opinions, appears to have prevailed on both sides of this question. A distinction has been made on the one hand and recognized on the other between the moral and doctrinal parts of Scripture. But this is a distinction which belongs rather to human systems of Divinity than to the Revelation of the Divine will in the New Testament. In that book the precept enforced is so intimately blended with the truth which is taught, that if you reject the one you in most cases lose the other. The only way in which Rammohun Roy could have effected his object would have been to form from the Four Evangelists a small collection of moral axioms similar or additional to those contained in the book of Proverbs. But with the large quotations from the Gospels which his compilation includes it was vain in him to make the attempt which he has made, and with that knowledge of Scripture which Mr. Schmid and Dr. Marshman ought to have possessed it was more than ridiculous in them to unite in the chorus of lamentation and censure which their words convey.

Nor is it difficult to trace to their source the mistakes into which both parties have fallen. Mr. Schmid and Dr. Marshman have argued on the supposition that doctrines are necessary to be believed solely on their own account, as if a mere belief in doctrines were essential to future salvation. Now this completely overlooks "the *grand design*" of Divine Revelation, which is to make man holy and happy, to promote piety and virtue, love to God and benevolence to our fellow creatures. With this view the Divine Being by extraordinary messengers reveals or confirms certain facts or truths undiscoverable or only obscurely suggested by human reason. These facts or truths when inculcated are called doctrines, when received as real and certain they operate as motives upon the mind, and thus operating they become the sufficient means for the accomplishment of the above all important end. None of the truths or facts or doctrines of Revelation terminate in themselves : they are only means towards an end. They have all a direct and positive moral bearing, and it is impossible to conceive, consistently with the acknowledged character of God, why he should make known to his creatures any doctrine in a supernatural way but an account of, and with a view to, the moral effects which it is fitted to produce upon reasonable

beings. Instead, therefore, of Rammohun Roy having shown, by his attempt to compile only the precepts of Jesus, that he was, as Dr. Marshman gratuitously asserts, "completely opposed to the *grand design* of the Saviour's becoming incarnate" this very fact shows that his "mind" was in full accordance with the great and ultimate object of the Saviour's mission, while Dr. Marshman's assertion to the contrary affords him too much reason to retort the charge upon his accuser.

Rammohun Roy, on he other hand, has fallen into the opposite mistake of placing the end before the means, and of endeavouring to attain the one without the use of the other. The religion of Christ is superior to every other religion not only as possessing a purer and more sublime morality, but as enforcing that morality with a higher authority and with more powerful motives. To separate, therefore, the doctrinal from the practical parts of Scripture, if it were possible, would be hurtful by diminishing the probability that the latter would be obeyed.

It will be found, however, on examination, that the doctrines which he sought to exclude from his compilation are not those which Jesus Christ really taught. Did he seek to exclude the doctrine of Christ respecting the nature of God and the worship which he requires, the character of God and the service with which he is pleased, or the government of God and the rewards of good and evil which he will bestow? Did he withhold those passages of the gospel which teach us to depend upon a superintending Providence, and to acknowledge the undeserved goodness of God in all that we are and possess and enjoy? Did he omit those passages which inculcate the necessity of repentance and reformation in order to receive the pardon of sin and enjoy the favour of God, or those which declare the certainty of a future state, and of that righteous retribution which awaits all the sons of men? He did nothing of all this. On the contrary, these, which are the prominent truths and fundamental doctrines of the gospel, may be satisfactorily proved over and over again from the very passages which he has inserted in his compilation.

What then, it may be inquired, are those doctrines from which it was his aim to separate the moral precepts of Jesus? He evidently refers to those "various doctrines" which he "found insisted on in the writings of Christian authors, and in the conversation of the teachers of Christianity with whom" he had "had the honour of holding communication," among which he particularly mentions "the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost." Giving credit, apparently, to these Christian authors and teachers for knowing better than himself the genuine doctrines of Christianity, but unable to receive what they represented as such, he naturally excluded from his compilation all those passages in the Discourses of Christ which his researches and inquiries had taught him were commonly referred to in proof of these doctrines. He might flatter himself that this was the best way, without violating the convictions of his own mind, to benefit his countrymen, and at the same time to avoid giving offence to his religious friends by publicly controverting those doctrines which they were known to support. Accordingly in his Introduction, after having stated the fact that different criteria of the Christian character are laid down by different sects, he

expressly declines entering into the discussions they involve and limits himself to an exhibition of "the words of Christ". In short the whole of the Introduction is an ingenious declaration of the difficulties he had experienced in arriving at the conclusion that the regulation of the heart and life is the great end of all religion, and in making the discovery that this also is the specific object of Christianity ; and that, therefore, whatever truth or error there might be in the opinions which separate Christians from each other, he could not be doing wrong nor expect opposition inculcating upon his countrymen the moral precepts of Jesus on the excellence of which all are agreed. Considering the opinions which he has since avowed and so ably defended, he must have exercised a great degree of forbearance both in adopting the language of his Introduction and in selecting the materials to form the body of his work; and so far from his having first attacked the doctrines of orthodoxy, he seems to have been driven most unwillingly, by the personal and unprovoked assaults of the Editor of the Friend of India, to a defence of himseslf and of the religious sentiments which he had conscientiously embraced as the truths of God.

Such, then, are the original charges brought against Rammohun Roy, and the original grounds on which the Missionary controversy with him was begun; charges and grounds which every competent judge will pronounce to be altogether unjust and insufficient.

Every man, it is believed, who coolly and impartially weighs all the circumstances of the case, must disapprove the course which the Missionaries have pursued; while a plain practical believer, who has never been initiated into the mysteries of human systems, will find himself utterly at a loss to account for the manner in which Rammohun Roy's publication has been assailed. What is the nature of the work which has received such decided opposition? Will it be believed that it is not only in name but in deed and in truth the Precepts of Jesus—that with the exception of four pages of an Introduction, it consists entirely of the very words of Christ, without note or comment, gloss or interpretation—and that, whatever objections may be made to some parts of the Introduction, its manifest design and indisputable general tendency was, in conformity with the Title, to do honour to the character of Christ, to recommend the instructions which he delivered, and to advance the religion of which he was the author? Yet this is the work which, as soon as it appeared, was publicly denounced as tending "greatly to injure the cause of truth", and it was thus denounced by men who profess to consider the cause of truth and the cause of Christianity as identical!

Not only the nature of the work but the character of the author should have prevented or at least moderated the opposition which he has received. The author is a Ḥindoo Brahmun of high and honourable caste, the representative of an ancient, respectable, and wealthy family. Early penetrating into the errors and evils of Hindooism, the religion of his fathers, and Mohummudanism, with which the course of his education made him acquainted, he had for a considerable time been employing all his talents and learning and influence and had endangered his fortune and even his life, in his endeavours to rescue his countrymen from the demoralising influence of idolatry and to lead them to the knowledge and

worship of the one Living and True God, the benevolent Father of all his creatures. Not contented with correcting the speculative belief of his countrymen, he was anxious also to reform their morals and to improve their condition, and had therefore laboured with indefatigable zeal to inform the public mind on the subject of the burning of widows, and to procure from the government an order for the abolition of that horrid practice. And although his efforts were thus directed both against the popular superstitions of his countrymen and the practical enormities which they involved, yet, after the first brunt of persecution had ceased, he continued to enjoy a high degree of reputation not only with the intelligent few whom he had led to embrace juster views and more salutary principles, but even with those who clung with encreasing fondness to their ancient errors and prejudices. In the midst of his inquiries and labours, his attention was directed to Christianity, and although at first perplexed by the different views and representations of opposing sects, and especially by the mysterious doctrines which most of them deemed essential to the Christian system, yet his mind soon settled into the conviction that the morality of the gospel distinguished the religion of Christ from all other religions, and that by its simple, pure, and sublime requisitions it was eminently adapted to promote the highest welfare of his countrymen. He felt, however, that the utmost prudence was necessary in the mode of drawing their attention to what he was convinced would prove so highly conducive to their happiness. He considered that their prejudice against Christianity were strong, and were kept in a state of constant irritation by the very means that were zealously employed to remove them. In publishing, therefore, a collection of the sayings of Christ from the Four Evangelists, and in recommending to them "this simple code of Religion and Morality" as "the guide to Peace and Happiness", he went quite as far as, in his view, was warranted by a regard to their circumstances and character. He did not perhaps go quite so far as an ardent Missionary might have wished: he went much farther than even such a Missionary could reasonably have expected. He could not at once bring his understanding to embrace all the subtelties of scholastic theology ; but by fixing, with a ready acquiescence, upon the didactic and practical parts of Christianity he showed that his heart was right in the sight of God and that his chief object was to lead mankind to true piety and virtue. Besides, his work, if it had been left by an officious zeal to its full and unimpeded operation, might have produced the most beneficial effects in gradually preparing his countrymen for the reception not only of the Precepts of Jesus as the Guide to Peace and Happiness, but also of the entire Scriptures as the Records of Divine Revelation. Instead, however, of receiving with confidence his profession of sincere regard for the morality of the gospel—instead of hailing with joy the accession of such an efficient labourer in the arduous work of Hindoo evangelization, Mr. Schmid immediately attacked him on the insufficient grounds already mentioned, and the feeling of hostility against his publication rapidly passed, as it were by contagion, through the Missionary ranks, as if he had been the declared enemy of all that is pious and virtuous and good.

Finally, the character and circumstances of the Missionaries themselves furnish an additional aggravation to the extraordinary conduct which they have adopted towards Rammohun Roy. It is now upwards of thirty years since the first two Baptist Missionaries came to India with a view to the conversion of Hindoos, and although during this period perhaps not less than fifty Missionaries of different denominations have been sent from Europe to Bengal and the adjacent provinces, yet in return for the great expense of life, of labour, and of money which such long-continued and extensive undertakings necessarily involve, it cannot be denied that the direct success has been very limited and imperfect. Compared with the lives that have been lost, the labour that has been bestowed, and the money that has been spent, the number of converts at the highest computation is but small, and generally speaking of a character not calculated to afford much satisfaction to their surviving instructors. With such views and in such circumstances it might have been anticipated that Missionaries taught by experience would have anxiously sought to cherish the slightest tendency to Christianity in such a person as Rammohun Roy, and that, if, in any of his writings, he had either mistaken or misrepresented their system, they would have laboured in an amicable way to correct what they deemed erroneous or to supply what was deficient. When, instead of this, it is found that opprobrious epithets, injurious imputations and the most barefaced calumnies have been employed to bear him down, who will not stand astonished and confounded at their infatuation? I am not permitted to doubt the sincerity of those who have begun or carried on this unholy warfare against a learned and respectable native who was endeavouring to promote with greater prudence and efficiency than themselves the very object of their mission to this country. But when I see them thus seeking "to quench the smoking flax", and to throw away every impediment in the way of a sincere and able labourer in the cause of religious truth who "followeth not with them", I am compelled to say that they know neither their own spirit, nor the spirit of the Master whom they profess to serve, and that judging not by their professions, but by their conduct in this particular case, they might, without any breach of charity, be supposed to have come to this country not to spread Christianity but to retard its progress.*

WILLIAM ADAM.

29. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" on the above. (May 17, 1824).

Though there are many points of discussion which in the everyday business of life we must unavoidably pass over—still we would fain, as much as in us lies, keep the rule in view of Quicquid agunt homines nostri farrago libelli.

On this principle alone we should have deemed it our duty to have submitted to our readers, the article which forms our principal *Asiatic* selection for this days number;—we have, however, been swayed by reasons of a higher nature than

* *The Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany* (May), quoted by *India Gazette*, May 17, 1824.

that to which we have alluded. The article in question is entitled to great consideration, with reference to the history of the human mind in the East.

Though hitherto we have not in our paper, in any detailed manner, adverted to the labours of that distinguished Native, Rammohun Roy—still, we have been no disinterested spectator of them. We say distinguished, because he is so among his own people, by caste, rank, and respectability; and among all men he must ever be distinguished for his philanthropy, his great learning, and his intellectual ascendancy in general. As a man who has cut no mean figure in the republic of letters, and in the walks of philosophical enquiry, we have a right thus publicly to mention Rammohun Roy ; and it is necessary that we should claim this right, lest it might be deemed indelicate in us to refer too pointedly to a person whose great modesty of itself is an evidence of high genius, and certainly enhances its gifts.

Rammohun Roy is pretty well known to the public in general, by his benevolent efforts to abolish the abominable practice of widow burning. What effect his writings to that end may have produced, we have no certain criterion of judging. If concremation of the living has not very apparently decreased since his works exposing the absurdity and wickedness of the practice appeared, let us not hastily infer from this that they have *not* produced effect somewhere. Let us rather consider the immense field of mind over which the seed was to be strown by one single unassisted hand. In a population of one hundred millions, a single individual arises to stay, if possible, a destroying angel of darkness that scatters misery over the land. In such a population a hundred lives saved in course of a few years would hardly be noticed ; yet what an object the saving of *one* life must be to the Philanthropist? That Rammohun Roy's writings have been the means of saving some lives we doubt not; for we understand that there are now *many* respectable natives convinced by his arguments ; and it is not to be questioned, but this conviction must be beneficial,—is on the increase, and must in its increase weaken the bonds of superstition and murderous custom, and set their captives free. For our own part we regret extremely that these writings were not spread forth among the people as much as possible. It is, however, impracticable for one man to give sufficient currency to them. Were a committee of wealthy Natives to take the subject into consideration, much good might be effected; and we cannot help thinking that Christian Missionaries might do as much good by republishing and distributing the appeals against these human sacrifices, as by doing out tracts upon doctrinal and practical Christianity which the Natives wont read, or, which reading, fail to move them a jot from the religion of their fathers.

In addition to his efforts to put a stop to a most horrid practice, Rammohun Roy endeavoured to improve the moral condition of his countrymen, by making them acquainted with the sublime ethics of the Christian system.—Whatever might have been his ideas respecting the mysteries of Christianity with reference to its founder, and his miracles; he appears to have held only one opinion respecting his precepts. He, and so must every one who studies them, considered them as incorporating the best system of moral law ever delivered to mankind. Accord-

ingly he selected out of the sacred books which contain his history, as it has come down to our times, the *'Precepts of Jesus'*, and under that title he presented them to his countrymen without gloss or comment; leaving them to produce that effect which in the end they must produce on every mind not entirely and obstinately blind to the truth. The circumstance of his having thus published for his countrymen the *precept* alone of Jesus Christ, drew our compiler into the vortex of a controversy, which whatever other effects it may have caused, still further exhibited the acuteness of his mind, the logical power of his intellect, and the unruffled good temper with which he could argue.

The article to which we referred at the commencement of these desultory observations, gives a general summary of the controversy in question. To it, therefore, we would direct the attention of our readers; and to those who have not in their hands the writings of Rammohun and his opponents, the excerption in question must be acceptable. It is taken from the last number of the *Unitarian Repository*, an unostentatious little periodical published in this city.

So far as we can understand, the strictures of the Reverend Editor of the Repository are candidly and dispassionately written. As to Unitarian or Trinitarian questions or other speculative points of Doctrine, we have here nothing whatever to do with them. We studiously avoid giving any opinion at all on these heads ; but we owe it to common sense and the cause of truth, to declare, that we entirely coincide in the Reverend Editor's opinion respecting the attack on Rammohun, which really appears to us to have been about as injudicious and weak an effort of officious zeal as we ever heard of. The effect of that attack was to rouse up a most gigantic combatant in the Theological field—a combatant who, we are constrained to say, has not yet met with his match here.*

30. A letter on the missionary meekness. (September 27, 1826).

To the Editor of the Sumbad Cowmoodee.

Sir,—Some days ago there was a Missionary Gentleman preaching the doctrines of Christianity to the Natives on a Sunday afternoon ; in a Bungalow near the new Tank in Simlya, on the side of the new public road. Desirous of hearing the discourse, I entered the bungalow, and found the gentleman engaged in a controversy with a Brahman on the subject of the Hindoo religion, which was conducted in a becoming manner, and with the use of polite language, asking him to corroborate his assertions by the authorities of the Shastru. In the course of this controversy, however, the Missionary gentleman thinking the Brahman had made a wrong quotation, said to him, "you are a low ignorant fellow", and made use of some such other harsh expressions, which quite disheartened the poor Brahman, and frightened him into silence. The Missionary

* *India Gazette*, May 17, 1824.

gentleman took this opportunity to dwell on the immoral character of the Hindoos. When he had done his preaching, I asked the favor of his answer to some enquiries I had to make respecting the Christian doctrines, and notwithstanding I repeated my request over and over again, he paid no attention to it, but silently stepped into his buggy and drove away.

I really find myself at a loss to assign any reason for this conduct ; and therefore beg, through the medium of a newspaper, to be made acquainted by the Missionary gentlemen with the rules they may have adopted for conducting a religious controversy.

It is generally a group of vulgar people that forms the congregation of the Missionary gentlemen, and seldom, if ever, any respectable people are to be found there. Should these, when they bring forward any argument or make any enquiries, be treated with contempt and disrespectful language in the manner above stated, they will be altogether discouraged ; which, far from accomplishing the object of the Missionary Gentlemen, is more likely to defeat it. An answer to the above will highly oblige.*

27th September, 1826. A BRAHMAN.

31. Editorial observations of the "Bengal Chronicle" on the activity of the Calcutta Unitarian Mission. (October 27, 1827).

We have had some days in our possession a letter of the Rev. Wm. Adam, Secretary to the Calcutta Unitarian Committee, to the Revd. W. J. Fox, Foreign Secretary to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association and to the Rev. J. Tuckerman D. D., Secretary to the Boston India Association. We cannot at present enter upon any thing like a detailed notice of the pamphlet named, but we propose doing so at an early opportunity. Meanwhile we cannot but deeply regret that in this land where every species of idolatry is freely tolerated, a sect of Christians should have to complain of hostility from fellow christians labouring in fact, in the same vineyard. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of Unitarianism as compared with the more orthodox faith, surely even the most bigotted Trinitarian would not be infatuated enough to deny that it would be a wonderful step in the religious advancement of the worshippers of wood and stone, to make them worshippers of one great universal cause even in the Unitarian form! Whence then their attempts to cast opprobrium on their Unitarian fellow Christians. It is, we believe, equally obvious to any man acquainted with the tenets of Islamism that it must be a less difficult task to convert a Mussulman to the Unitarian, than the Trinitarian faith. The orthodox Christian then, should rather, we think, unite his forces to those of the Unitarians, trusting to the power of truth to bring the convert on from the half way house of Unitarianism to the haven of his own true faith. We reserve our further notice of the subject how-

* *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* October, 1826.

ever, till another occasion, when we shall make some extracts from the letter to which we have alluded.*

32. Further editorial observations on the same. (October 30, 1827).

As we have distinctly disclaimed all intention of entering into any examination of the merits of Unitarian Christianity in our notice of the letter of the Secretary of the Unitarian Committee, we have a right to expect that in our further remarks on the subject, we shall be judged only by the plain and fair construction of the language employed by us. A Paper exclusively devoted to religious discussion, might possibly be a very useful publication, but it is certain that any such discussion in a political journal would be entirely out of place, and we shall never therefore lend our pages to it.

The objects for which the Unitarian Committee is associated, are thus described in the Secretary's letter:—

"The primary object of the committee may be briefly described to be the promotion in British India of the knowledge, belief, and practice of the principles of Unitarian Christianity, as that form of our religion which is in their judgment most consistent with the will of its Inspired Founder, and best adopted to secure the improvement and happiness of those by whom it is cordially embraced. The plans which they propose to follow for the attainment of this object, will hereafter more particularly appear. I only remark in this place, that they are not tempted to the direct means for the propagation of Christianity. History, science, and philosophy, the committee regard as the handmaids of true religion ; and whatever therefore, has a tendency to diffuse the benefits of education, to destroy ignorance and superstition, bigotry and fanaticism, to raise the standard of intellect, to purify the theories of morals, and to promote universal charity and practical benevolence, although not in immediate connexion with Christianity, will be considered by them as within the scope of their design. The melioration also of the physical condition of the numerous native population, the encouragement of the useful arts and of industrious habits amongst them, and the consequent increase of their social and domestic comforts, the committee regard as legitimate objects of pursuit, as all experience shows that it is only when the first wants of nature and society are fully supplied, that the higher degrees of improvement in intellect, in morals, and in religion, can be expected to follow. And, although it is not anticipated that the Committee will be able to devote any, or at least any considerable part, of their resources to these objects, yet it is hoped that the fact of all the native members being extensive landholders, will open the door, when the services of qualified agents can be obtained, for the gradual introduction of important improvements in the social condition of the Ryots, or cultivators of their estates. Politics and government do not enter, under any form, into our plans; but it may not be altogether irrelevant to add, that all the members of the Committee,

* *Bengal Chronicle*, October 27, 1827.

Native as well as European, unite in the strong conviction that no greater misfortune could happen to India, than the dissolution of its connexion with Great Britain; and that as private individuals, they most earnestly desire to see the bonds of union even more closely drawn, and the principles of British law more fully engrafted on its institutions, than they are at present."

It cannot be expected of course that Trinitarians will not co-operate in the "primary object" here announced, but it is the opinion of every unprejudiced unbigotted individual with whom we have ever conversed on the subject, that previous education of a general nature must precede the conversion of the natives to Christianity. Direct assaults upon the Hindoo faith, tho' they may be more congenial to the views of visionary enthusiasts, can never succeed in effecting the demolition of the fabric of Hindoo Idolatry. Its bases must be undermined by the slow and sure, but almost imperceptible agency of general education. "History, science and philosophy", says the Secretary of the Committee, "we regard as the handmaids of true religion". A position which bigotry alone will deny.

It must be conceded then, that in this view of the question, that the road to conversion of both Unitarians and Trinitarians must, to a certain point, be the same. Why then should they not to that point, if they will not or cannot associate their means at least travel on in peace without jostling each other? Surely this is a course which is equally recommended by reason, and the spirit of that faith which both Sects profess. "Whatever has a tendency", says the letter, "to destroy ignorance and superstition, bigotry and fanaticism, to raise the standard of intellect, to purify the theories of morals and to promote universal charity and actual benevolence, although not in immediate connexion with Christianity, will be considered by them, (the Unitarians) within the scope of their design." To this, we say, that let the religious tenets of those who engage in this good work be what they may, they are entitled to the good opinion and support of all good men, and they have our warmest wishes for their success and abundant increase of the means of promoting objects the accomplishment of which must add so infinitely to the sum of human happiness.

We have already remarked that the Unitarians complain of having been held up by fellow Christians to the opprobrium of the native population. Those who have so endeavoured to depreciate them must forgive us if we observe, that in our humble judgment they have acted with little wisdom and still less Christian charity. It is answered, however, that the Unitarians are not backward in retorting such attacks: they too would do more wisely to pass them over in silence, but when their creed is assailed it is but natural they should endeavour to defend it, and it must be remembered that they are the few and weak in influence opposed to the powerful many.

That every Trinitarian should regard the Unitarian faith "as an imperfect Christianity derogatory to its divine author and to his cross and sacrifice" is what cannot surprize and ought not to provoke the Unitarians. In fact, it is an inevitable consequence of the Orthodox faith, and no believer in it can regard the

Unitarian doctrines in any other light; but we do not see any reason why this opinion should be either said or sung in Churches, or why it should be deemed an essential duty of Orthodox or Unorthodox Trinitarian Divines to thunder forth *ex cathedra* their anathemas against Christians of any sect whatever.

A passage in Mr. Adam's (the Secretary's) letter has been cited to show that he is not backward not merely in defending his own faith, but in assailing that of others. The passage is as follows:—

"From the adherents of that party which assumes the appellation *Evangelical*, we differ *toto Coelo ;* and whether they belong to the established churches, or to the dissenting communions, they are to be viewed in effect as one sect,—one in sentiment and interest,—and as contributing their united efforts to bring back, or to introduce, the reign of a gloomy and intolerant fanaticism, tending to place religion chiefly in modes of feeling and of faith, to the partial and sometimes total disregard of its great moral purposes."

Now if there be any sin in holding this opinion, it is one for which we are equally answerable with Mr. Adam. We do certainly consider, that that party termed the Evangelical and assuming the title as we believe it does, *par excellence*, has done more injury to true religion, with the very best intentions no doubt, than all its avowed enemies here have been able to effect. We agree most fully in the opinion that "they are contributing their united efforts to bring back or to introduce the reign of a gloomy and intolerant fanaticism". In every feature of their plan for the propagation of education, they show that they are the antipodes of the lamented Bishop Heber, whose death deprived the cause of Christianity in India, of its most learned, most amiable and most liberal advocate and supporter.

Our space warns us to conclude. Hitherto it would appear that the labours of the Committee have been chiefly preparatory. A view is taken however, of the state of the public mind in regard to the progress of Unitarianism, which if it be correct would seem to justify the expectations in which the Committee indulge. In regard to the native population it is considered and we certainly think with great show of reason, that the Mussulmans and Hindoo Unitarians or perhaps the more proper designation would be Hindoo Deists, are likely to lend a more ready ear to the doctrines of Christian Unitarianism than to those of the orthodox faith. There may be those who may think it better to leave them where they are, but we confess we are not of the number. We close our observations with one short extract which we earnestly recommend to the attention of Christian Missionaries of all sects:—

"Every one, whether Trinitarian or Unitarian, who inculcates in his teaching or exemplifies by his life the mild and liberal spirit of the gospel, will be hailed by us as a fellow labourer in the cause which we are desirous of promoting".

Let all Christians adopt the truly Christian sentiment here expressed, and they will thus in their example, as well as in their precepts, inculcate the mild forgiving spirit of the religion of peace which they preach.*

* *Ibid.*, October 30, 1827.

33. An account of a meeting of the Calcutta Unitarian Mission. (January 3, 1828).

Agreeably to public announcement a General Meeting of the Friends and Supporters of Unitarian Christianity in Calcutta, was held at the Hurkaru Public Rooms, on Sunday evening, the 30th ultimo. After an appropriate prayer by the Revd. W. Adam, Theodore Dickens, Esq., was called to the chair.

The Chairman introduced the object of the Meeting by briefly stating the circumstances under which the Calcutta Unitarian Committee was formed in 1821, the small number of individuals that originally composed it, the difficulties with which they had to contend, and the increasing interest which has begun to be felt in their labours both in India, in England, and in America. He remarked that all who were present, in proportion as their minds were interested in the promotion of pure and rational religion, must feel that their nature was elevated and improved, and although he saw several around him better qualified than himself to preside at this meeting, yet he was grateful for the honour which was done him, and yielded to none in the great importance which he attached to the objects of the committee and in his anxious desire to extend the blessings of Unitarian Christianity, to those who were prejudiced against its principles or ignorant of its truths. He then called upon Mr. Adam, the Secretary, to read the Report ; but as it was too long for perusal at one time, only extracts were read the whole being intended for publication.

The design of the Report was stated to be to communicate information to Unitarian Christians in different parts of the world, respecting what has been done, what is doing, and what is proposed to be done, for the promotion of Unitarian Christianity in India. The first endeavour of the Committee after its institution, was to secure foreign co-operation ; in which they have succeeded to a considerable extent, both American and English Unitarians having contributed liberally to aid them in their labours. The first object accomplished by their united means, has been the employment of a Unitarian Missionary, and another object for the attainment of which a public subscription has been opened, is the erection of a Chapel for English worship in Calcutta. The latter object was especially urged in the Report as essential to give full efficiency to the Mission. After detailing the proceedings and intentions of the Committee for the diffusion of religion and knowledge by means of Lectures to the Natives, Schools, Tracts, etc. a summary view was given of the state of the Funds which were classed under three separate heads, the Permanent Fund amounting to Sa. Rs. 25,000, the interest of which is applied to the support of a Missionary ; the Chapel Fund having a cash balance of about Sa. Rs. 9,000 in its favour after the purchase of ground for 12,000 Rs., besides Calcutta subscriptions still remaining unpaid to the amount of 5 or 6,000 Rs.; and the General Fund or Fund for contingent expences which consists of annual, quarterly, and monthly subscriptions, and donations amounting to 160 Rs. per month. Adverting to the defective organization of the Committee, occasioned by the peculiar circumstances in which it had taken its origin, the gentlemen composing it, recommended a more

complete organization under a new and more comprehensive name that of the British Indian Unitarian Association, and with that view proposed a series of Resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

The first Resolution was moved by Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor and seconded by Mr. Smith. That this meeting does hereby form itself into a Society which shall be called the British Indian Unitarian Association, having the same objects and principles as the Calcutta Unitarian Committee, assuming all the responsibilities of that Committee, and receiving their rights, titles, powers and properties.

The second Resolution was moved by Baboo Tarachund Chuckruburtee and seconded by Mr. Sutherland that the members of the Calcutta Unitarian Committee be requested to act as the Committee of the British Indian Unitarian Association for the ensuing year, under the rules and regulations framed by the Calcutta Unitarian Committee for itself, with power to supply vacancies in their own number; and that the Committee be requested to frame and submit to the next Annual Meeting such further regulations as may appear necessary to give efficiency to the Association.

Mr. Sutherland seconded this Resolution. He observed that the talents and worth of the Gentlemen nominated, and the esteem in which they were universally held in this Society rendered it unnecessary for him to say anything in favor of such a nomination. He believed that when a Unitarian Chapel should be erected in Calcutta it would be numerously and respectably attended, and that the principles of Unitarian Christianity would be the only effectual means of dissipating that thick cloud of superstition which has so long hung over this land. He hoped he might observe without offence to any one present (alluding to the native gentlemen) that in no country in the world, was the spread of rational religion an object of more interest to the philanthropist than in British India. Yet let it not be supposed that in India alone superstition exerted its debasing influence. Instances of it were of frequent occurrence in countries esteemed infinitely more enlightened, and he hoped he might be excused for mentioning one example of it which had recently come to his knowledge. Because in his mortal agonies the late Mr. Canning whose loss Britain now deplores—the brightest star in the galaxy of talent that ever adorned the office of Premier, had no Minister of religion in his chamber it was alledged that he was an Atheist! A more revolting example of bigotry was never recorded!

Mr. Sutherland concluded by expressing his opinion that within the past year more especially, the number of those disposed to listen to the doctrines of Unitarianism had greatly increased and his conviction that the labors of the association would be attended with success.

The third Resolution was moved by Mr. Adam and seconded by Mr. Gordon that this meeting views with deep interest the combined exertions of English and American Unitarians to establish a Mission in this country, pledges itself to zealous and persevering co-operation with them, confides in their continued sympathy and aid in the prosecution of the object, and earnestly solicits the assistance and countenance of such Unitarians both in Europe and America as have hitherto withheld their support.

Mr. Adam in moving the Resolution pointed out the limited resources of the English and American Unitarians, the number and importance of their domestic institutions, and the proof of deep interest in a Foreign Mission which was furnished by the very liberal and disinterested pecuniary aid which under these circumstances they had afforded to the Calcutta Unitarian Committee. To show the extent of the interest felt in this object he enumerated the various places in England and Scotland from which subscriptions in aid of the Calcutta Mission had been derived. He also read a letter which he had just received from Baboo Prusunnu Comar Tagore, expressing that gentleman's regret, that he was prevented by serious indisposition from being present, and stating that he was and should continue to be a warm friend to the cause of liberal religion.

The fourth Resolution was moved by Rammohun Roy and seconded by Mr. Tate, that this meeting invites all Unitarians, whether Christian or Hindoo, in every part of India, to form themselves into Associations Auxiliary to the British Indian Unitarian Association, and to place themselves in communication with the Secretary of that Association.

We regretted to observe that Rammohun Roy was labouring under severe bodily indisposition at the time. We understand, that he has since, in some measure, recovered from an attack of rheumatism under which he was then suffering.

At one of the intervals between the seconding of one Resolution and the moving of another, several questions were asked by a gentleman (Mr. Douglas) respecting the rate of subscription, the constitution of the Committee, the disposal of the funds, etc. which were answered by the Chairman apparently to the perfect satisfaction of the meeting.

The Chairman again addressed the meeting congratulating those who were present on the unanimity which had attended the proceedings of the evening and on the encouragement which they afforded to the friends of Unitarian Christianity in Calcutta to proceed with firmness and zeal in the prosecution of the high and important purposes for which they were united.

The meeting was then closed by a short extempore prayer by Mr. Adam.

We observed that a distinguished foreign traveller Count Vidua, was present, besides several other gentlemen of respectability. The auditors appeared to be much interested in the proceedings.*

34. Editorial remarks of "John Bull" on the above proceedings. (January 3, 1828).

At a meeting of several gentlemen of the Unitarian persuasion, held at the *Hurkaru* rooms, a string of Resolutions was passed embodying the Meeting into

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* quoted by *John Bull,* January 3, 1828.

an Association, to be called the *British Indian Unitarian Association.* A Mr. Sutherland, who moved one of the Resolutions adduced as a proof, that superstition extended to Christians, as well as *Hindoos,* that the late Mr. Canning had been accused of Atheism, because he had no Minister of Religion with him on his death-bed. From an extract, taken from the *Examiner* it appears, that Mr. Hunt has accused some Evening paper, of having brought this very serious charge against Mr. Canning, and of having grounded it on the circumstance alleged. How far this accusation of an Evening paper is well founded, we cannot say, until the *corpus delicti* be before us. Mr. Sutherland at the Unitarian meeting speaks of something like information in regard to it, of a more precise nature, than the *Examiner* furnishes. We confess, however, that we have some difficulty in believing, that any English Journal of respectability would, from the mere absence of a Clergyman with Mr. Canning, when he died, have ventured on throwing such an indelible stain, as Atheism, upon the memory of this distinguished Statesman. High as political animosities have run, it is scarcely credible, that they should have led the most virulent of the late Premier's opponents, to hurl such a *brutum fulmen* at his memory. The highly gifted and cultivated intellect of Mr. Canning is the best proof, we can desire, that he could have never lent his sanction to doctrines incompatible with the slightest progress of human reason: and it certainly seems to us to be travelling out of the way, to seek for proof, in this quarter, to satisfy the Hindoos, that Christians can be superstitious as well as themselves.

The proceedings of the Unitarian Meeting will be found in another part of our paper. We trust we shall not be deemed uncharitable, or uncourteous, in saying, that from an Association so constituted and supported, the *Orthodox Faith* has little to fear: and we may add, that at this time of day we scarcely expected to see the machinery of *'Societies'—'Auxiliaries',—'Parents'* and *'Branches'* starting up and fostered by those who appear in the pages of yesterday's *Hurkaru.* We would recommend to the promoters of this new spiritual scheme, for the sake of the cause, in which they are engaged, to imitate the example of the Serampore Missionaries, and remain for a little in modest retirement. They may rest assured, that their proclamation has excited that sort of comparison which is any thing but calculated to inspire respect for Religion, even as professed by "Free-thinking Christians". There is an extreme of folly, over and above, in half a dozen individuals congregating together, and by a simple—*"let a Society be"* imagining that forthwith "A Society is". But some men flatter themselves, that their names are enough, to convince and convert the public to their dogmas. We certainly marvel at their vanity, and have no doubt they will—*have their reward.* It is time, however—now that the lawyer forsakes his brief, and the agent his desk, to commence the apostle of Unitarianism, that our Bishops, and Presbyters look about them, that the goodly fabric of "the faith once delivered to the saints", may not be driven from this land of heathen darkness, by the joint forces of the Hindoo Unitarians, and Free-Thinking Christians.*

* *John Bull,* January 3, 1828.

35. An article of Rammohun Roy on the Symbol of the Trinity. (July, 1829).

"The mention of the name of Sir Isaac Newton, one of the greatest mathematicians (if not the greatest) that existed, has brought to my recollection a mathematical argument which I some time ago heard a divine adduce in support of the Trinity, and which I feel inclined to consider here, though I am afraid some of my readers may censure me for repeating an argument of this kind. It is as follows:—That as three lines compose one triangle, so three persons compose one Deity. It is astonishing that a mind so conversant with mathematical truth as was that of Sir Isaac Newton, did not discover this argument in favour of the possible existence of a Trinity, brought to light by Trnitarians, considering that it must have lain so much in his way. If it did occur to him, its force may possibly have given way to some such considerations as the following:—This analogy between the Godhead and a triangle, in the first instance, denies to God, equally with a line, real existence; for extension of all kinds, abstracted from position or relative situation, exists only in idea. Secondly, it destroys the unity which they attempt to establish between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for the three sides of a triangle are conceived of as separate existences. Thirdly, It denies to each of the three persons of God, the epithet 'God', inasmuch as each side cannot be designated a triangle ; though the Father of the universe is invariably called God in the strict sense of the term. Fourthly, It will afford to that sect among Hindoos, who suppose God to consist of four persons or চতুর্ব্যূহাত্মক an opportunity of using the same mode of arguing, to show the reasonableness of their sentiments, by comparing the compound Deity with the four sides of a quadrilateral figure. Fifthly, This manner of arguing may be esteemed better adapted to support the polytheism of the majority of Hindoos, who believe in numerous persons under one Godhead; for instead of comparing the Godhead with a triangle, a figure containing the fewest sides, and thereby proving the three persons of the Godhead, they might compare God with a polygon, more suitable to the dignified rank of the Deity, and thus establish the consistency with reason of the belief that the Godhead may be composed of numerous persons. Sixthly, This mode of illustration would, in fact, equally suit the atheist as the polytheist. For as the Trinity is represented by the three sides of a triangle, so the eternal revolution of a nature without any divine person may be compared to the circle, which is considered as having no sides nor angles; or, seventhly, as some great mathematicians consider the circle as a polygon, having an infinite number of sides, the illustration of the Trinitarian doctrine, by the form of the triangle will by analogy justify those sects, who maintain the existence of an infinite number of persons in the Godhead, in referring for illustration of their opinions to the circular, or rather perhaps to the globular figure, in which is to be found an infinity of circles, formed each of an infinite number of sides."*

* *Asiatic Journal*, July, 1829.

36. A letter condemning the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj. (January 12, 1830).

To The Editor of the *John Bull.*

Sir,

It is announced in the *India Gazette*, that "several learned and wealthy Hindoos" have recently united in purchasing ground on which to erect a building appropriated to religious purposes. The Editor of the Gazette, says, that this "is at least curious, if not instructive, as exhibiting the tendency of educated natives, *to reject all the established forms of belief and worship*, under the comprehensive tolerance of a universal Theophilanthropism!" If such are to be the fruits of educating the natives, it will become a question of the very highest moment, with every Christian and every well-wisher to his race, how far he is not lending his aid in promoting such education to introduce Atheisn itself, and to undermine every foundation of human happiness. It is sometime ago since you noticed in your columns, that the Unitarianism of Ram Mohun Roy had stepped into this "Hindu Theism" as the Editor of the India Gazette styles it. I understand this "wealthy and learned Hindoo is at the head of the new project: who his co-adjutors are I have not learned ; but I may risk the conjecture, that as they are such latitudinarians in religion, as to *"reject all the established forms of belief and worship,"* so they are also staunch *liberals* in their politics. I hope your contemporary of the India Gazette, as he has furnished us with something like the Creed of this new sect, will also let us know, who they are that form its body, that we may judge how much of "the entire intelligence" is comprehended in "Chitpore Road Association." In the mean time you cannot do better than favour your readers with the extract given by the Gazette of the "Trust Deed" which has been executed by the Hindoo Theists—in doing so you will oblige, among others,

Your's

A CHRISTIAN..

Note by the Editor.—The following is the extract alluded to by our correspondent, who appears to attach more importance to this new fangled project, than we are disposed to do. We will venture to foretell, judging from those who are said to be at its head, that the day of its existence will be but short lived. We only wonder how men of common sense can be led away by such—humbug:—

"*Hindoo Theism.*—Several learned and wealthy Hindoos have recently united in purchasing ground situated in the Chitpore Road, and erecting a building on it to be appropriated to religious purposes. The following extract from the Trust-Deed which has been executed, is at least curious if not instructive, as exhibiting the tendency of educated natives to reject all the established forms of belief and worship under the comprehensive tolerance of a universal Theophilanthropism.

"Upon trust and in confidence. . . . . . . or at least as often as once in 7 days."* (Trust Deed quoted).

* *India Gazette*, quoted by *John Bull*, January 12, 1830.

37. A criticism of the above. (January 12, 1830).

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru & Chronicle.

Sir,—Having observed in the *India Gazette* of the 11th instant, an extract from a Trust Deed executed by several Native Gentlemen for the appropriation of an edifice in Chitpore Road to the worship of God in spirit and truth, and with the intention of promoting charitable principles;—I however entertained some doubts as to the immediate attainment of the object referred to, until I chanced to see the *John Bull* of this morning, in which the Institution in Chitpore road is abused, editorially by the Reverend Editor, and most probably by the same gentleman under the *very appropriate* signature of A CHRISTIAN, as it is well known to those who have attentively observed the Rev. Gentleman's career in this country that he has ever been opposed to measures which have for their aim the removal of error or prejudice and the welfare of mankind.

I do not however think, that the illiberal strictures of the Revd. Editor, will produce the slightest annoyance or disappointment to those for whom they are intended, because to be abused by such a writer, can have no influence with any person, whatever.

I request the few readers of that low and debased Journal to compare the Editorial remarks and those of A CHRISTIAN with the extract from the trust deed, of which they profess to be a commentary, and then impartially to judge whether the charge of "Atheism" and "the undermining every foundation of human happiness" brought against the projectors of the Institution, be not evidently malign and false; and whether the object of the "Chitpore Road Association" be not eminently calculated to promote and extend the purest spirit of Philanthropy and Benevolence among men of every persuasion, creed and colour.*

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

ARGUS.

38. A letter ridiculing the prejudice of the editor of the "Samachar Chundrika" against the Brahmo Sabha. (February 15, 1830).

To The Editor of the *Cowmoodee.*

How shall I describe the extent of the knowledge which the Editor of the *Chundrika* has attained. He has actually invented new modes of reasoning. Former writers have said that the appearance of smoke indicates the existence of fire ; reversing this rule, we conclude from hearing the sounds of the *Tublah,* that the musicians must be Moosoolmans. This mode of drawing a conclusion shews how exquisite is his reasoning. According to the logic of the Turku Shastrus, I should conclude that the Editor of the Chundrika having formerly lived at Shaik-para (the quarter of Moosoolmans) his former connections always recur to his memory ; as we say in common speech, the place of one's birth gives a turn to the character. Be that as it may, it is only the wretched Brahman who can revile another for hearing the Vedas. The Shastrus affirm that in this iron

* *Bengal Chronicle,* January 14, 1830.

age, the Vedas will be despised. For these two reasons therefore, the Editor of the Chundrika is blameless. His censuring the employment of Moosoolman music to assist the singing after the reading of the Vedas, reminds me of this couplet of the Muhabharut, "O King, he sees the fault of another, though it be no larger than a grain of mustard seed ; he overlooks his own, though it be larger than a Vilvu fruit". This couplet is brought to my mind by the fact that the Chundrika sees no propriety in employing Moosoolman music and dancing, and in giving the English wine and meat at the Doorga, Ras and other festivals. Closing his eyes upon these absurdities, he perhaps fancies that the dancing of courtezans, and the wine and meat given to the English are as essential to the festival as the flower and the chundun wood. How astonishing is it that he should see no fault in any thing but in the Brumhu Subha ! If after the reading of the Vedas, the singing be accompanied with Moosoolman music, his objection must arise either from malice or from the Shastrus. I cannot see how his objections can be founded on the Shastrus, for they say that in a great assembly the contact of the low-born is not censurable.

He proposes after having weighed the letter sent him from a man of "another village" to expel vicious Hindoos from society. Granting that this may be advantageous, I am anxious to know whether this rule is to apply to the past, to the present or to the future. The Editor of the Chundrika certainly knows whether the vicious who reside in "other villages" are expelled or not ; for he himself has resided in "another village". Having then resided both in "another village", and in this city, he who was once afflicted with disease, may with safety prescribe for it as a Physician;; yet an ignorant physician is more awful than the Regent of death. For whatever cause the Chundrika touches, he ruins. First, after appointing some men to act in chief, he touched the business of Suttees and they were forbidden ; he has now commenced his exertions on Religion and the caste, and these also I suppose he will quickly bring to an end. I am anxious to learn how he will fix the ranks of the virtuous and vicious among the Hindoos ; how he will draw the distinction between secular and virtuous Brahmuns: between Soodras who serve the three orders and those who embrace another faith, and whether he will regulate the different ranks, on the basis of the Shastrus. I rather think his judgment will not be guided by the Shastrus, for at the very outset, he is sorely annoyed at the reading of the Vedas, from which all may judge how profoundly he is acquainted with the Shastrus. In matters of envy and abuse, he is indeed indefatigable. Whether or not he has determined that those who put down a trifle to the Suttee subscription will become virtuous Hindoos I cannot ascertain. If such be his object, there are many at this time fallen from the ranks of Hindooism who by expending a little money by way of subscription to Suttees may regain their lost honour. If this sovereign disposer of these questions, will condescend to inform us what decision he has formed in this matter, he shall certainly have a reply.*

A READER OF THE CHUNDRIKA.

* *John Bull*, February 15, 1830.

39. Censorious remarks of the "John Bull" on Ram Mohun Roy and his new sect. (October 16, 1830).

The article on the last *Foreign Quarterly Review,* entitled "The English in India" is redolent of those errors, that abound so much at home, in regard to what is taking place in this part of the world. We are apt to wonder, how such mistakes are fallen into, and how when committed they are not immediately pointed out and corrected: but we forget, that although they may attract the notice, and the smile of a few individuals, who are better instructed, than their instructors, the great body of lookers on have no care or interest, whether the picture is faithful or otherwise ; and can feel no desire to see it rendered a nearer *fac simile* of the original than it is. If it is so drawn, as to astonish or amuse them for the moment, it has served the purpose of the artist, who with the very slenderest materials can fill up a finished sketch, which, granting it to be according to truth and nature, would certainly have a claim to the attention of the curious and philosophical observer of his race. Let us take the example furnished in what the *Foreign Quarterly* says of Ram Mohun Roy. It places him, as a matter of ascertained and undoubted fact, at the head of "the first fugitives from Hinduism" and these "fugitives" it sets down as amounting to thousands. We should imagine from this, that Ram Mohun was the leader of a new and numerous Sect, duly organised by him, and receiving with all submission the doctrines that proceed from his mouth: and if in doing so, we chanced to fall into a slight error, we certainly should not be helped out of it by those, who from local knowledge might be better instructed, representing the "fugitives from Hinduism" of whom the Quarterly speaks as headed by Ram Mohun Roy, as professing the creed of the Unitarian Christian. Whatever Ram Mohun Roy may have once been, he has ceased to hold his place in the Unitarian ranks; and we have never heard of more 'fugitives from Hinduism' adhering to this creed, than three or four native gentlemen, whose names appear in our Directories along with those of some Christians, as Members of the Committee of the Calcutta Unitarian Society. Nor is there, as we understand, any very decided flight from Hinduism even on their part; they adhere to not a few of its practices, and abstain from that, which is in itself innocent and proper out of respect to its tenets. Many of our readers, however, must know, that various and rather strange revolutions have taken place in Ram Mohun Roy's religious opinions; and the last position in which we have heard of his being placed, was that of a Theo-philanthropist, discarding, as far as we could gather any thing from the exposition of the sect given by the *India Gazette,* all belief whatever in Revelation, and far enough removed from the Unitarianism of "Milton, Newton and Locke", which we are told is the creed of Ram Mohun and his "fugitives from Hinduism". The fact is that Ram Mohun Roy has made no impression upon his countrymen, in the way of leading them to become "fugitives from Hinduism", and has himelf been too wavering and unstable in his own creed, to form a rallying point for those of his countrymen, who may be 'given to change'. It was at one time expected by many, who are desirous to see the conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity, that this talented and acute native gentleman, would have proved a powerful instrument in accom-

plishing so desirable a change: but that hope we believe has long been forsaken. If Ram Mohun Roy is to affect any change in the religious belief of his countrymen, it will not, we fear, be to lead them over to Unitarian Christianity, much less to the Orthodox Creed of the Church. The confession of his faith, and of that of the 'fugitives from Hindooism' spoken of some time ago, by the Editor of the *India Gazette*, will scarcely amalgamate with that of the Christian.

The *Hurkaru*, we observe, is also displeased with this article in the *Foreign Quarterly*. Those Hindoos who are believed in Europe to have become somewhat familiar with European literature are advised by the Reviewer to go on a little further, and satisfy themselves by the perusal of certain well known works, as to the fact of the actual existence of a sufficient body of historical evidence to the truth of the narrative contained in the New Testament. A more harmless hint than this could not, it strikes us, possibly be given, yet it seems mightily to have offended the *Hurkaru*, who writes as if he thought that something personal lurked under this most unphilosophical suggestion. Indeed it does appear to us, that though intended for others, the Editor may fairly take advantage of it, for his remarks on the functions and limits of human reason in such questions clearly, betray that he has never read what Dr. Chalmers has written on this subject.

We advise our readers to study Dr. Chalmer's Essay on the Historical Evidences and judge for themselves of its merits. Our *radical* Editor to be sure is a philosopher, but perhaps in common with many, who assume that name he resembles those intolerable gamesters, who to use the words of Hobbes, will after trump is turned, use for trump upon every occasion that suit, whereof they have most in their hand, and who amidst all their clamour about right reason, yet seek no more but that things should be determined by no other men's reason, than their own.*

40. An account of the institution of the Brahmo Sabha. (September 17, 1831).

A Society called the Brumha Subha was instituted some years ago in the Jorashank of this great city of Calcutta, in which the Vedas are read and expounded and divine hymns sung every Saturday evening ; and its Directors have erected a building for the purpose. Thither both secular persons and learned brahmuns resort at the stated meetings both to hear and read; and there they receive distinguished honour. In particular, in the month of Bhadra, a number of learned pundits having gone there on written invitations, were dismissed by the Directors with liberal gifts and much honour. Such a practice has been regularly established by the Directors, and similar gifts have been distributed at other times also. Thus on Saturday, the 19th of Bhadra, not less than 200 learned pundits were present by letters of invitation, besides a great number of students, and the Directors made presents of 16, 12, 10, 8, 6, 5, 4, 3, and 2 Rupees, according to the letters. Then all present, whether invited or not, and whether known or

* *Ibid*, October 16, 1830.

not, received a gratification and departed. None were excepted. All being honoured, the Directors were rewarded by an accumulation of poonya.*

41. An account of a Resolution adopted by the Synod of Ulster, congratulating Rammohun Roy on his arrival in England. (September 19, 1831).

At the meeting of the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster, held at Larne on Thursday last, the following resolution was proposed by the Rev. Mr. Montgomery, and carried unanimously :—"That a respectful letter be written in the name of this Synod, to that illustrious stranger, the Rajah Rammohun Roy, of Bengal, congratulating him on his arrival in Britain, expressing our admiration of his splendid talents and attainments, our high satisfaction in his accession to the cause of Christianity, our deep sense of his invaluable exertions for the diffusion of the Gospel, and assuring him that we should rejoice to see him in this country, and to receive him with all the respect and cordiality so justly due to his distinguished name, his philanthropic labors, and his unsullied reputation."†

42. A deprecation of the temper and proceedings of the educated Hindoo youths of Calcutta. (October, 1831).

Our readers must have perceived from various recent indications and discussions, that considerable excitement has for some time past existed among the more intelligent and educated classes of the Native population of Calcutta. Here as well as elsewhere there is a conflict going on between light and darkness, truth and error, and it is because we cannot fully approve of the temper and proceedings of those who have our best wishes that we now advert to the subject, in the hopes of leading them to a more correct appreciation of the circumstances in which they are placed, and to the adoption of better adapted means for the promotion of their object. The labours of Rammohun Roy and the establishment of the Hindoo College have together contributed to give a shock to the popular system of idolatry in Calcutta, perhaps we might say in Bengal, which has evidently alarmed the fears of its supporters. A Bruhmu Shubha, or Hindoo Theistical Society, has been formed by Rammohun Roy and his friends, who besides have the command of several presses and conduct several periodical publications both in the English and Bengalee languages. Those young men who have received their education at the Hindoo College and have embraced liberal sentiments, have not united with the former party, nor do they agree perfectly among themselves, but have apparently divided into two classes, according as they are more or less disposed to encounter all risks in their opposition to the prevailing system. The more moderate division have not any organ for the communication and defence of their sentiments ; while the Ultra or Radical party have boldly taken the field, and are carrying on an active warfare against their opponents. While we wish well to all, it is this last-mentioned party that have our warmest wishes in their

* *Timeer Nashuk*, quoted by *Sumachar Durpun*, September 17, 1831.
† *Bengal Hurkaru*, April 25, 1832.

favour, and we trust that they will receive with candour the suggestions we are about to offer, dictated by a conviction that they are, in some respects, mistaking their mission and the nature of the means most likely to promote it.

The first objection we have to make to their proceedings is, that instead of limiting their attention to essentials, they lessen their own influence and strengthen the cause of their idolatrous opponents by unnecessarily running counter to the customs and institutions of native society. We take it for granted that their object is what it ought to be,—to make a stand against the folly, the vice, and the impiety of idolatry, and to vindicate for themselves and others the rights of conscience, the right of exercising their own judgement on moral and religious truth, and the right of acting in conformity with the convictions of their own minds. These are noble objects worthy of every sacrifice they can be called to make, and we would not recommend any thing that would in the slightest degree compromise them. But the attainment of these objects, instead of being furthered, will be retarded by certain views which in their minds appear to be combined with them. For instance, indiscriminate eating and drinking, i.e. eating and drinking not in conformity with the rules of caste, are inconsistent with the enjoyment of respect in Hindoo society as at present constituted, and are consequently incompatible with the possession and exercise of a salutary influence over those who compose that society. Yet most of those of whom we are speaking despise the rules of caste and refuse all conformity to them, by which means they not only banish themselves from Hindoo society and lose all influence over it, but even supply their enemies with a handle against themselves, as if their only purpose in rejecting the religion of their country was to obtain the gratification of their appetites. We are far from thinking that the institution of caste is harmless, but the observance of its rules in respect of eating and drinking need not trouble any man's conscience ; and the only question is, whether more good will not be done by conforming to them than by violating them, always combining the observance with the open profession of those sentiments and principles which will prevent it from being misinterpreted. Another instance occurs to us of the way in which popular prejudice is unnecessarily offended and native customs broken down. Every body knows that good manners, according to the etiquette introduced by the Moosulman Courts, require a native to have his head covered in the presence of others, but some of our youthful Hindoo Reformers, from a weak imitation of English customs, are now in the practice of going about with their heads uncovered. Such sights have grated harshly on *our* associations: how must they be regarded by their bigoted countrymen, to whom habit and custom are every thing ! They must shut the door against the entrance of every argument which might otherwise find access to their understanding. They must awaken and strengthen every prejudice which might otherwise, by almost imperceptible approaches and in a thousand nameless ways, be undermined and destroyed. As our Reformers wish to be considered philosophers, they should not forget that it is human nature they have to work upon.

Another way in which they are acting unworthily of themselves and creating, amongst the English community at least, a moral impression against their cause,

is by treating with scorn and contumely the praiseworthy literary exertions of their idolatrous opponents. The example which we quote here is the case of Raja Kali Kishen who lately published a translation from the Sunskrit of "the Neeti Sunkhulun, or Collection of Sunskrit Slokas of enlightened Moonees". To judge correctly of the reception to which this work was entitled, we should not only consider the character of the work, but also the situation of the translator. The work itself doubtless contains many puerilities, but to our apprehension it also contains some beauties, and unfolds a page of human nature from which we acknowledge that we have derived both amusement and instruction. But let the work be from beginning to end as silly as it has been unjustly represented to be, still it is an attempt at least by the translator, to communicate moral instruction to his countrymen, and to make English readers better acquainted with the contents of Sunskrit literature. Are these objects to be met with vollies of ridicule or abuse? The Raja Kali Kishen is an evidence and representative of one of the beneficial effects that have been produced upon the wealthy Hindoos by the progress of education. Possessed, we believe, of great wealth, his understanding and his attainments are not of that class that would raise him to great eminence among his countrymen. Fifteen years ago a Hindoo of this description would have plunged into sensuality and expended his superfluous riches in the most evanescent gratifications. Instead of following in this respect the examples of others by whom he is surrounded, he is laudably desirous of benefitting his countrymen, and the *desire* alone to be useful ought to procure him the respect and co-operation of every well-wisher to the progress of society. Yet because the mode he has adopted does not fully meet the wishes or expectations of the reformers, he is met with a storm of obloquy far more to be regretted on account of its authors than for his sake. These are not the doings of real reformers.

We shall advert at present to only one other point. They not only unnecessarily shock the prejudices of their countrymen by disregarding their long established customs, and excite deserved odium against themselves by throwing undeserved odium on their opponents, but even in opposing what is wrong they do not pursue that temperate and consistent course which would satisfy the mind of the observer that their opposition is founded on sound principle and good feeling. We would not refer to the incident which occurred at the house of the Editor of the *Enquirer* in proof of this, if we did not know on authority which cannot be questioned that it is not a solitary instance in which the tenderest prejudices of the Hindoos have been grossly insulted and trampled on. We now refer to it, as it has been amply explained and atoned for, only for the purpose of showing the nature of the acts to which we refer. In acts of this nature there is a radical intolerance which is utterly opposed to that philosophy and love of freedom and truth and virtue of which such ample profession is made. We may refer also in illustration of what we mean, to the pages of the *Enquirer*, the chief organ of the party. There we find almost every thing that is calculated to irritate and inflame, scarcely any thing to persuade or convince. When it is considered that the writers are young and inexperienced, imperfectly acquainted with the language in which they write, superficially informed on the religion of

their forefathers which they have forsaken, and not even professing to have any system of their own to substitute for it, we may conceive with what feelings the assumption of this tone is regarded by their countrymen, and must conclude that until it is abandoned they must abandon all hope of being useful in the cause of truth and virtue.*

43. An account of the establishment and proceedings of the Brahmo Sabha. (January 1832).

We are glad to avail ourselves of the present opportunity to bring before the notice of the public an institution which has for some time existed among us, and we confess with regret we did not long ere now perform this part of our duty. The *Bhurmo Shubha,* a Vedant institution, was established in the year 1828, by our enlightened and celebrated countryman Baboo Ram Mohun Roy, in conjunction with several other intelligent Hindoos, and it has ever since continued to flourish, and to bestow mental benefits on our countrymen from the rich treasure of theological and moral instructions contained in the Vedant. Its meetings are held every Saturday evening at a well known house in Chitpoor Road, where preaching from the Vedant and singing psalms in praise of the one true God occupy the time of those who meet under the roof to worship the eternal Creator of the universe, and to pour forth their supplications at his throne without being detracted (*sic*) by the unmeaning and gaudy pageantry of superstition. Christians and men of every other persuasion are permitted to be present at the religious acts that are performed within this sanctuary, and as the preaching on the texts of the Vedant is in *pracrito bhasa,* or the vernacular Bengalee, all can understand what is said. No image of any kind is allowed to enter this house, nor is there any kind of sacrifice.

Those generally known by the appellation of orthodox Hindoos sometimes visit those meetings, and ask several questions which are answered by the pundits of the institution and proper explanations afforded.

The chief objects of this institution are to deliver the Hindoos from the thraldom of superstition and idolatry, to lead them to the worship of one God, and to improve their moral character by instructions calculated to raise their ideas from groveling objects, which only appeal to the senses, to those which are of a mental nature, and which raise the soul to a Being who is a Spirit, and who wishes that all who worship him should worship him in spirit and in truth.†

44. A letter in condemnation of the ostracising spirit of the Dharma Sabha against the members of the Brahmo Sabha. (August 4, 1832).

To the Editor of the *Durpun.*

About two years and a half ago the Editor of the Chundrika or Secretary of the Dhurma Subha, filled the Chundrika with numerous assurances, according

* *India Gazette,* quoted by *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* October, 1831.
† *Reformer,* quoted by *Asiatic Journal,* January, 1832.

to the fine inventions of his own brain, that wherever there were visits and invitations of the brahmuns and others who were the opponents of religion and adherents of the Brumha Subha, the gentry of the Dhurma Subha would not appear, and that whoever gave such invitations would be excluded from all others ; for from that time all the adherents of the Dhurma Subha, would give invitations only to those who were connected with parties of the same sentiments.

Lately, however, in a place 10 miles distant from this Metropolis, at the house of a most excellent, estimable, honoured, and illustrious brahmun, the most eminent persons of both the Bruhma and the Dhurma Subha, were invited on a particular occasion, and appeared together. It would swell this letter too much to give the names of all those persons. Should it be necessary, I shall not hesitate to impose upon my pen the task of writing their names.

Now, Mr. Editor, as you are in the habit of giving translations in your paper from the Chundrika, you must be perfectly aware, what declarations the Editor of the Chundrika made respecting the controversy about caste, in his account in his paper of the 27th Shrabun last, of the meeting of the Dhurma Subha of the 5th Magh, I quote a small portion :—"As we have formerly said this is the authority of the Society in the regulation of caste. We never said that the Dhurma Subha had any power over the property of a person who had lost caste".

When the invitation occurred at the above mentioned place, the son of the Secretary of the Dhurma Subha attended to keep his invitation. Has then the Secretary of the Dhurma Subha forgotten his former declarations, or did this occurrence come to pass in ignorance? It will be impossible for him to say so ; for in the end of his report of the 5th Magh, he asserted, that all intercourse with the opponents of the rite of suttee had been terminated. It therefore behoves the Secretary of the Dhurma Subha to furnish an explanation of the late occurrence. Does he mean to abadon his son? Or will he have a prayuschut performed? If he does not, then because of this impiety in the house of sanctity, all the followers of his faith, will be equally contaminated. and will indulge in intercourse with the opponents of suttees.

If he should defend himself by saying, "What can be the harm of killing a spider?" we can have no answer to make.*

ONE IMPATIENT OF INJUSTICE.

45. Some particulars relative to the institution of the Brahmo Sabha. (March, 1833).

This institution was planned and commenced about the year 1814. Its originator and chief supporter was Rammohun Roy, but he was joined also by Kaleesunker Ghosal, Brijomohun Mojumdar, Ramnursing Mukhopadya, and a few other highly respectable Natives. The meetings were formerly held at the garden-house of Rammohun Roy, but during the last five or six years, service has been regularly conducted once a week at a house in the Chitpoor Road. Three eminent Pundits are engaged to conduct the service, viz., Ramchunder,

* *Sumachar Durpun*, August 4, 1832.

Ootsobanundo, and a Hindoostanee reader, called Bawjee. The duty of the first is, to explain the text of Vyas, the object of whose writings is, to reconcile the dispute between those who declare the *Vedas* to be *eternal,* and those who affirm it to have been revealed at a certain time past. Ootsobanundo explains the *Upanishads,* which are subdivided into various branches, such as Vrihudarunyoka, Mundookya, Chandogya, Toitireeya, Prusna, &c. &c. ; and Bawjee simply reads portions of the *Vedas,* in the original Sanscrit language. The two first read and expound, in the Bengalee language, the science of the *Vedas* and *Puranas ;* and after the service is concluded, any individual seeking information, has an opportunity of discussion with the Pundits.

The object of the Brumha Shubha is to make known that part of the *Vedas* which is either unknown, forgotten, or neglected. The *Vedas,* say the Pundits, consist of two parts, the *Gyankhondo* and the *Kormokhondo ;* the first teaches the true knowledge and spiritual worship of God, and the last, the manner of performing ceremonies, such as burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, and sacrifices in general, together with the several duties, social and religious, devolving upon the several orders.

Both are considered *necessary* by the *Vedantists ;* they do not, as is generally supposed, *denounce* or *renounce* poojahs and sacrifices. They allege, that the uninitiated or ignorant cannot understand the *inner,* till they have practised the *outer,* religion ;—that idols and ceremonies are a *means* to spiritual knowledge.

Now is it the *Vedas* alone that the Vedant Priests profess to expound: they teach also the doctrines and practices prescribed in the Smritis or Puranas, the source of all this idolatry and superstition. The only thing that distinguishes the party from other religionists is, that they do not bow down to idols, but worship the one eternal, invisible Spirit, *having been,* as they arrogantly affirm, *sufficiently enlightened for the purpose.*

Some portion of the views entertained by the Vedantists has been published in about 18 pamphlets printed in Bengalee, and composed by Ramchunder ; and an English translation of some of them has been made by Tarachand Chukerbutty.

The hymns, of which the annexed is a translation, were composed by Rammohun Roy, Neelmoney Ghose, Kaleenath Roy, and others. One half of the service consists in singing some of these hymns, and in this part of it, the audience seemed to me to feel the greater delight, for the sermon or exposition is certainly unintelligible to the majority.

The singing and music are very superior to what Europeans are accustomed to hear from Natives elsewhere. And though the *style* may not accord with their taste or notion of fine music, yet in this display will be found not only considerable execution, but true science. The performance of Golam Abbas on the *toblah,* or small conical drum, played upon by the fingers, is truly astonishing, and is well worth *seeing,* as well as hearing. Bursts of applause frequently attest the admiration which his skill excites. The singing is similar to what is sometimes heard at nautches, but far superior. It is accompanied by the *toblah,* and also by the *tomburu,* which the *gaiak,* or songster, himself plays upon. This instrument is like a guitar, but the reverberatory is a large pumpkin. It is held in the left hand, and the strings, of which there are usually three, are swept by one finger. The

bealah resembles our violencello, and the *mondeere* are small cymbals, which have a very pleasing effect. These are the only instruments used in the Brumha Shubha.[1]

The service is now conducted on Wednesday evenings, commencing at sunset, and terminates at about 8 o'clock. Any one who wishes, is at liberty, to attend.*

M. W. W.

46. Extracts of Mr. Montgomery Martin's observations on the state of Religion and Christianity in India. (1835).

The Hindoo religion is of course the creed of the vast majority of the people; although now a gross system of *polytheism* adapted to the rudest capacities and appealing to or exciting merely sensual passions, there are various evidences in proof that it was once an almost pure system of *monotheism*, on which was subsequently engrafted the Hindoo *trimurti* or Triad..................

These sublime ideas of *the* Deity (Brahm!) . . . . . have been often mentioned to me by the late distinguished Rammohun Roy, who in conjunction with a few of his brethren in Calcutta, endeavoured to restore the pure and ancient form of Hindoo monotheism, by the establishment of an institution devoted to the simplest worship of the one, indivisible, invisible, omnipotent, and omnipresent God; the regulations for the conducting of this worship the writer of this work drew up, and the following is part of the trust deed prepared at the suggestion of Rammohun Roy, in Calcutta, in 1829;[2] it is a singular instance of a desire to discard the gross idolatry of a once primitive form of religion.

Trust Deed.—Upon trust and in confidence that they the said [*Here follow the names of the Trustees*] or the survivors or survivor of them, shall, at all times, permit the said building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, with their appurtenances, to be used, occupied, enjoyed, applied, and appropriated, as, and for a place of Public Meeting, of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction, as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and devout manner, for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe, but not under, or by any other name, designation, or title, peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings, by any man or set of men whatsoever; and that *no graven image, statue, or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of any thing,* shall be admitted within the messuage, building, &c.,

[1]Service was formerly performed on Saturday evening, and is commonly understood to have been transferred to Wednesday, for the express purpose of removing the impression that any one day of the week, rather than another, ought to be devoted to the public worship of God. There is to be an annual or biennial change of the day of the week on which divine service is held, so that each day of the seven will, in rotation, have its due share of homage.—*Ed.*, C. C. O.

[2]The institution was opened by the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, accompanied by the writer, (the only European present), in 1830; there were about five hundred Hindoos present, and among them many Brahmins, who, after the prayers and singing of hymns had been concluded, received gifts in money to a considerable extent.

* *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1833.

and that no sacrifice, offering, or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein; and that no animal or living creature shall, within or on the said messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, be deprived of life, either for religious purposes, or for food; and that no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the present preservation of life), feasting or rioting, be permitted therein or thereon ; and that in conducting the said worship and adoration, no object animate or inanimate that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become, or be recognised as an object of worship by any man, or set of men, shall be *reviled, or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of,* or alluded to, either in preaching, praying, or in the hymns, or other mode of worship that may be delivered, or used in the said messuage or building; and that no sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer, or hymn be delivered, made, or used in such worship, but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds ; and also that a person of good repute, and well known for his knowledge, piety, and morality, be employed by the said trustees, as a resident superintendant, and for the purpose of superintending the worship, so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated and expressed; and that such worship be performed daily, or at least as often as once in seven days.

What a contrast does the foreign description of a Hindoo temple of worship present to the establishment of the temple of the Idol of Jugunnauth, in Orissa, which the East India Company have now forbidden their government to meddle with in any manner as respects the collection of taxes from the pilgrims thereto, although levied for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred for the maintenance of peace and order ; it was well, however, to withdraw from the levy of taxes on such idolatry.

* * * * * *

. . . . . . The most learned Brahmins, while asserting and advocating the ancientness and correctness of the form of worship established by the late Rammohun Roy, maintain as an excuse for the present idolatries, that *it is easier to impress the minds of the rude and ignorant by intelligible symbols than by means which are incomprehensible.* Acting upon this principle . . . . . the Supreme and Omnipotent God whom the Hindoo has been taught to consider as too mighty for him to attempt to approach or even to name, has been *lost sight of in the multiplicity of false deities whose graven images have been worshipped in his place.* . . . . .

* * * * * *

Notwithstanding the forms and ceremonials of the Roman Catholic Church approximate so closely to the Hindoo worship (as often observed to me by the late Rammohun Roy) ; there have been few converts to the creed of Rome, and those who have become, nominally, converts to the Catholic church, have relinquished, it is true, one faith, but without adopting another* . . . . .

* Montgomery Martin: *History of the British Colonies,* Vol. I, pp. 282ff.

SOCIAL

47. Letter from the Nizamut Aadawlut to Government, communicating their required opinion re : prohibition of suttees, and suggesting some instructions that may be issued to the Magistrates for preventing any illegal practice of it. (June 5, 1805).

Para. 1.—Sir,—I am directed by the court of nizamut adawlut to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 5th February last.

2. For the purpose of obtaining the information required by his excellency the most noble the Governor General in Council, the nizamut adawlut proposed a question to the pundits of the court ; and subsequently made a further reference to them ; the answers to which, together with translations, are submitted for the information of his excellency the Governor General in Council.

3. It appears to the court, from the opinions delivered by the law officers, that the practice of widows burning themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands, is founded on the religious notions of the Hindoos, and is expressly stated, with approbation, in their law. The practice, as there recognized, is voluntary on the part of the widow, and grounded on a prejudice respecting the consequent benefit to herself and her husband in another world. It is however prohibited by the Hindoo law in certain circumstances, though encouraged in others ; and the administering of intoxicating drugs to women about to burn themselves is pronounced by the pundits of the court to be illegal, and contrary to usage. It does not appear that a woman having declared an intention of burning herself, but receding from it at any time before the commencement of the prescribed ceremonies, would forfeit her rank in life, or suffer any degradation in point of cast ; but it may be concluded from the answer of the law officers, that if she recede after the ceremonies are begun she would be an outcast until a severe penance has been undergone by her.

4. The court are fully sensible how much it is to be wished that this practice, horrid and revolting even as a voluntary one, should be prohibited and entirely abolished. Various incitements, especially that of promised happiness in another world, presented to an afflicted mind at the instant of the greatest sorrow, must too often induce a woman hastily to declare her intention of burning herself, and the fear of contempt and degradation may make her persist in the design through the very short interval which follows until its accomplishment. It cannot be doubted that persuasion is, at least sometimes, employed (though the contrary is said to be more frequent) to induce a widow to declare the design of burning herself, or to persist in it after making that declaration ; and the instance reported by the acting magistrate of zillah Behar, is a sufficient ground for supposing that most unwarrantable means are sometimes used to give the appearance of a voluntary act to that which the woman neither intended nor consented to.

5. The court being aware that some usages which were formerly prevalent, and which were authorized, or even enjoined by the Hindoo law, have either gradually fallen into disuse, or been actually prohibited by Hindoo princes,

thought it expedient to make inquiries, with the view of ascertaining whether this custom, though sanctioned by Hindoo law, might not be immediately abolished, without greatly offending the religious prejudices of the people. From these inquiries, conducted with caution, lest any alarm should be excited, the court have reason to believe that the prejudices in favour of this custom, are at present so strongly impressed on the minds of the inhabitants, in most parts of these provinces, that all casts of Hindoos would be extremely tenacious of its continuance. In others, (particularly in Tirhoot) more rational opinions are prevalent ; and this inhuman custom has there almost entirely ceased ; while, in some districts, the usage may be considered as nearly confined to particular casts (the khetree and kayuth especially), being either discountenanced, or little practised, in the other tribes.

6. Under this information, the court apprehend that it would be impracticable at the present time, consistently with the principle invariably observed by the British government, of manifesting every possible indulgence to the religious opinions and prejudices of the natives, to abolish the custom in question ; whilst such a measure would, in all probability, excite a considerable degree of alarm and dissatisfaction in the minds of the Hindoo inhabitants of these provinces. The court are accordingly of opinion, that the immediate adoption of a measure of the above nature would be highly inexpedient. It appears, however, to the court, that hopes may be reasonably entertained that this very desirable object may be gradually effected, and at no distant period of time.

7. With this view, and for the purpose of preventing any illegal, unwarrantable, and criminal practices, such as occurred in the instance reported by the acting magistrate of zillah Behar, the nizamut adawlut propose, should it be approved by his excellency the Governor General in Council, to issue instructions to the magistrates of the several cities and zillahs to the following purport :—

"That the magistrates shall direct the police officers under their authority, to use their utmost care to obtain the earliest information whenever it is intended to burn a woman with the body of her husband.

"That the police officers be directed to take immediate measures on receipt of such information, either by repairing in person to the place where the woman may be, or by deputing one of the police officers under them, to ascertain the circumstances, and particularly the age of the woman, and whether her intention of burning herself be entirely voluntary.

"In the event of the declaration having been forced from her, or of its being retracted by her, or of her being desirous of retracting it, or of her being found to be in a state of intoxication or stupefaction, as also in the case of her youth, or her being in a state of pregnancy, which would render the intended act illegal, it will be the duty of the police officer to take the necessary measures to prevent her being burned with her husband's body ; apprising the relations, or other persons concerned, that they will be dealt with as criminals if they take further steps towards the effecting of their criminal and illegal design.

"Should no circumstances occur to require his immediate interference, he shall nevertheless continue his vigilance; and in the event of any compulsion being

subsequently used, or drugs administered, producing intoxication or stupefaction, it will be his duty by all means in his power, immediately to stop so criminal a proceeding, and prevent its accomplishment.

"The officers in charge of the police will include in their monthly report to the magistrate, every instance which may occur within their respective jurisdictions, of a woman burning herself ; and will separately report their proceedings, in every instance in which they may interfere for the prevention of it, immediately after the case shall have occurred.

"The magistrates should give particular attention to enforce a strict observance of these instructions by the police officers under their authority".

8. The nizamut adawlut are of opinion, that in addition to these instructions to the magistrates, it might be useful for the end proposed, to publish a notification, under the authority of government, strictly prohibiting the practice of administering drugs productive of intoxication or stupefaction, and the use of any other illegal or unwarrantable means to procure the burning of a woman with the body of her husband ; and declaring, that persons charged with offences of the above nature, will be liable to be committed for trial before the court of circuit ; and, on conviction, to such punishment as the law directs.

9. The court hope, that by the adoption of the measures now proposed by them, the abuses which may have been hitherto sometimes practised, will be prevented for the future; and, that after information has been obtained of the extent to which the practice is found to prevail, and of the districts in which it has fallen into disuse, or in which it is discountenanced by the principal and most respectable classes of Hindoo inhabitants, it may be immediately abolished in particular districts, and be checked and ultimately prohibited in the other parts of these provinces.*

Fort William,
5th June, 1805.

I am &c.
(Signed) WM. B. BAYLEY,
acting register.

48. Further letter from the Nizamut Adawlut to Government, forwarding a letter from a magistrate and soliciting reply to their above communication. (September 3, 1812).

Sir,—I am directed by the court of nizamut adawlut to request you will lay before the right honourable the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the magistrate of Bundelcund, requesting instructions for his guidance, with respect to the practice of Hindoo widows burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands.

2. On the 5th February 1805, a letter on this subject was addressed by you to the register of the nizamut adawlut, enclosing copy of a letter from Mr. J. R.

* *Collection of printed papers relative to Hindoo Widows and Voluntary Immolations* (H. C.), pp. 26-28.

Elphinstone, then acting magistrate of zillah Behar, who had prevented a young woman twelve years of age from being burnt with the body of her husband, as well in consideration of her minority, as of her being in a state of intoxication, or stupefaction; and desiring, by order of government, that the nizamut adawlut would ascertain, in the first instance, by means of a reference to the pundits, how far the practice (of widows burning with the bodies of their husbands) is founded on the religious opinions of the Hindoos.

3. In the event of the abolition of this practice being found impracticable, or inexpedient, as against the established religious opinions of the Hindoos, the court were further desired to consider the best means of preventing the abuses above noticed; that measures might be adopted to prevent the illegal and unwarrantable practice of administering intoxicating medicines to women, in the situation described, and to preserve from destruction such females, as from immaturity of years, or other circumstances, cannot be considered capable of judging for themselves, in a case of so serious and awful a nature.

4. A reference was accordingly made to the pundits of the sudder dewanny adawlut; the result of which was communicated in a letter from the acting register of the nizamut adawlut to your address, under date the 5th June 1805; and the court, at the same time, proposed that instructions should be issued to the magistrates of the several zillahs and cities, to the following purport:—

"That the magistrates shall direct the police officers, under their authority, to use their utmost care to obtain the earliest information whenever it is intended to burn a woman with the body of her husband.

"That the police officers be directed to take immediate measures, on receipt of such information, either by repairing in person to the place where the woman may be, or by deputing one of the police officers under them, to ascertain the circumstances, and particularly the age of the woman, and whether her intention of burning herself be entirely voluntary.

"In the event of the declaration having been forced from her, or of its being retracted by her, or of her being desirous of retracting it, or of her being found to be in a state of intoxication or stupefaction, as also in the case of her youth, or her being in a state of pregnancy, which would render the intended act illegal, it will be the duty of the police officer to take the necessary measures to prevent her being burned with her husband's body, apprising the relations, or other persons concerned, that they will be dealt with as criminals, if they take further steps towards the effecting of their criminal and illegal design.

"Should no circumstances occur to require his immediate interference, he shall nevertheless continue his vigilance; and in the event of any compulsion being subsequently used, or drugs administered producing intoxication or stupefaction, it will be his duty by all means in his power, immediately to stop so criminal a proceeding and prevent its accomplishment.

"The officers in charge of the police will include in their monthly report to the magistrate, every instance which may occur within their respective jurisdictions of a woman burning herself; and will separately report their proceedings, in every

instance in which they may interfere for the prevention of it, immediately after the case shall have occurred.

"The magistrates should give particular attention to enforce a strict observance of these instructions by the police officers under their authority."

The court of nizamut adawlut further suggested, that it would be useful to publish a notification under the authority of government, strictly prohibiting the practice of administering drugs productive of intoxication or stupefaction, and the use of any other illegal or unwarrantable means to procure the burning of a woman with the body of her husband; and declaring, that persons charged with offences of the above nature will be liable to be committed for trial before the court of circuit, and on conviction to such punishment as the law directs.

6. The court of nizamut adawlut, in the concluding paragraph of their acting register's letter of the above date, expressed their hope, that by the adoption of the measures proposed, the abuses hitherto practised would be prevented; and that after obtaining information of the extent to which the practice is found to prevail, and of the districts in which it is fallen into disuse, or is discountenanced, (as in Tirhoot) by the principal Hindoo inhabitants, it might be checked and ultimately prohibited.

7. No orders appearing to have been received from government on the above report, and the court judging it highly desirable that the magistrates should be furnished with precise instructions for their guidance, on a subject so intimately connected with the prejudices of the Hindoos, and at the same time so liable to the most serious abuse, they have thought it proper to submit the accompanying letter from the magistrate of Bundelcund, for the orders of the right honourable the Governor General in Council.*

Fort William,
3rd Sept., 1812.

I have &c.
(Signed) M. H. TURNBULL,
register.

49. Reply from Government to the above. (December 5, 1812).

Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated the 3d September last, with its enclosures, respecting the practice which prevails among Hindoo women of burning themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands. His Lordship in Council has likewise had under his consideration your predecessor's letter of the 5th June 1805, together with the papers mentioned to accompany it on the same subject.

2. The nizamut adawlut is sensible that it is a fundamental principle of the British government, to allow the most complete toleration in matters of religion, to all classes of its native subjects.

* *Ibid*, pp. 29-30.

3. It is stated in the answer delivered by the pundits to the interrogatories referred to them by the court in the month of March 1805, that every woman of the four casts (brahmin, khetry, bues and soodur) is permitted to burn herself with the body of her husband, (except in certain cases, which will be more particularly noticed in a subsequent part of this letter), and that the performance of this awful ceremony will contribute essentially both to her own happiness and to that of her deceased husband in a future state. The practice, generally speaking, being thus recognized and encouraged by the doctrines of the Hindoo religion, it appears evident that the course which the British government should follow, according to the principle of religious toleration already noticed, is to allow the practice in those cases in which it is countenanced by their religion ; and to prevent in others in which it is by the same authority prohibited.

4. To use the terms of the answer of the pundits, "No woman having infant children, or being in a state of pregnancy, or uncleanness, or under the age of puberty, is permitted to burn with her husband ; with the following exception, viz. that if a woman having infant children, can provide for their support through the means of another person, she is permitted to burn."

5. It is further stated in the answer of the pundits, that "it is contrary to law, as well as to the usage of the country, to cause any woman to burn herself against her wish, by administering drugs to stupify or intoxicate her."

6. The Governor General in Council accordingly conceives, that the interposition of the public officers, in cases of this nature, should be confined to the following points: 1st. To preclude, as far as possible, all compulsory means towards Hindoo women on the part of their relatives, of brahmins, or others, in order to cause them to burn themselves. 2d. To prevent the criminal use of intoxicating drugs or liquors for the accomplishment of that object. 3d. To ascertain whether the women have attained the age, as fixed by the Hindoo law, at which they are permitted to burn themselves. 4th. To inquire, as far as the nature of the case will properly permit, whether they are in a state of pregnancy ; and, 5th. To prevent the ceremony from proceeding in cases in which, on any of the above grounds, it may be repugnant to the principles of the Hindoo law.

7. With respect to the practical measures which should be adopted, with the view of giving effect to the present intentions of government, the instructions proposed to be issued to the magistrates, and through them to the darogahs and other officers of police, appear to his Lordship in Council well adapted to the purpose. Those instructions are here transcribed in order to bring the whole subject under one point of view.

"That the magistrates shall direct the police officers, under their authority, to use their utmost care to obtain the earliest information whenever it is intended to burn a woman with the body of her husband.

"That the police officers be directed to take immediate measures, on receipt of such information, either by repairing in person to the place where the woman may be, or by deputing one of the police officers under them to ascertain the

circumstances, and particularly the age of the woman, and whether her intention of burning herself be entirely voluntary.

"In the event of the declaration having been forced from her, or of its being retracted by her, or of her being desirous of retracting it, or of her being found to be in a state of intoxication or stupefaction, as also in the case of her youth, or her being in a state of pregnancy, which would render the intended act illegal, it will be the duty of the police officer to take the necessary measures to prevent her being burned with her husband's body, apprising the relations, or other persons concerned, that they will be dealt with as criminals, if they take further steps towards the effecting of their criminal and illegal design.

"Should no circumstances occur to require his immediate interference, he shall nevertheless continue his vigilance ; and, in the event of any compulsion being subsequently used, or drugs administered producing intoxication or stupefaction, it will be his duty by all means in his power immediately to stop so criminal a proceeding and prevent its accomplishment.

"The officers in charge of the police, will include in their monthly report to the magistrate every instance which may occur within their respective jurisdictions of a woman burning herself ; and will separately report their proceedings in every instance, in which they may interfere for the prevention of it, immediately after the case shall have occurred.

"The magistrate should give particular attention to enforce a strict observance of these instructions by the police officers under their authority."

8. In communicating the present orders of government to the different magistrates, the Governor General in Council requests that the nizamut adawlut will impress upon them the indispensable obligation of explaining carefully, on all suitable occasions, to persons of the Hindoo persuasion, that nothing is farther from the intention of government than to infringe any recognized tenet of their religion, (as has been fully stated in the preceding part of this letter); and that its only object is to restrain the use of arts and practices not less repugnant to the doctrines of their own persuasion, than revolting to the general dictates of humanity.

9. In order to prevent misconstruction, the Governor General in Council requests that the nizamut adawlut will direct one of their officers to prepare in the Persian, Hindostany, and Bengal languages, a draft of the instructions which should be issued by the magistrates to the native officers of police, conformably to the tenor of this letter, specifying of course the age at which women, according to the principles of Hindoo law, are permitted to burn themselves; and that they will submit the draft, with a translation of it in the English language, when prepared, for the approval of government.*

Council Chamber,
5th December 1812.

I am &c.
(Signed) G. Dowdeswell,
Chief Secretary to government.

* *Ibid*, pp. 31-32.

50. Reply from Nizamut Adawlut to the above. With Enclo. (March 11, 1813).

Sir,—I am directed by the court of nizamut adawlut, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, under date the 5th December last, communicating the sentiments and orders of the right honourable the Governor General in Council, on the court's reference of the 3d of September preceding, relative to the practice of Hindoo women burning themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands.

2. The court having, in compliance with the desire of government expressed in the concluding paragraph of your letter, prepared a draft in Persian of the requisite instructions proposed to be circulated by the several magistrates to the police officers under their authority, direct me to transmit them to you, accompanied by a translation thereof in the English language; and to request that you will submit them to the consideration of the right honourable the Governor General in Council.*

Fort William,
11th March 1813.

I am &c.
(Signed) M. H. TURNBULL,
register.

Enclo :

A draft of Directions to be issued by Magistrates to the Police Daroghas.

Whereas it has appeared, that during the ceremony denominated "suttee", (at which Hindoo women burn themselves) certain acts have been occasionally committed, in direct opposition to the rules laid down in the religious institutes of the Hindoos, by which that practice is authorized, and forbidden in particular cases; as, for instance, at several places pregnant women, and girls not yet arrived at their full age, have been burnt alive; and people, after having intoxicated women, by administering intoxicating substances, have burnt them without their assent, whilst insensible; and inasmuch as this conduct is contrary to the Shaster, and perfectly inconsistent with every principle of humanity, (it appearing from the expositions of the Hindoo law, delivered by pundits, that the burning a woman pregnant, or one having a child of tender years, or a girl not yet arrived at full age, is expressly forbidden in the Shasters; and also, that the intoxicating a woman for the purpose of burning her, and the burning one without her assent, or against her will, is highly illegal, and contrary to established usage), the police darogahs are hereby accordingly, under the sanction of government, strictly enjoined to use the utmost care, and make every effort to prevent the forbidden practices above mentioned, from taking place within the limits of their thannahs ; and they are further required, on all occasions, immediately on receiving intelligence that this ceremony is likely to occur, either themselves to proceed to the spot, or send their mohurrer or jemadar, accom-

* *Ibid,* p. 32.

panied by a burkunday of Hindoo religion, to learn of the woman who is to be burnt, whether she has given her assent, and ascertain the other particulars above mentioned, relative to her age, &c. &c. In the event of the female who is going to be burnt, being less than sixteen years of age, or there being signs of her pregnancy, or on her declaring herself in that situation, or should the people be proposing to burn her, after having intoxicated her, without her assent or against her will, (the burning a woman, under any of these circumstances, being in direct opposition to what is enjoined in the Shasters, and manifestly an act of illegal violence), it will be then their duty to prevent the ceremony, thus forbidden, and contrary to established usage, from taking place, and require those prepared to perform it to refrain from so doing ; also, to explain to them, that in the event of their persisting to commit any act forbidden, they would involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to retribution and punishment. But in the case of the woman being of full age, and no other impediment existing, they will nevertheless remain on the spot, and not allow the most minute particular to escape observation; and in the case of people preparing to burn a woman by compulsion, or after having made her insensible, by administering spirituous liquors or narcotic drugs, it will be then their duty to exert themselves in restraining them; and, at the same time, to let them know that it is not the intention of the government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the religion of the inhabitants of their dominions, or even to require that any express leave or permission be required, previously to the performance of the act of "suttee" ; and the police officers are not to interfere or prevent any such act from taking place : and, lastly, it will be their duty to transmit immediately, for the information of the magistrate, a full detail of any measures which they may have adopted on this subject ; and also, on every occasion, when within the limits of their thannahs, this ceremony of "suttee" may take place, the same being lawfully conducted, they will insert it in the monthly reports.

(Signed) J. C. C. SUTHERLAND,
assistant.

51. Reply from Government to the above. (April 17, 1813).

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, dated the 11th ultimo, enclosing a draft of the instructions proposed to be issued to the darogahs of police, for their guidance with respect to the performance of of the awful ceremony of "suttee", and to desire that you will acquaint the court that his Lordship in Council approves the draft, with the omission of one passage, as noted in the margin of the enclosed. The Governor General in Council requests that the Persian draft of the instructions may be modified accordingly, and thereupon issued to the officers of the police for their guidance.

2. The Persian draft received with your letter is returned enclosed.*

Council Chamber,
17th April 1813.

I am &c.
(Signed) G. DOWDESWELL,
chief secretary to government.

52. Further letter from the Nizamut Adawlut to the Vice-President in Council, communicating their views on the difficulty in construction given to certain provision of the Government instructions regarding suttee practice. (September 14, 1814).

Honourable Sir,—We have the honour to submit to your Excellency in Council the following papers.

No. 1.—Copy of a letter from the late magistrate of Burdwan, dated the 28th October 1813, stating the case of a woman who was burnt on the funeral pile of her deceased husband, although she had a child only two years and half of age, and notwithstanding the prohibition of the police officers.

No. 2.—Copy of a letter written in answer to the magistrate, by order of the nizamut adawlut, on the 9th December 1813.

No. 3.—Copy of a further letter from the late magistrate of Burdwan, dated the 18th December 1813, stating the construction given to the instructions to police darogahs, which were approved by the Governor General in Council on the 17th April 1813, and issued by the nizamut adawlut on the 29th of that month, with a copy of the chief secretary's letter, under date 5th December 1812, and a circular letter to the courts of circuit, from the register of the nizamut adawlut, of which a copy is submitted, No. 4.

Para. 2. Mr. Bayley having reported that under the construction which the magistrate and his police officers had put upon the instructions circulated on the 29th April 1813, as meant to prevent the burning of women having infant children, with the other forbidden practices therein mentioned, and that since the circulation of those instructions, the official interference of the police officers, in the district of Burdwan, had prevented the sacrifice of five women, "four of whom were prohibited from burning, on the sole ground of their having infant children", adding, "the practical operation of this single head of the instructions of the court, having been already attended with the preservation of the lives of four women in this district, and not perceiving any general symptoms of jealousy, tumult, or opposition, to the interference of the police officers on these occasions, I confess that I should feel deep regret if the court were to annul an order which has already produced such beneficial effects, and which is so entirely consonant to those principles of humanity by which the British government in India is administered ;" we considered it proper (on the 23d December last) to call upon the pundits of the court "for a full exposition of the Hindoo law, with respect to women having infant children, burning themselves on the

* *Ibid*, p. 33.

funeral piles of their deceased husbands, stating particularly whether the restriction against the performance of the ceremony, be confined to cases of women having an infant at the breast, or whether it extends to other children; and if so, to what age it is limited".

3. From the answer of the pundits, of which we have now the honour to submit a translation, (No. 5) it appears that by the Hindoo law "a woman, having a child under three years of age, and whose nurture by another person cannot be provided for, is inhibited from becoming a suttee".

4. Among other authorities cited by the pundits, in support of this exposition of the Hindoo law, it appears to be fully established, by a text from *Vrihaspati,* importing that "a woman having a child who is not a *bala*", viz. has not attained his third year, can on no account abandon the nurture of her child. and become a suttee.

5. Another text from *Vrihaspati* is cited in the digest of Hindoo law, translated by Mr. H. Colebrooke, book IV, chapter 3, "on the duties of a faithful widow", text CXXVIII, and is as follows: "The mother of an infant child may not relinquish the care of her infant, to ascend the pile; nor may a woman in her courses ; nor one lately brought forth a child, burn herself with her husband ; a pregnant widow also must preserve the child." The commentator (*Jagannatha*) adds, on the authority of *Roghuranisdona,* "but if the infant can be nurtured by any other person, in that case the mother is entitled to follow her deceased husband;" and with respect to the prohibition after child-birth, it is declared on the authority of a further text, "to last twenty nights, after bearing a son ; and a month, after bearing a daughter."

6. In the former bewasta of the pundits of the sudder dewanny adawlut, a translation of which was submitted to government on the 5th June 1805, and which formed the basis of the instructions issued on the 29th April 1813, it is stated, "every woman of the four casts (brahmin, khetry, bues and soodur) is permitted to burn herself with the body of her husband, provided she has not infant children, nor is pregnant, nor in a state of uncleanness, nor under the age of puberty ; in any of which cases, she is not allowed to burn herself with her husband's body. But a woman who has infant children, and can procure another person to undertake the charge of bringing them up, is permitted to burn herself. It is contrary to law, to cause any woman to burn herself against her wish, by administering drugs to stupify or intoxicate her".

7. The substance of this bewasta (with the exception of this disqualification from uncleanness) was stated in the instructions to the police officers, approved by government on the 17th April 1813. But the cases in which they are expressly directed "to prevent the ceremony", are "only in the event of the female who is going to be burnt, being less than sixteen years of age, or there being signs of her pregnancy, or her declaring herself in that situation, or should the people be preparing to burn her, after having intoxicated her, without her assent, or against her will."

8. In the chief secretary's letter of the 5th December 1812, (which was communicated to the several magistrates for their information and guidance),

after noticing it as "a fundamental principle of the British government, to allow the most complete toleration in matters of religion, to all classes of its native subjects;" and the bewasta of the pundits stating under what exemption a woman is permitted by the Hindoo law to burn herself with the body of her husband ; it is remarked that "the practice generally speaking, being thus recognized and encouraged by the doctrines of the Hindoo religion, it appears evident that the course which the British government should follow, according to the principles of religious toleration already noticed, is to allow the practice in those cases in which it is countenanced by their religion, and to prevent it in others in which it is by the same authority prohibited".

9. It appearing to be in strict conformity with this rule, that a Hindoo woman, having a child within three years of age, should not be allowed to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, unless some person will undertake to provide a suitable maintenance for the child, we beg leave to recommend that the magistrates and police officers be furnished with precise instructions to this effect.

10. In pursuance of the same principle, and as the most unexceptionable mode of carrying into effect the declared intentions of government, we further beg leave to suggest that copies of the bewastas on the subject, delivered by the Hindoo law officers of the sudder dewany adawlut, be transmitted to the several magistrates for their information and that of their police officers; with directions to be guided, on all occasions, by the general principle declared in the chief secretary's letter of the 17th April 1813, viz. "to allow the practice in those cases in which it is countenanced by the Hindoo religion and law; and to prevent it in others in which it is by the same authority prohibited".

11. The court of nizamut adawlut have indeed acted upon this principle in two cases referred to them, after consulting the Hindoo law officers (as stated in the accompanying papers, No. 6 & 7) the one being that of a woman in the Poornea district, who, at her own request, was buried alive with her deceased husband, a surjogee ; the other, that of a brahminee widow in Bundelcund, who wished to burn herself upon the sward of her husband, after he had been dead seventeen years. The former practice was declared by the pundits to be legal; the latter, illegal, in the particular instances referred to; and the magistrates were instructed accordingly. But in the present instance, the question referred by the late magistrate of Burdwan, being immediately connected with the letter and meaning of the instructions approved by government on the 17th April 1813, we have considered it proper to submit this report for the sentiments and orders of your Excellency in Council.*

Fort William,
14th September 1814.

We have &c.
(Signed) J. H. HARINGTON.
J. TOMBELLE.

* *Ibid*, pp. 33-35.

53. Reply from Government to the above. (October 4, 1814).

Sir,—I am directed by the honourable the Vice President in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the nizamut adawlut, dated the 14th ultimo, with its enclosures.

2. The inquiries made by the nizamut adawlut seem fully to establish the point, that women having children under a certain age, are prohibited from burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands. On the principle, therefore, stated in the 9th paragraph of the court's letter, (a principle on which their attention appears to be justly fixed, and which should in fact never be lost sight of,) His Excellency in Council is of opinion, that orders should be issued to the several magistrates, directing them to prevent Hindoo women from burning themselves, in the case above noticed, in common with others already prohibited, in persuance of the doctrines of the Hindoo religion. As too much circumspection, however, cannot be observed in matters of this nature, the Vice President in Council requests that the court will cause a copy of the instructions, which should be issued through the magistrates to the police daroghas, on this subject, to be prepared in their register's office, in the English, Persian, and Sanscrit languages, and that they will forward a copy of them to government, for its information.*

Council Chamber,
4th October, 1814.

I am &c.
(Signed) G. DOWDESWELL,
chief secretary to government.

54. Letter from Nizamut Adawlut to several Magistrates issuing additional instructions re : suttee practice. With Enclo. (January 4, 1815).

To the several Magistrates of the Zillah and City Courts.

Sir,—In addition to the instructions for your guidance and that of your police officers, relative to the Hindoo custom of *suttee*, which were issued through the court of circuit on the 29th April 1813, I am directed by the court of nizamut adawlut to transmit to you the following papers.

No. 1.—Copy of a letter from the court of nizamut adawlut to his excellency the Vice President in Council, dated the 14th September 1814.

No. 2.—Copy of a letter from the chief secretary to government, in answer to the above; dated 4th October.

No. 3.—Instructions to the police darogahs in the English Persian[1] and Sanscrit languages, prepared in conformity with the desire of His Excellency in Council.

* *Ibid,* pp. 40-41.

[1]Add (Bengala for Bengal), and Hindoostanee for Patna, Benares and Bareilly.

Nos. 4, 5, & 6.—Sanscrit copies, with Persian[1] and English translations of the three bewastas of the pundits of the sudder dewanny adawlut, referred to in those instructions.

2. The court of nizamut adawlut desire that you will furnish each of the police darogahs in your jurisdiction with written instructions, under your official seal and signature, corresponding with No. 3, as well as with copies of the several bewastas, and their respective translations in the native languages, included in Nos. 4, 5, & 6.

3. You are further desired, to observe with the most careful attention the principle adverted to in the 9th paragraph of the court's letter No. 1, and in the 2d paragraph of the chief secretary's letter No. 2; as well as to require and enforce the most strict observance by your police officers.

4. Those officers having been directed, in the instructions issued on the 29th April 1813, to insert in their monthly reports every instance of a suttee taking place within their respective thannahs ; and the court of nizamut adawlut being desirous of ascertaining the actual number of women burnt on the funeral piles of their husbands from year to year, you are desired to transmit through the court of circuit an annual report, corresponding with the accompanying form No. 7, as early as practicable after the close of the present and each succeeding English year.*

Fort William,
4th January 1815.

I am &c.
(Signed) M. H. TURNBULL,
register.

Enclo :

Draught of Instructions to be issued by the Magistrates to the Police Darogahs.

In addition to the instructions which have been issued to you by orders of government, relative to the Hindoo rite of suttee, or the practice of women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, you are hereby furnished with copies and translations of three bewastas delivered by the pundits attached to the court of sudder dewanny adawlut, in answer to questions put to them at different times, with a view to ascertain the provisions of the Shaster or Hindoo law upon this subject.

2. It being a fundamental principle of the British government to allow the most complete toleration in matters of religion, to all classes of its native subjects, whilst, at the same time, justice and humanity forbid that a practice attended with the destruction of human life, and often productive of calamitous consequences to the children of the deceased, should be promoted or permitted beyond the extent of the rules prescribed for it in the Hindoo law; you are hereby strictly enjoined to make known these rules, as stated in the accompanying bewastas of the pundits of the sudder dewanny adawlut, and the books of the Shaster therein cited, whenever a woman may be desirous of performing the

[1]Add Ditto.
* *Ibid*, p. 41.

suttee within your division; and after proceeding yourself to the spot, or sending a mohurrir or your jemadar with a Hindoo burkundauze, as directed in your former instructions, are to allow or prevent the proposed suttee, according as it may appear to be comformable or not to the provisions of the Shaster applicable to the circumstances of the case.

You will particularly observe from the bewastas now transmitted, that a Hindoo woman having a child within three years of age is not permitted by the Shaster to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, unless some person will undertake to provide a suitable maintenance for the child ; and whenever a person may undertake to do this, you will be careful to see that a written engagement in duplicate on stamped paper, and according to the following form, is entered into and duly attested, leaving one copy in the possession of the child's nearest of kin, or other proper person on the spot, and will transmit the other copy, with your report on the case, for the information of the magistrate.

You will further observe from one of the accompanying bewastas, that the wife of a brahmin is positively forbidden by the Shaster to burn herself, except on the funeral pile of her husband.

Form of Engagement.

It being prohibited by the Shaster, that the ceremony of suttee should be performed by a woman having an infant under three years of age, unless some person will undertake to provide suitable maintenance for such child ; and (   ) being consequently prevented from burning herself with the body of her late husband, with the view of removing the above objection, I do hereby voluntarily engage to maintain, educate and support the child or children of the said (   ) in a manner suitable to their rank in life, and my ability ; and to neglect none of the duties which are incumbent on a father towards his own children.

In failure whereof, I further engage to make good such sum, as the magistrate of the district, on a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, shall judge it proper to direct.

(Signed) M. H. TURNBULL,
register.

55. Reply from Government to the above. (March 21, 1815).

Sir,—I am directed by the honourable the Vice President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th January last, with its enclosures.

2. The tenor of the additional instructions, which the court have circulated for the guidance of the magistrate and of their police officers, relative to the custom of suttee, appears to the Vice President in Council to be proper, and entirely conformable with the principles recognized in the 2d paragraph of a letter from the chief secretary to government to your address under date the 4th October 1814.

3. The Vice President in Council desires that the court of nizamut adawlut will regularly transmit to government, an abstract of the annual reports regarding the number of women burnt on the funeral piles of their husbands, which the several magistrates have been directed to furnish through the courts of circuit, for the information of the nizamut adawlut.*

Council Chamber,
21st March 1815.

I am &c.
(Sd.) W. B. BAYLEY,
acting secretary to government.

56. Hurrihuranund's letter on the suttee in the "India Gazette," with the editor's remarks thereon. (March 27, 1818).

Several months ago, in the vicinity of Chandernagore, a female victim was immolated on the funeral pile, under circumstances peculiarly affecting. She was a young woman, who had been recently betrothed to a young man of the same town. Every thing was prepared for the celebration of the nuptials, which had been fixed for the next day; the relatives of both parties had arrived from a distance to honor the marriage with their presence ; and the circle of their friends already enjoyed in anticipation the festivities which the approaching day would usher in. On the preceding evening, however, the bridegroom was taken ill of the Cholera Morbus, and in a few hours was a lifeless corpse. Information being conveyed of the melancholy event to the bride, she instantly declared her determination to ascend the funeral pile of her betrothed lord; a long debate was hereon held between the relations of the bride and the priests respecting the legality of the act; the result of which was, that in such cases the shasters considering the bride as bound to her husband by the vow she had taken, permitted a voluntary immolation on the funeral pile. The next day, therefore, instead of the music and joy which had been anticipated, the bride was led to the banks of the Ganges, amid the silent grief of her friends and relatives, and burnt with the dead body of her intended husband.

We have heard that another of those abominable human sacrifices took place on Tuesday last at Chitpoor ; the victim being a young widow of 24 years of age! We are informed too that an equally horrid exhibition, called the Churuck Poojah, in which the most cruel tortures are self-inflicted by fanatical devotees, is to take place to-day, under a Christian Government! and on the Festival of Easter! while we are actually celebrating the Resurrection of the Saviour of the World!

On this occasion we cannot refrain from giving insertion to the following Letter: to show that while Christians are thus indifferent to the execution of those cruel and bloody rites, a large and powerful class of Hindoos themselves are shocked at the practice, as being nothing short of wilful and deliberate Murder!

* *Ibid.* p. 44.

To the Editor of the India Gazette.

Sir,

Without wishing to stand forward either as the advocate or opponent of the concremation of widows with the bodies of their deceased Husbands, but ranking myself among Brahmuns who consider themselves bound by their birth, to obey the ordinances and maintain the correct observance of Hindoo law, I deem it proper to call the attention of the public to a point of great importance now at issue amongst the followers of that law, and upon the determination of which, the lives of thousands of the female sex depend.

In the year 1818, a body of Hindoos prepared a petition to Government, for the removal of the existing restriction on burning Widows, in cases not sanctioned by any Shastur, while another body petitioned for at least further restrictions, if not the total abrogation of the practice, upon the ground of its absolute illegality. Some months ago too, Bykunthanauth Banoorjee, Secretary to the Brahmyu or Unitarian Hindoo community, published a tract in Bungla, a translation of which into English, is also before the public, wherein he not only maintains that it is the incumbent duty of Hindoo Widows, to live as ascetics, and thus acquire divine absorption, but expressly accuses those who bind down a Widow with the corpse of her husband, and also use bamboos to press her down and prevent her escape, should she attempt to fly from the flaming pile, as guilty of deliberate woman murder.

In support of this charge, as well as of his declaration of the illegality of the practice generally, he has adduced strong arguments founded upon the authorities considered the most sacred.

This tract we hear has been generally circulated in Calcutta, and its vicinity, and has also been submitted to several Pundits of the Zillah and Provincial Courts in Bengal, through their respective Judges and Magistrates. It is reported too that consequent to the appearance of that publication, some Brahmuns of learning were requested by their wealthy followers to reply to that treatise, and I was therefore in sanguine expectation that the subject would undergo a thorough investigation.

This report has now entirely subsided, and the practice of burning Widows is still carried on, and in the manner which has been declared illegal and murderous. At this I cannot help astonishment ; as I am at a loss to conceive how persons can reconcile themselves to the stigma of being accused of woman murder, without attempting to show the injustice of the charge, or if they find themselves unqualified to do that, without at least ceasing to expose themselves to the reiteration of such a charge by further perseverance in similar conduct. I feel also both surprise and regret that European Gentlemen, who boast of the humanity and morality of their religion, should conduct themselves towards persons who submit quietly to the imputation of murder, with the same politeness and kindness as they would show to the most respectable persons ; I however must call on those Baboos and Pundits either to vindicate their conduct by the sacred authorities, or to give up all claims to be considered as adherents of the Shastrus ; as if they do not obey written law, they must be looked upon as

followers of blind and changeable custom, which deserves no more to be regarded with respect in this instance, than in the case of child murder at Gunga Sagur, which has long ago been suppressed by Government.*

March 27, 1818. HURRIHURANUND.

57. Appreciative notice of Rammohun Roy's first Tract on Suttee. (December 24, 1818).

The Sanskrit authorities which are said to enjoin the sacrifice of widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, have lately undergone a free examination by a learned and philosophical Hindoo. The question of itself is of the highest importance, and the true interpretation of the religious law which has stained the domestic history of India for so many ages with blood, will no doubt diminish, if not extinguish the desire for self-immolation. The safest way of coming to a right understanding on a point so interesting to humanity, is a rigid investigation of the rules of conduct laid down in the books which are considered sacred by the Hindoos. This appears to have been done with great assiduity anxiety, and care, and the consequence has been a decision hostile to the ancient custom. These brief remarks are occasioned by the recent publication of a translation of a conference between an Advocate and an Opponent of the practice of burning widows alive, from the Bengalee. The original has been, it is said, in extensive circulation for several weeks in those parts of the country where the practice of widows burning themselves on the pile of their husbands is most prevalent. As the object of the translator is avowedly to give further publicity to the reasoning and arguments contained in his pamphlet, we willingly contribute our aid to that desirable end, by inserting the whole in our columns It is too short for an abstract.†

[Here follows the Text]

58. Appreciative notice of the "Calcutta Journal" on the same. (December 25, 1818).

The Editor of the Government Gazette has anticipated us by a day in the insertion of the interesting Conference on the practice of burning widows alive, from the pen of the virtuous Reformer of India, Ram Mohun Roy. It was sent to us for perusal, and feeling as that Editor has done, that it was too short, and we might add too good to be curtailed or given in abstract, and yet too valuable not be given all possible publicity to, we had already prepared it for the press, from a hope and firm belief that if any thing is likely to influence the opinion or the practice of the Hindoos in this particular, nothing is more calculated to effect it than arguments drawn from their own sacred books to prove that it is not necessary to future happiness.‡

* *Calcutta Journal*, April 11, 1819.
† *Calcutta Gazette*, December 24, 1818.
‡ *Calcutta Journal*, December 25, 1818.

59. The counter-petition of some Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta re : Suttee orders of Government. (July, 1819).

This petition, which explains its own object, was signed by a great number of the most respectable Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta. It will be observed that this document bears no date. From the date of some Mss. transmitted with it for the Asiatic Journal, we consider it to have been presented soon after the Governor General's return to the seat of government—say the beginning of August 1818.

To the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General in Council.

The humble petition of the undersigned.
Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta.

Humbly Sheweth,—That your petitioners have, with equal surprise and sorrow, perceived a statement in the newspapers, that a petition to your lordship's government, to repeal the orders at present in force against illegal proceedings in burning widows with the bodies of their deceased husbands, was drawn up, and had received the signature of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, and we have since learnt that a petition to that effect has actually been transmitted to the hon. the Vice-President in Council.

That your petitioners do not know by what authority the subscribers to the said petition have been so designated ; as from the very nature of their petition it appears obvious, that those who signed it must be either ignorant of their own law, or amongst the most inhumane of any class of the community.

That your petitioners would have considered themselves as passing the bounds of respect due to the wisdom of your lordship's councils, in presuming to offer any opinion whatever respecting the measures adopted by government for the security of the lives or property of their fellow subjects, were they not impelled to vindicate themselves from the disgrace that, in the opinion of all men impressed with the common feelings of humanity, and therefore most especially in that of your lordship's government, must attach to them in common with the other Hindoo subjects of the British government, if the petition above-mentioned should be considered as expressive of the sentiments of the majority, or of any other portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta, beyond that of the individuals who have been influenced to sign the said petition.

That your petitioners are fully aware, from their own knowledge, or from the authority of credible eye-witnesses, that cases have frequently occurred, where women have been induced by the persuasions of their next heirs, interested in their destruction, to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands ; that others, who have been induced by fear to retract a resolution, rashly expressed in the first moments of grief, of burning with their deceased husbands, have been forced upon the pile, and there bound down with ropes, and pressed by green

bamboos until consumed by the flames ; that some, after flying from the flames, have been carried back by their relations and burnt to death. All these instances, your petitioners humbly submit, are murders, according to every shastur, as well as to the common sense of all nations.

Your petitioners further beg leave to state to your lordship, that women have been permitted to burn themselves on the funeral piles of men who were not their husbands ; that widows of Brahmins have burnt themselves on a separate pile ; that widows of the other castes have burnt themselves many years after witnessing or learning the death of their husbands ; that girls of tender years, pregnant women, and women who have been unfaithful to their husbands, have burnt on their funeral piles ; and that the mothers of infant children, have, contrary to the dictates of nature and morality, as well as of law, abandoned their helpless and innocent offspring, to burn themselves with their deceased husbands.

Your petitioners deem it a happy circumstance, that from the just and liberal policy of the British government in causing the principal sacred depositories of their law to be printed and translated, and thereby secured from interpolation or false exposition, it stands confirmed by authority not to be disputed, that all these are instances of suicide ; which though not only not prevented, but even generally assisted by the bystanders, are in direct opposition to the shasturs of the Hindoo faith, which uniformly denounce the most severe punishments as awaiting, in a future state, those who thus wantonly embrace self-destruction: and it seems an insult to the known humanity of the British nation, as well as to your lordship's government, even to imagine that such of these practices as have been already so wisely and justly prohibited should be permitted again to exist.

But if your petitioners were surprised at hearing that any set of their countrymen could seriously pray government to remove restraints on the commission of murder or suicide, they cannot help astonishment at the boldness that can have dictated such an argument as the conduct of the former Mooshulman rulers of India, which your petitioners understand has been adduced, by way of example, in support of the privilege desired. It is not the wish of your petitioners to recount the numberless insults, cruelties, and oppressions of the governments, to which their forefathers submitted; the slightest acquaintance with history, teaches what sort of tolerance was allowed to the Hindoo religion, whenever it suited the interest or the caprice of a Mahomedan prince to interfere with its exercise. Most of those who have signed the petition alluded to, may have seen the chief mosque at Benares, and may have heard of the Hindoo temple on the scite of which it was built. They may have read also some accounts of the degree of protection afforded to the Hindoo religion by Iffurkhan, Nuwab of Bengal ; the tyrannical conversions of Hindoos by Tippoo Sultaun, took place within their own recollection. But setting aside these instances, the general spirit of the doctrines of the Koran sufficiently explains why Mooshulman governors should have felt perfectly indifferent, how many, or in what manner, violent deaths took place amongst their Hindoo subjects.

Your petitioners having been compelled, by the motives already mentioned, to obtrude their sentiments on his subject on your lordship's notice, beg leave further

to submit to the benevolent attention of your lordship's government, that in the opinion of many of the most learned Brahmins, founded upon their shasturs, all kinds of voluntary death are prohibited ; that Munoo, whose authority is admitted to be equal to that even of the Veds, positively enjoins widows to lead a life of virtue and abstinence from sensual gratifications ; that the Vedant, which contains the essence of all the Veds, as well as the Geeta, forbid all acts done with the view of future temporary reward ; and that amongst the inferior authorities, while some, as the Smritee shasturs, actually prohibit all violent death, others, Mitakshura, declare the leading of a virtuous life preferable to dying on the pile of a husband, and a few only insist on the superior merit of concremation. Amongst these admitted discrepancies of opinion, however, no authority can be found, as to the practices against which the orders of government have been directed ; and your petitioners with the greatest confidence maintain, that the authorities which prohibit such self-sacrifices are more entitled to the respect of Hindoos, and are actually in higher estimation amongst them, than those by which such sacrifices are countenanced; and they, therefore, reflecting with pleasure and gratitude on the means that have been adopted to prevent mothers from sacrificing their children at Gunga Sagur, and likewise on the regulations in force against those barbarous Rajpoots who made it a rule of their cast to put their female children to death, and also against the practice, formerly frequent, of putting a relation to death, that the crime of the murder might fall on the head of an enemy, look with the most lively hope to such further measures, relative to the custom of burning widows, as may justly be expected from the known wisdom, decision, and humanity, which have ever distinguished your lordship's administration.

And your lordship's petitioners shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.*

60. A quotation with approval of the appreciative observations on Rammohun's first Tract on Suttee. (July, 1819).

A Brahmin, whose dissertations have excited a vivid sensation, published, some time since, a little tract on the subject of *Suttees.*

The India Gazette says, "We have been informed that this little work has been republished in a newspaper, which for some time past has been printed and circulated in the Bengalee language and character, under the sole conduct of natives. This additional publicity which the labours of Rammohun Roy will thus obtain, cannot fail to produce beneficial consequences ; and we are happy to find, that the conductors of the Bengalee Journal have determined to give insertion to articles that are likely to prove more advantageous to their countrymen, than the pompous and inflated productions of a most learned Hindoo, who, we understand, has declared that the cholera morbus can never be overcome.

* *Asiatic Journal,* July, 1819.

until general puja shall be performed, to conciliate the angry deity, by whom his affliction has been occasioned !*

61. Letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors re : Suttees. (February 1, 1820).

Crim. Cons., 30th July. 1819. Nos. 1 to 32(A).

Para. 51. The proceedings of the date noticed in the margin, contain various documents connected with the subject of the sacrifice of Hindoo widows, ordinarily denominated suttee.

52. From the resolutions recorded by us on the subject of those documents, your honourable court will observe, that the nizamut adawlut had in the year 1817, submitted to government the draught of a regulation containing rules for restricting the performance of that sacrifice under certain circumstances ; and that although many of the measures suggested by the court had appeared to the Vice President in Council to be unobjectionable, it was considered to be unadvisable that the measures in question should be introduced or promulgated in the formal shape of a legislative enactment.

53. This opinion was founded on the insufficiency and inaccuracy of the information possessed by government, relative to the rules of Hindoo law, and to the local usages prevailing in different parts of the country, as applicable to the ceremony of suttee.

54. It was supposed that further experience would suggest many points for consideration, not provided for in the draught submitted by the court of nizamut adawlut, and would show the expediency of modifying or extending the rules proposed by them ; and that it would in consequence be premature to legislate on a subject in which it was so desirable to proceed with caution, and to guard against the adoption of any erroneous principles.

55. It was conceived therefore that the objects contemplated by the court. would be more conveniently attained by enjoining such measures as might be judged proper, in the form of circular orders, for the guidance of the magistrates and police officers; and a draught of such orders having been prepared in the secretary's office (9th September, 1817) was transmitted to the nizamut adawlut for consideration, and for any further suggestions or remarks which that court might be desirous of offering on the subject. The draught in question was subsequently, (viz. on the 23d September 1817), referred to the consideration of the Governor General, who was then absent in the Upper Provinces.

56. At the period, (viz. the 5th November 1817), when his lordship's sentiments concurring in the proposed arrangements were received, the nature of our political relations with the Mahratta states, the extensive military operations carrying on in central India, and the disturbances prevailing in Cuttack, rendered

* *Ibid.*

it in the judgment of the Vice President in Council expedient to postpone the establishment of the rules in question until a period of greater tranquillity.

57. The further documents subsequently received from the nizamut adawlut, and from the acting superintendent of police in the Lower Provinces, connected with this subject, which are noticed in the margin, tended to excite considerable doubts, with regard to the actual effects which have been produced by the circular orders heretofore issued under the authority of government, and by the interposition of the judicial authorities, with a view to diminish the prevalence of the practice of suttees.

Vide letters from the nizamut adawlut, dated 4th June, 13th August, 10th September, 1818, the 21st May, 1819; and from the actg. supdt. of police, dated the 8th November, 1818, and the 11th January, 1819.

58. The number of sacrifices of this nature, reported to have occurred in the several districts immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, was as follows :—

During the year	1815	...	378
Ditto	1816	...	442
Ditto	1817	...	707
Ditto	1818	...	839

59. On the subject of this progressive augmentation in the number of suttees, the court of nizamut adawlut, in their report of the 21st May last, observed as follows :—

"The court are willing to believe that this increase may in some degree be ascribed to two causes, viz. 1st, to greater vigilance on the part of the police, in ascertaining and reporting suttees which take place, than formerly existed ; and 2dly, to the effect of the epidemic disease which has prevailed during the last two years : but still the fact of the increase, which appears to have been hitherto progressive, must, in the opinion of the court, unavoidably excite a doubt whether the measures publicly adopted, with the humane view of diminishing the number of these sacrifices, by pointing out the cases in which the Hindoo law is considered to permit them, and those in which that law forbids them, have not rather been attended with a contrary effect than the one contemplated. It is possible, indeed, that some cases in which the sacrifice may properly take place may be known now, which were not thought of before. If otherwise however, and if the two causes first noticed be not sufficient to account for the result, the court fear that the only other assignable cause is a spirit of fanaticism, rather influenced than repressed by the interference of the public authorities."

60. Concurring as we did in the foregoing sentiments of the court of nizamut adawlut, we were reluctantly led to express our apprehensions that the greater confidence with which the people performed the rite under the sanction of government, as implied or avowed in the circular orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry by the continual agitation of the question, might have tended to augment rather than to diminish the frequency of these sacrifices ; and that if (notwithstanding the cessation of the epidemic disorder) the reported number of suttees should continue to augment, or should

not indeed be diminished, the last-mentioned causes of the progressive increase since 1815 would acquire a high degree of probability ; and that it might eventually become proper to prohibit the officers of government from exercising that active interposition, in cases of this description, which had for some years past been authorized by government.

61. With reference to the information submitted by the nizamut adawlut, in their last report, we were satisfied that it would, at all events, be inexpedient to promulgate the circular orders prepared in the year 1817, until the doubts which existed with regard to the causes of the increased prevalence of the sacrifice should be removed ; and we accordingly apprised the nizamut adawlut, and other authorities, of our sentiments, as stated above.*

62. Reply from the Court of Directors to the above. (June 17, 1823).

Para. 1. Our last letter to you in this Department was dated the 18th December 1822.

Answer to Paras. 51 to 61 of Letter dated 1st February 1820.

2. We have had before us your Proceedings with the various documents recorded and referred to in your Consultations of the 30th of July 1819, relating to Suttees. You are aware that the attention of Parliament and the Public has lately been called to this subject. We are disposed to give you a large discretion in regard to the prevention of Suttee, because we are persuaded that no general rule can be laid down with either safety or efficiency; and that the adaptation of particular measures to local peculiarities can only be effected by the Indian Governments.

3. After an attentive consideration of all that has been lately received from the several Presidencies on this subject, and the very various opinions concerning Suttee which have been received from the Public officers, it appears that the practice varies very much in different parts of India, both as to the extent to which it prevails and the enthusiasm by which it is upheld. The necessity therefore, as well as the policy and probable effect of strong measures of repression must vary with the varying circumstances of the District.

4. The line of distinction which you have drawn in the Circular Orders of 1817 between the different cases of Suttee proceeds upon a more general principle.

5. It is undoubtedly the policy of our Government to abstain from interference with the religious opinions and prejudices of the Natives ; and it is therefore, upon an intelligible ground that you have adopted the rule which permits the sacrifice when it is clearly voluntary and conformable to the Hindoo Religion, and authoritatively prevents it in all other cases.

6. To us however it appears very doubtful, (and we are confirmed in this doubt by respectable authority) whether the measures which have been already

* Letters to Court (Jud.), February 1, 1820.

taken in pursuance of this principle have not tended rather to increase than to diminish the frequency of the practice. Such a tendency is, at least, not unnaturally ascribed to a Regulation, which prohibiting a practice only in certain cases, appears to sanction it in all others. And it is to be apprehended that, where the people have not previously a very enthusiastic attachment to the custom, a law which shall explain to them the cases in which it ought not to be followed, may be taken as a direction for adopting it in all others. Indeed in a District wherein the practice if ever known has fallen into disuse, any public mention of it whatever would appear impolitic altho' it would be highly desirable to resist any attempt to revive it.

7. It is, moreover, with much reluctance that we can consent to make the British Government, by a specific permission of the Suttee, an ostensible party to the sacrifice ; we are averse also to the practice of making British Courts expounders and vindicators of the Hindoo Religion, when it leads to acts which, not less as Legislators than as Christians, we abominate.

8. This reasoning we will, at present, push no farther than to enjoin you, for this as well as for other considerations, to interfere as little as possible. We will not forbid you to act upon the Regulation to which we have referred, if you really find that its application diminishes the evil. We wish however that neither this plan of discriminating and qualified permission, nor any plan of repression should be positively and generally prescribed to the Magistrates ; there should in no case be more than a License to be used according to the discretion of those who are acquainted with local circumstances. In a matter so delicate, the same Regulation may be safe and wise, or dangerous and impolitic, according to the character of the Officer by whom it is to be executed. We know of instances in which a Magistrate having acquired by praiseworthy methods an influence among the natives, has been readily obeyed in a positive prohibition of the sacrifice of a widow. It may be true that where this occurred, the prejudice was not deeply rooted, but still, much was unquestionably owing to the judicious conduct and experience of the Magistrate, and an attempt to imitate him by a person not possessing the same qualifications might be more than unsuccessful.

9. Instances of this nature, therefore would not warrant us to authorize a general prohibition. But connected with the opinions expressed by many intelligent men, that the practice of Suttee is not a tenet of Religion, to which the people are enthusiastically attached; but rather an abuse fostered by interested Priests or Relations; these instances of partial success do lead us to regard the notion of prohibition modified according to circumstances, of this barbarous custom with rather less of apprehension than it has generally produced. We say this without hesitation because we are not at all afraid that you will act imprudently upon our declaration. You will take it, as it is meant, for an encouragement to you seriously to consider the subject, and an assurance of our disposition to co-operate in such measures as your superior means of estimating consequences may suggest to you. Assuredly the most acceptable form of success would be that which would be brought about by such an increase of intelligence among the people as should shew them the wickedness and absurdity of the practice;

next to this we should rejoice to see the abolition effected by influence, and the co-operation of the higher order of Natives.

10. It is hardly necessary to add that measures for protecting the females from violence, and punishing those who administer intoxicating drugs, will have our approbation.*

London
The 17th June 1823.

We are &ca.

63. Government order regarding Suttees. (February 28, 1822).

The Commander of the Forces desires that Copy of these Instructions be circulated from the Brigade Office to the Posts and Stations dependent upon your Command.

Presidency of Fort William,
February 28, 1822.

(Sd.) G. H. FAGAN,
Adjutant General.

Whereas it has appeared that during the Ceremony denominated Suttee, (at which Hindoo Women burn themselves) certain acts have been occasionally committed, in direct opposition to the rules laid down in the religious institutes of the Hindoos, by which that practice is authorized, and forbidden in particular cases: as for instance at several places pregnant Women, and Girls not yet arrived at their full age have been burnt alive, and people after having intoxicated Women by administering intoxicating substances, have burnt them without their assent whilst insensible ; and in as much as this conduct is contrary to the Shasters, and perfectly inconsistent with every principle of humanity, (it appearing from the expositions of the Hindoo Law delivered by Pundits, that the burning a Woman pregnant or one having a Child of tender years, or a Girl not yet arrived at full age, is expressly forbidden in the Shasters, and also that the intoxicating a Woman for the purpose of burning her, and the burning one without her assent or against her will, is highly illegal and contrary to established usage,) the Police Darogahs are hereby accordingly, under the sanction of Government, strictly enjoined to use the utmost care and make every effort to prevent the forbidden practices abovementioned from taking place within the limits of their Thannahs, and they are further required on all occasions immediately on receiving intelligence that this Ceremony is likely to occur, either themselves to proceed to the spot or send their Mohurrir or Jemadar, accompanied by a Burkundaz of the Hindoo Religion, to learn of the Woman who is to be burnt whether she has given her assent, and ascertain the other particulars abovementioned relative to her age &c. &c. &c. In the event of the Female who is going to be burnt being less than 16 years of age, or there being signs of her pregnancy, or on her declaring herself in that situation, or should the people be preparing to burn her after having intoxicated her without her assent or against her will (the

* Letters from Court (Jud.), June 17, 1823.

burning a Woman under any of these circumstances being in direct opposition to what is enjoined in the Shasters, and manifestly an act of illegal violence), it will be then their duty to prevent the Ceremony thus forbidden and contrary to established usage from taking place, and require those prepared to perform it to refrain from so doing ; also to explain to them that in the event of their persisting to commit an act forbidden, they would involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to retribution and punishment ; but in the case of the Woman being of full age, and no other impediment existing, they will nevertheless remain on the spot, and not allow the most minute particular to escape observation ; and in the case of people preparing to burn a Woman by compulsion, or after having made her insensible by administering Spirituous Liquors or Narcotic Drugs, it will be then their duty to exert themselves in restraining them ; and at the same time to let them know that it is not the intention of the Government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the Religion of the Inhabitants of their dominions ; or even to require any express leave or permission being required previously to the performance of the act of Suttee ; and the Police Officers are not to interfere and prevent any such act from taking place. And lastly, it will be their duty to transmit immediately for the information of the Magistrates, a full detail of any measures which they may have adopted on this subject, and also on every occasion when within the limits of their Thannahs this Ceremony of "Suttee" may take place ; the same being lawfully conducted, they will insert it in the Monthly Reports.*

(Sd.) G. H. FAGAN,

Adjutant-General.

64. Denunciation of some of the illegal excesses in the suttee practice. (March 18, 1822).

It is well known that the custom of the Hindoo widows burning themselves with their deceased husbands, has been carried to excess ; for they not only burn those in the prime of life, but also those that are pregnant at the time ; all this is strictly forbidden in their own Shasters. And it is also reported that the widows are made to eat something which intoxicates them, and are then burnt against their inclinations. O what a horrible practice ! such treatment is contrary to all the Shasters, to religion and to mercy ; since their own Shasters expressly declare that those widows who are pregnant or have not attained the age of maturity should not burn themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands.†

* *Calcutta Journal,* February 21, 1822.
† *Sambad Cowmoody,* quoted by *Calcutta Journal,* March 18, 1822.

65. A letter in attempt of the repudiation of the above. (March 10, 1822).

To the Editor of the *Summochar Chundrika.*

Sir,

I write to you, with the consent of many well-bred, virtuous, and rich inhabitants of Calcutta, the following subject, the insertion of which in your paper will greatly oblige me.

So much as has been written in the *Sungbaud Cowmuddy* of 5th March, No. xiv, about the violence and injustice exercised in Concremation that it is beyond probability ; for if a man through malice, strength, or artifice, were to kill a person even secretly amidst a thick forest, it could not remain undiscovered ; since, besides the EYE that is ever observing every thing which passes in this world, there are Magistrates appointed to preserve order and peace in this country. And the Magistrates never allow a woman to burn herself with her husband, before they have given the subject a serious and cool consideration, and found the woman to be devoid of all the passions, and to have a constant faith in her husband. The Editor of the *Sungbad Cowmuddy*, merely to expose himself, has thus written in his paper that, "Those Widows who are pregnant at the time, or have not arrived at years of maturity, are made to eat something which inebriates them, and then thrown upon the burning piles of their husbands". It is a proverb among the vulgar, that a guardian is always disagreeable to a lewd woman, moonlight to a thief, *Ghrytu* (clarified butter) to a drunkard, and a chaste woman to one of the contrary character. One cannot injure another with impunity.—A woman burns herself publickly before all her relations and friends.—I would therefore advise the Editor, rather than ridicule those who conduct themselves consistently with religious principles, to mention the names and residence of the persons who brought him such intelligence, that we may obtain information from them respecting such murderers, and then endeavour to make them feel the justice of the Government ; otherwise he must be held as an Infidel, or one deprived of the use of his reason.*

March 10, 1822. BIPRUDOSS.

66. Another letter on the same. (March 18, 1822).

To the Editor of the *Summochar Chundrika.*

Sir,

Having read in the *Sungbaud Cowmuddy* some improbable assertions advanced as to Concremation, before I pass my judgement upon them, and print it in the *Chundrika,* I beg leave to ask the Editor of that paper the two following questions, and if they be satisfactorily answered, I doubt not but his proposed reformation may take place. "How did he come by his information that Widows who are pregnant at the time, or have not attained the age of maturity, are made to eat something which intoxicates them, and then burnt on the funeral piles of their

* *Calcutta Journal,* March 18, 1822.

deceased husbands? Was this the result of the liveliness of his own imagination, or has he printed that story in his *Cowmuddy*, tending to revile the manners and customs of his own country, merely to please some foreigners whose manners and customs are quite different from ours?"*

67. A letter in justification of Suttees. (May 25, 1822).

To the Spreader of the Light of Intelligence, the Editor of the Summachar Chundrika.

Sir,

A letter published in the *John Bull* by a foreigner of that signature, and to whom the last word is applicable, containing some calumnious observations against Concremation, was well replied to on the 15th of April, through the medium of the same Paper by a learned person to the great satisfaction of the religious world, and the removal of the mistakes of the injurers of religion ; but we have been much grieved in looking into the 27th paragraph of this reply. Some sensible *Suttee Bidhaok* had published in the same Paper of the 29th of April, in favour of the practice of Concremation ; at which we were highly pleased. Shortly after, on the 1st of May, an Englishman published another letter, expressing his wish to know the authorities for the justification of such a practice ; and on the second day a person under the signature of "A Friend to the Hindoos", published in the *John Bull*, in the manner of an antagonist, a letter finding fault with the Hindoo religion ; to which letter and the others, a proper reply was given by the aggrieved Hindoos in the *John Bull* of the 17th of May, which has been to us a very great comfort.

It is very improper to hold religious discussions with persons who differ in their manners and customs, and to wish to become acquainted with the authorities to justify the practice of Concremation ; nay, it is altogether unbecoming for persons of a different faith to ridicule the religion of others. By thus attempting to find fault with one another's religion, it would do mischief to the Government, and conduce to the misery of the subjects. These condemners of religion having published some erroneous conclusions about the injunction for the practice of Concremation ; the subject is now in discussion even in England, and many doubts in the Hindoo Shastrus have arisen to those who are not versed in them. In order to remove those doubts, we shall here cite authorities written in every Shastru, and known in every country, for the practice of concremation, which is so very honest, and the means of obtaining final happiness ; and hope when the religious sceptics have made themselves acquainted with the meaning of the following passages, they will leave off those practices to which they have no right, and remain silent.†

[Some Authorities quoted]

13th of Joyestho Sokabda 1744. CHUNDRIKA PAYNO.

* *Samachar Chundrika*, quoted by *Calcutta Journal*, March 18, 1822.
† *Calcutta Journal*, June 25, 1822.

68. An editorial note of the "India Gazette" on an atrocious suttee case. (April 12, 1824).

(A Letter to the Editor of the *Scotsman in the East* containing an account of an atrocious suttee case is inserted. The following note is appended to the above letter.)

Note.—We wish the more enlightened natives could be excited to petition Government to put a stop to this cruel and barbarous rite, which is as reproachful (being contrary to the doctrines of the religion that sanctions it,) as it is abhorrent to the feelings of humanity. But the time is not, we *fear*, yet come, for expecting such a petition, altho' we *hope* it is. We understand a gentleman of talent and great philanthropy did at one time bring a petition forward, when the effort was lost by an opposing remonstrance.*—*Ed.*

69. Letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, communicating their Resolutions on Suttees. (December 3, 1824).

(Lower Provinces).

1. Mr. Harington's Minute and Enclosures, 28th June, 1823.
2. Letter and Enclosures from Register Nizamut Adawlut, 4th July, 1823.
3. Letter and Enclosures from Register Nizamut Adawlut, 25th July, 1823.
4. Letter and Enclosures from Acting Register Nizamut Adawlut, 23rd July, 1824.
5. Letter and Enclosures from Acting Register Nizamut Adawlut, 24th September, 1824.
6. Resolutions of the present date.

Honourable Sirs,

We have the honour to transmit to your honourable court an extract from our proceedings, containing the Reports of Suttees for the years 1822 and 1823, received from the court of nizamut adawlut, together with various other documents connected with the same subject ; and a copy of the Resolutions which we have this day passed, on an anxious consideration of the important questions which they involve.

2. We take the present opportunity of acknowledging your honourable Court's letter upon this subject, under date the 17th June 1823, and of expressing the gratification which we have derived from the confidence reposed in us by your honourable court, in leaving to our discretion the adoption or suspension of measures directed to the abolition of the barbarous practice of suttee.

3. We entirely participate with your honourable court in the feelings of detestation with which you view the rite, and in your earnest desire to have it suppressed; and we beg to assure you, that nothing but the apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice, could induce us to tolerate it for a single day.

4. Although, as is remarked by your honourable court, the practice varies very much in different parts of the country, both as to the extent to which it prevails, and the enthusiasm by which it is upheld, yet it cannot be doubted but

* *India Gazette*, April 12, 1824.

that it is sufficiently general to have a strong hold on the feelings of the native population throughout the greater part of our possessions.

5. In fact, the whole difficulty of the question consists in determining the amonut of the influence of this fanatical spirit, and it is only upon a sober and careful consideration of native modes of thinking upon the subject, that any safe attempt at legislation can be founded.

6. The difficulty of arriving at any sound practical conclusions, in legislating on subjects connected with religious prejudice, is sufficiently obvious in any country; and the peculiar disadvantages under which your servants here must conduct their inquiries on such subjects, have been so frequently and so clearly stated, that it seems unnecessary to repeat them in this place.

7. We have reason, however, to believe, that in the eyes of the natives the great redeeming point in our government, the circumstance which reconciles them above all others to the manifold inconveniences of foreign rule, is the scrupulous regard we have paid to their customs and prejudices. It would be with extreme reluctance that we adopted any measures tending to unsettle the confidence thus reposed in us. In native opinion, the voluntary nature of the act of suttee diminishes the right of the government to interfere; and it must be remembered that the safety and the expediency of suppressing the practice must be judged by reference chiefly to native, and not to European habits of thinking.

8. Were we to be guided by the sentiments which we happen to know exist generally among the higher classes of natives, at the place most favourable for ascertaining their real sentiments, we mean at the Presidency, we should indeed almost despair of ever seeing the suppression of the practice. The well-meant and zealous attempts of Europeans to dissuade from and to discourage the performance of the rite, would appear to have been almost uniformly unsuccessful; and prove but too strongly, that even the best informed classes of the Hindoo population are not yet sufficiently enlightened to recognize the propriety of abolishing the rite.

9. Your honourable court will be gratified by perceiving from the returns now submitted, that in the interior of the country the practice has been slowly but gradually decreasing.

10. These statements do not promise the early cessation of the practice, under the operation of existing causes; but we shall anxiously look to the future returns, to ascertain if they exhibit a continued diminution.

11. We do not affect to conceal that such a result would be peculiarly acceptable to us. The whole course of our proceedings has been, in conformity with the principle enjoined by your honourable court, to interfere as little as possible; and in a subject so beset with difficulty, and in which the risk of advancing appears to us so considerable, it would be gratifying to find that the safest and most moderate course was also likely to prove an effectual one.

12. For the reasons assigned in our Resolutions of this date, we are decidedly of opinion that the adoption of any new measures of importance is particularly inexpedient at the present moment; and we hope that the additional information obtained may eventually enable us to proceed with more confidence.

13. Your honourable court have been already apprised of the plans for the encouragement of native education, recently adopted, under the orders of government. These measures depend, in no small degree, for success on the scrupulous exclusion of all reference to religious subjects; and it would appear injudicious to render our first interference with a religious rite simultaneous with the introduction of a system of general education.

14. We entirely concur with your honourable court in considering, that success, arising from increased intelligence among the people, (which can only be brought about, we conceive, by improved education,) would be the most acceptable form in which the cessation of the practice could be exhibited.

15. In the mean time your honourable court will remark, that we have been preparing, should we deem it expedient at a favourable moment, to adopt, in particular places, those measures of partial prevention which you have recommended to our consideration.

16. Something, we hope, has been effected. We have safely and quietly ascertained the extent of the practice, and have guarded against violence being offered to the victims of it; and, considering that the practice is the growth of many hundred of years, and that it was disregarded by ourselves for the first half century, during which we held the government of the country, we think the progress made in nine years, in a matter of such extreme delicacy, is not altogether unsatisfactory.

17. We do not wish to pledge ourselves for the future, even by sketching any specific plan for the approbation of your honourable court. We hope we have satisfied your honourable court, that we anxiously desire to see the abolition of the practice ; that reasonable doubts may be entertained of the safety of suppressing it ; that the present moment is particularly unsuitable to such an attempt; that something has been effected by us; that the subject continues to receive its full share of our attention; and that we shall keep our minds open to avail ourselves of favourable circumstances, or useful information. Further than this we are not at present prepared to go ; and we have the gratification to believe that these sentiments are conformable to those expressed in the despatch of your honourable court to which we are replying.*

We have &c.,
AMHERST.
EDWD. PAGET.
JOHN FENDALL.

Fort William,
3rd December 1824.

70. Lord Amhert's Minute on Suttee. (March 18, 1827).

My reason for hesitating to adopt Mr. Bayley's proposal, is the belief which I entertain that the barbarous practice of burning widows does not prevail in the districts enumerated by him ; and any consequent apprehension, that we may do

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1825, Vol. 24, p. 6.

more harm than good by addressing any orders upon the subject to the officers in charge of those districts. As Mr. Bayley, however, expresses his belief that suttees are not infrequent in Kumaoon, I will address myself to Mr. Trail for the information which I do not at present possess.

I am very much inclined to believe that half measures will be unproductive of good ; nay, that they are not unlikely to produce positive evil ; and I am not prepared to recommend an enactment prohibiting suttees altogether.

But feeling, as I do, the bitterest disappointment at the sudden increase to the number of suttees in 1825, compared with the preceding years, I am unwilling to pass over, without some kind of notice, so deplorable and unexpected a result.

The increase is attributed to the greater mortality which prevailed in 1825 ; but I think it important that the strange discrepancies which Mr. Bayley has pointed out in the 5th paragraph of his minute should, if possible, be explained ; and I think it not improbable, that a call for information may be answered in a manner which may facilitate the ulterior operations of government.

But after all, I must frankly confess, though at the risk of being considered insensible to the enormity of the evil, that I am inclined to recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge amongst the natives, for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition. I cannot believe it possible, that the burning or burying alive of widows will long survive the advancement which every year brings with it in useful and rational learning. I wish that the substance of Mr. Harington's excellent preamble to his proposed regulation could be embodied in some of the books of instruction which are distributed so generally, and in such large numbers, by our School Book Society. I wish, too, that it were possible to take any means of bettering the condition of widows, so as to take away at least all the inducement to concremation, which arises from the forlorn and destitute existence to which a widow is condemned. These are slow, but I think they are sure means of bringing this barbarous custom into desuetude ; and I would rather wait a few years for the gradual consummation of this desirable event, than risk the violent and uncertain, and perhaps dangerous expedient of a prohibition on the part of the government.*

18th March, 1827. AMHERST.

71. Editorial remarks of the "Oriental Observer" on the suppression of Suttees. (August 26, 1827).

In one of the Native Paper great satisfaction is expressed that the motion in the India House, in regard to the suppression of Suttees, was lost. This we may infer to be the expression of the sentiments of a numerous body of Hindoos, and is calculated to shew that great caution is to be observed in legislating on the subject. Of the wickedness, cruelty and folly of the practice, we believe that there can be but one opinion among all who can judge on the

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1830, Vol. 28, p. 133.

subject. The only question is, as to the best manner of suppressing the custom. One party would recommend increasing knowledge and an improved system of Education, as best calculated to effect so desirable an end, and argue that a violent suppression of it would rather tend to harden the people in their adherence to it ; and might even, as a violent interference with the religious prejudices of the people, excite serious disturbances, and rebellion. Yet at the same time it must be acknowledged that the partial and limited manner in which the suttee prevails in the country, there is almost none of the existing prejudices of the people which might be attacked with greater safety ; and the little difficulty experienced in putting an end to the sacrifice of children at Saugor, and in the suppression of child-murder in different parts of India, affords grounds for expecting that a like success would accompany a determined exercise of authority in regard to concremation also.*

72. Condemnatory remarks of the "Sungbad Cowmoody" on a suttee case. (March 15, 1828).

Last Tuesday one Vishnoo Gangoole of Bag bazar having died of the disease that is now prevailing at Calcutta and its environs, his wife, Veendhyuvasenee under particular circumstances expressed a desire to burn herself alive with her deceased husband ; the formalities ordained by government on this occasion being consequently over the Suttee as customary, ascended the pile which was immediately set on fire. Some European and American gentlemen of respectability being present on the spot, the woman could not be bound down or otherwise secured, as is the usual practice in this country, and when the flames rose she was unable to bear the torture, and made her escape from the pile with several parts of her body burnt. We understand that notwithstanding this, she was not safe in the hands of her cruel tormentors, who would have endeavoured to force her back into the burning flames ; but for the presence of the gentlemen of Europe and America and the Thanadars, the parties were all sent to the magistrates. We cannot say with certainty how many women have in this manner rashly suffered themselves to be put to the flames in our country; and in fact, though we may suppose, that particular reasons sometimes induce some of those weak beings to burn themselves alive, still this perversion of the mind continue for a few moments, and the wish to die may vanish before the flames, when it would however be too late for her to think of living, according to the popular prejudices, and a Suttee as soon as she gets upon the pile is so firmly tied to it, and so well secured that even if she were to desire being extricated she has not the power to stir her limbs, and if she were to cry, the bustle of Huree! Huree! would entirely cover her feeble voice: if a suttee were not tied to the pile, or otherwise prevented from saving herself, we doubt not, but many occurrences like the one to which we have been here calling the attention of our readers, would come to pass. We recollect a case of the same kind that happened

* *Oriental Observer*, August 26, 1827.

at Mundulghat last year, when the suttee ran away, no one yet knows where. Had the men in the present case been able forcibly to accomplish the cremation of Veendhyuvasenee, we should most probably have been told of the suttee having "ascended the heavens in company with her husband pleased in her mind, and with a satisfied conscience." The prevention, however, of women being burnt alive against their will, and the Shastrus is yet distant and cannot be brought about without the strictest attention of the good Daroghas or Police officers.*

73. Letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, communicating their Resolutions on Suttees. (April 10, 1828).

Judicial Department, Lower Provinces.

Letter from Registrar Nizamut Adawlut, and Enclosures, 27th October, 1826.

Letter from Registrar Nizamut Adawlut, and Enclosures, 13th October, 1826.

Mr. Bayley's Minute, 13th Jan., 1827.

Mr. Harington's Minute, and Draft of Regulation, 18th February, 1827.

The Vice-President's Minute, 1st March, 1827.

Letter written to the Secretary to the Governor-General, Mr. Mackenzie, 1st March, 1827.

The Governor-General's Minute, 18th March, 1827.

Letter from Belah Joint Magistrate, 5th May, 1827.

Letter from Registrar Nizamut Adawlut and Enclosures, 19th October, 1827.

Mr. Bayley's Minute, 28th November, 1827.

Sir C. T. Metcalfe's Minute, 29th December, 1827.

The Governor-General's Minute, 4th January, 1828.

Resolutions passed on the 28th February, 1828.

Mr. Bayley's Minute, 3rd March, 1828.

Letter written to the Registrar Nizamut Adawlut, 28th February, 1828.

Letter written to Secretary to Government at Fort St. George, 28th February, 1828.

Letter written to Secretary to Government at Bombay, 28th February, 1828.

Honourable Sirs,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Honorable Court's despatch under date the 25th of July 1827, and to transmit to your Honorable Court copies of the reports of suttees for the years 1825 and 1826 received from the court of Nizamut Adawlut, together with copies of our Resolutions passed thereon, and of various other documents on the same subject, recorded on our proceedings of the 6th ultimo.

2. For the opinions entertained by your late Governor-General and the members of the Board respectively on the expediency of direct interference in suppressing the rite of suttee, we beg to refer your Honorable Court to the several Minutes recorded on our proceedings.

3. It is justly observed by your Honorable Court, in the dispatch under acknowledgment, that one of the difficulties attendant on the consideration of this question arises from the difference of opinion which prevails amongst the ablest of your public functionaries as to the safety of such interference ; and when it is considered how many circumstances independently of practical observation, and knowledge of the native character, may influence them in forming their judgment on the subject it becomes extremely difficult to decide on the degree of weight which should be attached to the sentiments of each individual, and still more so which set of opinions should be allowed to preponderate.

*_Sambad Cowmoody_, quoted by _John Bull_, April 5, 1828.

4. Officers who have acquired their experience chiefly in one part of the country from observing the frequent occurrence of suttees are led to consider the evil to be of so crying a nature that it ought to be put down at all risks, while others in a different quarter where the rite is rarely observed think it scarcely deserving the hazard of interference. In some districts the dispositions of the people are prone to violence, and their minds easily excited—in others the apathy of their general character and perfect submission to the will of their rulers precludes any ground for apprehension that they would offer the slightest opposition to the orders of the local authorities.

5. On perusing the reports now transmitted your Honorable Court will not fail to notice with satisfaction that the number of suttees in 1826 fell considerably short of that reported in any of the four preceding years, and we trust that the favorable results of that year warrant our expectation that the diminution may be progressive.

6. In submitting their report of suttees for the year 1827 the Court of Nizamut Adawlut have been directed to endeavor to ascertain the cause of any extraordinary discrepancies which the returns from the local officers may exhibit in the number of instances which may have taken place during that year in their respective districts, compared with other adjoining jurisdictions, as well as the cause of the greater prevalence of the practice in the neighbourhood of Calcutta than in other parts of the country, in the hopes that such explanations may tend to facilitate our determination on the measures which it may be deemed expedient to adopt hereafter should our expectation of a gradual diminution of suttees not be realized.*

We have the honor to be, honourable Sirs,
Your most faithful humble servants,
W. B. BAYLEY.
C. T. METCALFE.
GEO. SWINTON.

Fort William,
10th April, 1828.

74. Sir John Malcolm's Minute on Suttee. (September 20, 1828).

Para. 4. This subject has engaged much of my attention since my arrival in India, and in private conferences with some of the most respectable Brahmins at Poonah I have earnestly entreated the active exercise of their influence as being not only necessary to prevent our interference in any shape with their rites and usages, but to give strong ground for those among us who are disposed to defend them against the attacks that must continue to be made upon their religion and observances as long as the practice of suttee prevails.

5. I have reason to be satisfied with the reports I have received from those with whom I communicated, of the impressions my sentiments have made upon others and of their sense of the necessity of becoming the instruments of the reform of an usage which however sanctioned by custom, is so abhorrent to

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1830, Vol. 28, p. 23.

those Rulers on whom they were dependent for favor and protection ; one of the most sensible of these Brahmins solicited me to allow them to endeavour to effect this object in their own way. Their power he said would be weakened, if not destroyed, if they appeared as interested Agents employed by Government instead of influential persons in their own tribe, actuated by no motive but a desire to promote the good of the Hindoos.

6. This person further informed me that though some good might have been done, an unfavorable sensation had certainly been produced on some classes by the publication of the Regulations at Poonah, regarding suttees. Many of their women he said, regarded the precaution taken to admit of their escape from the pile, as an imputation upon their firmness, and many Brahmins particularly of the lower orders, thought that any regulations of the English Government, connected with such a subject, should be viewed with jealousy and alarm, as establishing a precedent that would soon be quoted as giving a right to further interference in matters of Caste and Religion. He imputed the encreased number of suttees at Poonah in 1825, which were six to these impressions which he was glad however to say had ceased to operate and he trusted that the humane feelings of the English Government (if it refrained from any attempts offensive to the prejudices of the people), would gradually effect the abolition of a custom, to which it was so repugnant, and it's toleration of which (with the supposed means of preventing it), exposed it to continual attack and reproach in England.

7. I shall hereafter state any further communications I may receive upon this subject. I can only add that my efforts are chiefly directed to the southern Concan, where circumstances combine to render suttees more frequent than in any of our other provinces, and I expect more aid from my present coadjutors, as their families are all of that country.*

(Sd.) John Malcolm.

75. Letter from Mr. H. H. Wilson to the Military Secretary to Government, communicating his required sentiments on Suttees. (November 25, 1828).

To

Captain R. Benson,

Mily. Secy. to the Governor General.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 10th instant, requiring me to submit through you, to the Governor General, my sentiments on the subject of the self immolation of Hindu widows.

2. My opinions are adverse to any authoritative interference with the practice. I am aware that this avowal may expose me to the imputation of the absence of Christian charity and common humanity but I should be unworthy of the reference made to me, by the Governor General, if I suffered the fear of

* Jud. Cons. (Cr.), December 4, 1829, No. 24.

undeserved detraction to restrain the honest acknowledgment of the sentiments I entertain. I am confident that His Lordship will do me the justice to believe I should be one of the warmest advocates for the abolition of so inhuman a rite, if I was not strongly impressed with the apprehension that serious evil may attend any measures proposed for its absolute suppression. The attempt, whilst it will be attended with but partial success, will, in my opinion, inspire extensive dissatisfaction, and distrust, will alienate, in a great degree, the affections of the natives from their Rulers, and will seriously retard the progress of those better feelings and sounder notions which are silently but permanently gaining ground upon the prejudices and practices of the Hindus.

3. Before inquiring how far the practice of the suttee may be put a stop to, or the consequences that may attend its suppression, the subject I conceive should be freed from the extraneous matter with which it has been blended, and which, whilst it seems to illustrate, serves only to perplex the question. The practice should be considered by itself: not in connexion with rites, to which it bears no analogy, and from the successful counteraction of which no safe guide can be derived.

4. The sacrifice of Infants at Sagor was not only unauthorized by any part of the Hindu Code, but was found upon inquiry to be "neither countenanced by the religious orders nor the people at large, or at any time sanctioned by the Hindu or Mahomedan Governments." It was also necessarily of rare and restricted occurrence. This therefore affords no parallel to the performance of an act observed throughout India for many ages, under every form of Government, and enjoined by texts which all orthodox Hindus regard as holy.

5. The practice of female infanticide was in like manner of very limited observance, being confined to a few castes in one or two districts. Its suppression also was, in the first instance, the work of persuasion and personal influence, and authority was only employed in concurrence with the chief members of the tribes in which the inhumanity prevailed. In fact however the practice has never been abolished. The enjoyment of settled prosperity, the influence of British sentiments, and the dissemination of improved principles, may have contributed to render the murder of female infants comparatively rare, but there is no doubt that both in Guzerat and in the Gangetic Provinces, female children are still destroyed by particular tribes.

6. The capital punishment of Brahmins is alluded to in your letter as an instance of safe interference with Hindu prejudices. It is true that no open opposition has been made to the execution of such a sentence, but it is no less true that the law is far from popular, and that whenever spoken of by the natives in communication with those to whom they are not afraid to express their real sentiments, is pronounced by them a violation of their religious code—At the same time there are many reasons why the natives should take little personal interest in the fate of a Brahman culprit. The Brahmins form the largest proportion perhaps of the whole population, and equal reverence cannot be extended to all. In many instances they follow degrading occupations and consequently sink to a level with the lowest castes. The Mohamedan Government is not likely to have held the persons of Brahmans inviolable, and

their being condemned to death was therefore no innovation. There is reason to infer that even Hindu Princes were not always very scrupulous in this respect, and the Law itself whilst it prohibits death by no means discountenances punishment. Perhaps indeed when it sentenced a Brahman convicted of flagitious crime to be branded indelibly on the forehead and banished his country for ever, it proposed to inflict a penalty more severe than death itself.

7. These considerations therefore appear to me of little weight. The analogies are fallacious, and it seems a dangerous evasion of the real difficulties attending the question of abolishing the suttee to adduce them as proofs of the impunity with which its abolition may be effected.

8. Of a similar character is the attempt to represent it as not essentially a part of the Hindu religion. A widow, it is true, is not commanded to burn in every case, and *Menu* is silent on the subject of concremation. Other authorities however of equal sanctity are sufficiently explicit, and the act is enumerated by them amongst the duties of a faithful widow just as much as chastity is held to be the duty of a virtuous wife. The inducements to it are weighty, and a residence in heaven is promised as its reward, not only for the widow but her husband, who is thus elevated by her piety to Paradise, and restored to her affections there four countless years. These promises and injunctions are set forth not by writers of recent date or disputable authority, but by those whom the Hindus universally class amongst the divine and inspired founders of their system. They have therefore the weight of commands, as far as human weakness will admit of their being obeyed, and they cannot be directly opposed without violence to the conscientious belief of every order of Hindus.

9. This is the only light in which, in my estimation, the question can be regarded. The suttee cannot be put down without interference with the Hindu religion. Whether that interference may be safely exercised, wheher it ought to be exercised, are the only points for discussion, and whatever determination may be adopted, it will probably be admitted to be a safer, and more manly mode of proceeding, to look the matter fairly in the face, than to endeavour to persuade ourselves that we are not tampering with the Hindu faith—that we are doing nothing to shock the national creed, that we have in short no pledges of our own to violate, and no opposition from the religious feelings of the natives of India to encounter.

10. I do not imagine that the promulgated prohibition of suttees would lead to any immediate and overt act of insubordination or violence. It would create very general alarm, and perhaps in some places might be met by remonstrance or petition, but until an occasion called for the enforcement of the prohibitive enactment, no disturbance need be apprehended. That this occasion would soon occur, I have little doubt. The people will not regard the prohibition, and suttees will be attempted in spite of the law. It has been found very difficult in several districts to compel the people to give information to the Police officers of the rite being intended, although no permission is needed, and it has happened that the ceremony has been performed where the legal conditions were disregarded and in defiance of the Police. If this be the case now it will much more frequently

occur when prohibition is expected, and the observance will be attempted without any notice being given, or the Police officers will be bribed or intimidated into silent acquiscence, supposing them to interfere, they will be not unfrequently opposed by force, and in many places serious affrays may be anticipated, sufficient to agitate the people although not of such extent as to endanger the Ruling power.—Again, supposing the rite performed, what penalties are to be inflicted on the parties concerned who have acted under the impulse of religious incitement. If they are slight they will be ineffective, and if severe they will occasion great heart burning and discontent. If then it should be resolved to prohibit suttees, the Government must be prepared to let the prohibition remain inoperative, or to enforce it by measures which will partake very much of the nature of religious persecution, and which, whilst they confirm the adherence of the Hindus to their national superstitions, will diffuse a very extensive dread and detestation of the British authority.

11. Not having had many opportunities of intercourse with the Sipahis, I cannot offer any reply to the queries more particularly regarding the effects which the abolition of the practice may have on the Native Army.—I should conclude however that the Hindu portion of it would share the feelings of their countrymen, more especially as it consists very largely of men of high caste, Rajputs and Brahmans, individuals who, besides the common interest of all Hindus in the inviolability of their religion, are attached to its preservation by a natural devotion to the dignities and immunities which it confers upon their respective orders.—It must be unnecessary for me to suggest in what a painful and anxious situation the native soldiery must be placed if it should ever be necessary to call upon them to give effect to the orders of the Government and to array their duty and allegiance against their social prejudices and religious belief.

12. Even if I may be mistaken in regarding the abolition of suttees as actual interference with the Hindu religion, I think it will scarcely be denied that it will be so considered by the Hindus themselves.—One or two individuals in Calcutta, who have signalised themselves by dissenting from many of the practices and principles of the religion, may hold a different persuasion, but the vast body of the population will concur in the same impression, and the Government has to legislate not for a handful of sectaries but for the Hindus at large. With them the faith of the British Government will be seriously compromised. They have been repeatedly told that it is one of the "fundamental principles of the British Government to allow the most complete toleration in matters of Religion to all classes of its native subjects"—The conduct of their Mohammedan rulers, and the indiscreet zeal of the English missionaries, made them slow to believe these assertions, and it is only of late years that they have learned to confide in the pledge thus given—As long as they entertain this impression, they will be tractable to any arrangements intended for their improvement, but if they once suspect an ulterior object, such as that of the subversion of their Faith, they are likely to relapse into a sullen distrust and reluctant acceptance of any offered amelioration,

If this can be avoided, there is every reason to hope that the elements of European knowledge, the principles of pure morality, and even the precepts of Christianity, may be in time widely disseminated. The Hindus are an intelligent and inquisitive people, willing to receive information, and not averse to controversy, but they will not contend in matters of speculation against authority—their defence is reserve—and their obstinate adherence to their own opinions is proportioned to what they think an unfair method of refuting them. If matters be left on their present footing, I hope many years will not elapse before important improvements will be effected, but I should rather expect retrocession—I should look for the deterioration of the national character, if the judicious system hitherto pursued be departed from—if the professions of Religious toleration be contradicted by our practice, and the Hindus learn to question the inviolability of British Faith.

13. It is I imagine a consideration of comparatively little importance whether the measures already adopted with regard to suttees be persisted in or abandoned. It might have been better perhaps had they not been instituted, and they have probably rather tended to render the practice more extensive. I do not think however that the greater part of the increase observable in the first years of the inquiry, was fairly attributable to this source. The chief causes were reasons of unusual mortality and more precision in the returns. At first the natives perhaps suspected an intention of interference beyond what was avowed, and under that feeling the suttees were more numerous, but this impression where not fostered by injudicious interposition on the part of the Magistrate has probably subsided, and all such cause of aggravation is removed.—It is therefore so far unnecessary to retrace the steps that have been taken, and the measures have no doubt prevented many illegal and irregular proceedings—At the same time however that the orders in force are allowed to remain unaltered I should not think it advisable to countenance the interference of the authorities. In many cases it has been attended with circumstances of great inhumanity as well as the loss of life it was intended to prevent ; it creates great dissatisfaction and jealousy amongst the bulk of the people, and in every case where it is unsuccessfully exerted, adds to the reputation of the victim, and multiplies the number of those who are thus misled to imitate so honourable an example.

14. I have thus stated for the information of His Lordship the sentiments I entertain regarding the suppression of suttees. They may possibly be erroneous, and I should rejoice to find them so, but at least I have not formed them precipitately. I have read much, perhaps most of what has been published upon the subject, and both in Bengal and at Benares have had frequent communication with intelligent Hindus relating to it. I have found no difference of opinion amongst them. It is from these sources that my conclusions have been drawn, and I have only to regret that they are in opposition to my feelings.*

Calcutta,
The 25th Nov., 1828.

I have &ca.
(Sd) H. H. Wilson.

* Jud. Cons. (Cr.), December 4, 1829, No. 11 (*Enclo.*)

76. Editorial remarks of the "Calcutta Monthly Journal" on the intended plan of Government to suppress suttee practice. (July 27, 1829).

We have much satisfaction in stating that the attention of Government continues to be directed to a consideration of the various plans and means that have been suggested for the abolition of the practice of Suttee-burning. An eminent native philanthropist, who has long taken the lead of his countrymen on this great question of humanity and civilized government, has been encouraged to submit his views of it in a written form, and has been subsequently honoured with an audience by the Governor General, who, we learn, has expressed his anxious desire to put an end to a custom constituting such a foul blot on the character of our native subjects, as well as on that of the British Indian Government which permits and sanctions it. The plans that have been offered for consideration are three. The first is rigidly to apply the existing Regulations so as to prevent in every case the use or the apprehension of force, and the burning of widows either in a state of pregnancy or having infant children, or under any other circumstances which would imply that the sacrifice is involuntary, or which would involve others in its consequences. That this recommendation should be necessary is, in our opinion, not creditable to the Government; and the neglect of it, we fear, has unnecessarily increased the number of victims. The second plan is to abolish the practice entirely within the limits of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, where it is most prevalent, where the Government is strongest in the affections of its subjects, and where consequently its motives and measures will be most correctly appreciated. The third plan is to abolish the practice under this Presidency without any qualification or limitation. However desirous to witness the result contemplated by this last proposition, we must confess that we are rather more friendly to the second plan, as tending to blunt the force of native prejudice and to afford a partial and temporary vent for its apprehended ebullitions. We believe, however, that experience will prove these fears to be almost entirely imaginary. The chief advantage of the limitation will probably be in conciliating the prejudices or lessening the fears of those Europeans who doubt the policy of the abolition, however much and sincerely they will rejoice in its successful result. It seems probable that the first effect of the limited prohibition will be to encrease the number of Suttees in the districts not subject to the prohibitory enactment, and therefore, before this encrease can have acquired the force of settled custom, and when a brief delay shall have given confidence to the Government in the success of the step they have taken, it should be followed by the concluding measure, putting an absolute stop to the practice.

On this great question, the Native Press will have the power and the opportunity to perform a distinguished service to the Government under which it exists, and we trust its conductors will not be found wanting in their endeavours to enlighten the minds of their countrymen respecting the views and intentions of their rulers......................... The motives of Government will possibly be grossly misrepresented by some, and misapprehended by many more ; and we

hope that native editors will show the power of the instrument they wield for encountering and removing the errors and mistakes that may become current. We have reason to believe that this question is not regarded as a religious one by Government. In a matter of this kind, we have nothing whatever to do with what the Christian religion forbids, or with what the Hindoo religion permits or enjoins. It is purely a question of natural law and civil government. In what other civilized country, under what other civilized Government, has there been a law, all the provisions of which are directed to give validity to acts of suicide? By the law of nations as well as by the law of England, every self-murderer is regarded and treated as insane, and every witness of the attempt to commit suicide is roused by an instinctive and unreasoning impulse to stretch out his hand to prevent the deed. Yet here we have a Regulation which details all the circumstances and conditions which shall render such an act legal, and which holds guiltless the known and interested instigators, aiders, and abettors of the crime! It is on this ground that we take our stand. On this ground the argument for the abolition of the practice appears to us fitted to satisfy the sentiments and reason of every man who has a heart to feel or a head to think. That the act of suicide is invested with a religious character by the performance of religious ceremonies, does not constitute it the less a violation of the laws of nature and of civilized society, for in this way the common murderer and robber and the perpetrator of every atrocity might be proved innocent.

We will only add, that if Lord Bentinck prudently and firmly executes this measure, he will gain the esteem of the wise and the blessings of the good, and achieve to himself an imperishable glory.*

77. Lord William Bentinck's Minute on Suttee. (November 8, 1829).

Whether the question be to continue or to discontinue the practice of suttee, the decision is equally surrounded by an awful responsibility. To consent to the consignment, year after year, of hundreds of innocent victims to a cruel and untimely end, when the power exists of preventing it, is a predicament which no conscience can contemplate without horror. But, on the other hand, if heretofore received opinions are to be considered of any value, to put to hazard, by a contrary course, the very safety of the British Empire in India, and to extinguish at once all hopes of those great improvements affecting the condition not of hundreds and thousands, but of millions, which can only be expected from the continuance of our supremacy, is an alternative which, even in the light of humanity itself, may be considered as a still greater evil. It is upon this first and highest consideration alone, the good of mankind, that the tolerance of this inhuman and impious rite can, in my opinion, be justified on the part of the Government of a civilized nation. While the solution of this question is appalling from the unparalleled magnitude of its possible results, the considerations belonging to it are such as to make even the stoutest mind distrust its decision. On the

* *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* July 27, 1829.

one side, Religion, Humanity under the most appalling form, as well as vanity and ambition, in short all the most powerful influences over the human heart, are arrayed to bias and mislead the judgment. On the other side, the sanction of countless ages, the example of all the Mussulman conquerors, the unanimous concurrence in the same policy of our own most able Rulers, together with the universal veneration of the people, seem authoritatively to forbid, both to feeling and to reason, any interference in the exercise of their natural prerogative. In venturing to be the first to deviate from this practice, it becomes me to shew, that nothing has been yielded to feeling, but that reason, and reason alone, has governed the decision. So far indeed from presuming to condemn the conduct of my predecessors, I am ready to say, that in the same circumstances, I should have acted as they have done. So far from being chargeable with political rashness, as this departure from an established policy might infer, I hope to be able so completely to prove the safety of the measure, as even to render unnecessary any calculation of the degree of risk, which, for the attainment of so great a benefit, might wisely and justly be incurred. So far also from being the sole champion of a great and dangerous innovation, I shall be able to prove that the vast preponderance of present authority has long been in favor of abolition. Past experience indeed ought to prevent me, above all men, from coming lightly to so positive a conclusion. When Governor of Madras, I saw, in the mutiny of Vellore, the dreadful consequences of a supposed violation of religious customs upon the minds of the native population and soldiery. I cannot forget that I was then the innocent victim of that unfortunate catastrophe, and I might reasonably dread, when the responsibility would justly attach to me in the event of failure, a recurrence of the same fate. Prudence and self-interest would counsel me to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors. But in a case of such momentous importance to humanity and civilization, that man must be reckless of all his present or future happiness who could listen to the dictates of so wicked and selfish a policy. With the firm undoubting conviction entertained upon this question, I should be guilty of little short of the crime of multiplied murder, if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation. I have been already stung with this feeling. Every day's delay adds a victim to the dreadful list, which might perhaps have been prevented by a more early submission of the present question. But during the whole of the present year, much public agitation has been excited, and when discontent is abroad, when exaggerations of all kinds are busily circulated, and when the Native Army have been under a degree of alarm, lest their allowances should suffer with that of their European officers, it would have been unwise to have given a handle to artful and designing enemies to disturb the public peace. The recent measures of Government for protecting the interests of the Sepoys against the late reduction of Companies, will have removed all apprehension of the intentions of Government, and the consideration of this circumstances having been the sole cause of hesitation on my part, I will now proceed, praying the blessing of God upon our counsels, to state the grounds upon which my opinion has been formed.

We have now before us two reports of the Nizamut Adawlut, with statements of suttees in 1827 and 1828, exhibiting a decrease of 54 is the latter year as compared with 1827, and a still greater proportion as compared with former years. If this diminution could be ascribed to any change of opinion upon the question, produced by the progress of education or civilization, the fact would be most satisfactory ; and to disturb this sure though slow process of self-correction, would be most impolitic and unwise. But I think it may be safely affirmed, that though, in Calcutta, truth may be said to have made a considerable advance among the higher orders ; yet in respect to the population at large, no change whatever has taken place, and that from these causes at least no hope of the abandonment of the rite can be rationally entertained. The decrease, if it be real, may be the result of less sickly seasons, as the increase in 1824 and 1825 was of the greater prevalence of cholera. But it is probably in a greater measure due to the more open discouragement of the practice given by the greater part of the European Functionaries in latter years, the effect of which would be to produce corresponding activity in the police officers, by which either the number would be really diminished, or would be made to appear so in the returns.

It seems to be the very general opinion that our interference has hitherto done more harm than good, by lending a sort of sanction to the ceremony, while it has undoubtedly tended to cripple the efforts of Magistrates and others to prevent the practice.

I think it will dearly appear, from a perusal of the documents annexed to this minute, and from the facts which I shall have to adduce, that the passive submission of the people to the influence and power beyond the law, which in fact and practically may be and is often exercised without opposition by every public officer is so great, that the suppression of the rite would be completely effected by a tacit sanction alone on the part of Government. This mode of extinguishing it has been recommended by many of those whose advice has been asked, and no doubt this, in several respects might be a preferable course, as being equally effectual, while more silent, not exciting the alarm which might possibly come from a public enactment, and from which, in case of failure, it would be easy to retreat with less inconvenience and without any compromise of character. But this course is clearly not open to Government, bound by Parliament to rule by Law, and not by their good pleasure. Under the present position of the British Empire, moreover, it may be fairly doubted, if any such underhand proceeding would be really good policy. When we had powerful neighbours and had greater reason to doubt our own security, expediency might recommend an indirect and more cautious proceeding, but now that we are supreme, my opinion is decidedly in favor of an open, avowed and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the moral goodness of the act and our power to enforce it ; and so decided is my feeling against any half measure, that were I not convinced of the safety of total abolition, I certainly should have advised the cessation of all interference.

Of all those who have given their advice against the abolition of the rite, and have described the ill effects likely to ensue from it, there is no one, to whom I am disposed to pay greater deference than Mr. Horace Wilson. I purposely

select his opnion, because, independently of his vast knowledge of Oriental literature, it has fallen to his lot, as secretary to the Hindoo College, and possessing the general esteem both of the parents and of the youths, to have more confidential intercourse with Natives of all classes, than any man in India. While his opportunity of obtaining information has been great beyond all others, his talents and judgement enable him to form a just estimate of its value. I shall state the most forcible of his reasons, and how far I do and do not agree with him.

1st. Mr. Wilson considers it to be a dangerous evasion of the real difficulties, to attempt to prove that suttees are not "essentially a part of the Hindu Religion". I entirely agree in this opinion. The question is, not what the rite is, but what it is supposed to be ; and I have no doubt that the conscientious belief of every order of Hindus, with few exceptions, regards it as sacred.

2nd. Mr. Wilson thinks that the attempt to put down the practice will inspire extensive dissatisfaction. I agree also in this opinion. He thinks that success will only be partial which I doubt. He does not imagine that the promulgated prohibition will lead to any immediate and overt act of insubordination, but that affrays and much agitation of the public mind must ensue. But he conceives, that, if once they suspect that it is the intention of the British Government to abandon this hitherto inviolate principle of allowing the most complete toleration in matters of religion, there will arise, in the minds of all, so deep a distrust of our ulterior designs, that they will no longer be tractable to any arrangement intended for their improvement, and that the principles of a purer morality as well as of a more virtuous and exalted rule of action, now actively inculcated by European Education, and knowledge, will receive a fatal check. I must acknowledge that a similar opinion as to the probable excitation of a deep distrust of our future intentions, was mentioned to me in conversation by that enlightened native, Ram Mohun Roy, a warm advocate for the abolition of *suttees*, and of all other superstitions and corruptions, engrafted on the Hindu Religion, which he considers originally to have been a pure Deism. It was his opinion that the practice might be suppressed, quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties, and by the indirect agency of the police. He apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension that the reasoning would be, "While the English were contending for power, they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration, and to respect our religion, but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their professions, and the next will probably be, like the Mahommedan conquerors, to force upon us their own Religion".

Admitting, as I am always disposed to do, that much truth is contained in these remarks, but not at all assenting to the conclusions which tho' not described, bear the most unfavorable import, I shall now inquire into the evil and the extent of danger which may practically result from this measure.

It must be first observed, that of the 463 *suttees* occurring in the whole of the Presidency of Fort William, 420 took place in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, or what is termed the Lower Provinces, and of these latter 287 in the Calcutta Division alone.

It might be very difficult to make a stranger to India understand, much less believe, that in a population of so many millions of people, as the Calcutta Division

includes, and the same may be said of all the Lower Provinces, so great is the want of courage and of vigor of character, and such the habitual submission of centuries, that insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling power may be affirmed to be an impossible danger. I speak of the population taken separately from the army, and I may add for the information of the stranger, and also in support of my assertion, that few of the natives of the Lower Provinces are to be found in our military ranks. I therefore at once deny the danger *in toto*, in reference to this part of our territories, where the practice principally obtains. If however security were wanting against extensive popular tumult or revolution, I should say that the Permanent Settlement, which, tho' a failure in many other respects, and in its most important essentials, has this great advantage at least, of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors, deeply interested in the continuance of the British Dominion, and having complete command over the mass of the people, and, in respect to the apprehension of ulterior views, I cannot believe that it could last but for the moment. The same large Proprietory Body, connected for the most part with Calcutta, can have no fears of the kind, and through their interpretation of our intentions, and that of their numerous dependants and agents, the public mind could not long remain in a state of deception.

Were the scene of this sad destruction of human life laid in the Upper instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly people, I might speak with less confidence upon the question of safety. In these Provinces the *suttees* amount to 43 only upon a population of nearly twenty millions. It cannot be expected that any general feeling, where combination of any kind is so unusual, could be excited in defence of a rite, in which so few participate, a rite also notoriously made too often subservient to views of personal interest on the part of the other members of the family.

It is stated by Mr. Wilson that interference with infanticide and the capital punishment of Brahmins offer a fallacious analogy with the prohibition now proposed. The distinction is not perceptible to my judgement. The former practice though confined to particular families, is probably viewed as a religious custom ; and as for the latter the necessity of the enactment proves the general existence of the exception, and it is impossible to conceive a more direct and open violation of their Shasters, or one more at variance with the general feelings of the Hindoo population. To this day in all Hindu states the life of a Brahmin is, I believe, still held sacred.

But I have taken up too much time in giving my own opinions, when those of the greatest experience, and the highest official authority are upon our records. In the Report of the Nizamut Adawlut for 1828, four out of five of the Judges recommended to the Governor General in Council the immediate abolition of the practice, and attest its safety. The fifth judge, though not opposed to the opinions of the rest of the Bench, did not feel then prepared to give his entire assent. In the report of this year, the measure has come up with the unanimous recommendation of the Court. The two Superintendents of Police for the Upper and Lower Provinces, Mr. Walter Ewer and Mr. Charles Barwell, have in the strongest terms expressed their opinion that the suppression might be effected without the least

danger. The former officer has urged the measure upon the attention of Government in the most forcible manner. No documents exist to shew them the opinions of the public functionaries in the interior ; but I am informed that nine-tenths are in favor of the abolition.

How, again, are these opinions supported by practical experience?

Within the limits of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, not a *suttee* has taken place since the time of Sir John Anstruther.

In the Delhi Territory, Sir Charles Metcalfe never permitted a *suttee* to be performed.

In Jessore, one of the districts of the Calcutta Division, in 1824, there were 30 *suttees* ; in 1825, 16 ; in 1826, 3 ; in 1827 and 1828, there were none. To no other cause can this be assigned, than to a power beyond the law, exercised by the Acting Magistrate, against which however, no public remonstrance was made. Mr. Pigou has been since appointed to Cuttack, and has pursued the same strong interference as in Jessore, but his course, although most humane, was properly arrested, as being illegal, by the Commissioners. Though the case of Jessore is perhaps one of the strongest examples of efficacious and unopposed interposition, I really believe that there are few Districts in which the same arbitrary power is not exercised to prevent the practice. In the last week, in the report of the Acting Commissioner, Mr. Smith, he states that in Ghazipore in the last year 16, and in the preceding year 7 *suttees* had been prevented by the persuasions, or rather it should be said, by the *threats* of the police.

Innumerable cases of the same kind might be obtained from the public records.

It is stated in the letter of the Collector of Gya, Mr. Trotter, but upon what authority, I have omitted to inquire, that the Peshwa (I presume he means the ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao,) would not allow the rite to be performed, and that in Tanjore it is equally interdicted. These facts, if true, would be positive proofs at least that no unanimity exists among the Hindoos upon the point of religious obligation.

Having made inquiries also how far *suttees* are permitted in the European Foreign Settlements, I find from Dr. Carey that at Chinsurah no such sacrifices had ever been permitted by the Dutch Government. That within the limits of Chandarnagore itself they were also prevented, but allowed to be performed in the British territories. The Danish Government of Serampore has not forbidden the rite in conformity to the example of the British Government.

It is a very important fact, that though representations have been made by the disappointed party to superior authority, it does not appear that a single instance of direct opposition to the execution of the prohibitory orders of our civil functionaries has ever occurred. How then can it be reasonably feared that to the Government itself, from whom all authority is derived, and whose power is now universally considered to be irresistible, any thing bearing the semblance of resistance can be manifested. Mr. Wilson also is of opinion that no immediate overt act of insubordination would follow the publication of the edict. The Regulations of Government may be evaded, the police may be corrupted, but even here

the price paid as hush money will operate as a penalty indirectly forwarding the objects of Government.

I venture then to think it completely proved that, from the native population, nothing of extensive combination or even of partial opposition may be expected from the abolition.

It is however a very different and much more important question how far the feelings of the Native Army might take alarm, how far the rite may be in general observance by them, and whether, as in case of Vellore, designing persons might not make use of the circumstance either for the purpose of immediate revolt, or of sowing the seeds of permanent disaffection. Reflecting upon the vast disproportion of numbers between our native and European troops, it was obvious that these might be, in any general combination of the former, the greatest danger to the State, and it became necessary, therefore to use every precaution to ascertain the impression likely to be made upon the minds of the Native Soldiery.

Before I detail to Council the means I have taken to satisfy my mind upon this very important branch of the inquiry, I shall beg leave to advert to the name of Lord Hastings. It is impossible but that to his most humane, benevolent, and enlightened mind, this practice must have been often the subject of deep and anxious meditation. It was consequently a circumstance of ill omen and severe disappointment not to have found, upon the Records, the valuable advice and direction of his long experience and wisdom. It is true that during the greater part of his administration, he was engaged in war, when the introduction of such a measure would have been highly injudicious. To his successor, Lord Amherst, also the same obstacle was opposed. I am, however, fortunate in possessing a letter from Lord Hastings to a friend in England upon suttees, and from the following extract dated 21 November 1823, I am induced to believe that, had he remained in India, this practice would long since have been suppressed. "The subject which you wish to discuss is one which must interest one's feeling most deeply; but it is also one of extreme nicety. When I mention that in one of the years during my administration of Government in India, above 800 widows sacrificed themselves within the Provinces comprised in the Presidency of Bengal to which number I very much suspect, that very many not notified to the Magistrates should be added, I will hope to have credit for being acutely sensible to such an outrage against humanity. At the same time I was aware how much danger might attend the endeavouring to suppress forcibly, a practice so rooted in the religious belief of the natives. No men of low caste are admitted into the ranks of the Bengal Army. Therefore the whole of that formidable body must be regarded as blindly partial to a custom which they consider equally referrible to family honor and to points of faith. To attempt the extinction of the horrid superstition, without being supported in the procedure by a real concurrence on the part of the Army, would be distinctly perilous. I have no scruple to say, that I disbelieve, I could have carried with me the assent of the Army towards such an object. That persuasion, however, arose from circumstances which gave me peculiar influence over the Native Troops".

Lord Hastings left India in 1823. It is quite certain that the Government of that time were much more strongly impressed with the risk of the undertaking, than is now very generally felt. It would have been fortunate could this measure have proceeded under the auspices of that distinguished Nobleman, and that the State might have had the benefit of the influence which undoubtedly he possessed, in a peculiar degree, over the Native Troops. Since that period, however, six years have elapsed. Within the territories all has been peaceful and prosperous, while without, Ava and Bhurtpore, to whom alone a strange sort of consequence was ascribed by public opinion, have been made to acknowledge our supremacy. In this interval, experience has enlarged our knowledge, and has given us surer data upon which to distinguish truth from illusion, and to ascertain the real circumstances of our position and power. It is upon these that the concurring opinion of the officers of the civil and military services at large having been founded, is entitled to our utmost confidence.

I have the honor to lay before Council the copy of a circular addressed to forty-nine officers, pointed out to me by the secretary to Government in the Military Department, as being from their judgement and experience the best enabled to appreciate the effect of the proposed measure upon the Native Army, together with their answers. For more easy reference, an abstract of each answer is annexed in a separate paper and classed with those to the same purport.

It appears, First, that of those whose opinions are directly adverse to all interference, whatever, with the practice, the number is only *five*. Secondly, of those who are favorable to abolition, but averse to absolute and direct prohibition under the authority of the Government, the number is *twelve*. Thirdly, of those who are favorable to abolition, to be effected by the indirect interference of Magistrates and other public officers, the number is *eight*. Fourthly, of those who advocate the total immediate and public suppression of the practice, the number is *twenty-eight*.

It will be observed also, of those who are against an open and direct prohibition, few entertain any fear of immediate danger. They refer to a distant and undefined evil. I can conceive the possibility of the expression of dissatisfaction and anger being immediately manifested upon this supposed attack on their religious usages; but the distant danger seems to me altogether groundless, provided that perfect respect continues to be paid to all their innocent rites and ceremonies, and provided also, that a kind and considerate regard be continued to their worldly interests and comforts.

I trust therefore that the Council will agree with me in the satisfactory nature of this statement, and that they will partake in the perfect confidence which it has given me of the expediency and safety of the abolition.

In the answer of one of the Military Officers, Lieutenant-colonel Todd, he has recommended that the Tax on Pilgrims should be simultaneously given up, for the purpose of affording an undoubted proof of our disinterestedness and of our desire to remove every obnoxious obstacle to the gratification of their religious duties. A very considerable revenue is raised from this head; but if it were to be the price of satisfaction and confidence to the Hindoos, and of the

removal of all distrust of our present and future intentions, the sacrifice might be a measure of good policy. The objections that must be entertained by all to the principle of the Tax, which in England has latterly excited very great reprobation formed an additional motive for the enquiry. I enclose the copy of a circular letter addressed to different individuals, at present in charge of the districts where the Tax is collected, or who have had opportunities from their local knowledge of forming a good judgement upon this question. It will be seen that opinions vary, but upon a review of the whole, my conviction is that, in connexion with the present measure, it is inexpedient to repeal the Tax. It is a subject upon which I shall not neglect to bestow more attention than I have been able to do. An abstract of these opinions is annexed to this Minute.

I have now to submit for the consideration of Council the draft of a Regulation enacting the abolition of suttees. It is accompanied by a paper containing the remarks and suggestions of the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut. In this paper is repeated the unanimous opinion of the Court in favor of the proposed measure. The suggestions of the Nizamut Adawlut are, in some measure, at variance with a principal object I had in view of preventing collision between the parties to the suttee and the officers of police. It is only in the previous processes, or during the actual performance of the rite, when the feelings of all may be more or less roused to a high degree of excitement, that I apprehend the possibility of affray, or of acts of violence, through an indiscreet and injudicious exercise of authority. It seemed to me prudent therefore, that the Police in the first instance should warn and advise, but not forcibly prohibit, and if the suttee, in defiance of this notice, were performed, that a report should be made to the Magistrate, who would summon the parties and proceed as in many other case of crime. The Sudder Court appear to think these precautions unnecessary, and I hope they may be so, but, in the beginning, we cannot, I think, proceed with too much circumspection. Upon the same principle, in order to guard against a too hasty or severe a sentence, emanating from extreme zeal on the part of the local judge, I have proposed that the case should only be cognizable by the Commissioner of Circuit. These are however, questions which I should wish to see discussed in Council. The other recommendations of the Court are well worthy of our adoption.

I have now brought this paper to a close, and I think I have redeemed my pledge of not allowing, in the consideration of this question, passion or feeling to have any part. I trust it will appear that due weight has been given to all difficulties and objections; that facts have been stated with truth and impartiality; that the conclusion to which I have come, is completely borne out, both by reason and authority. It may be justly asserted that the Government, in this act, will only be following, not preceding, the tide of public opinion long flowing in this direction; and when we have taken into consideration the experience and wisdom of that highest public tribunal, the Nizamut Adawlut, who in unison with our wisest and ablest public functionaries have been, year after year, almost soliciting the Government to pass this act, the moral and political

responsibility of not abolishing this practice far surpasses, in my judgement, that of the opposite course.

But discarding, as I have done, every inviting appeal from sympathy and humanity, and having given my verdict, I may now be permitted to express the anxious feelings with which I desire the success of this measure.

The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindoos. I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition, as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and a more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then, when no longer under this brutalizing excitement, view with more calmness, acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence, that to the command received as divine by all races of men, 'No innocent blood shall be spilt', there can be no exception; and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped, that others which stand in the way of their improvement may likewise pass away, and that thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon thier minds and actions. they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their just places among the great families of mankind. I disown in these remarks or in this measure any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a Legislator for the Hindoos, and as I believe many enlightened Hindoos think and feel.

Descending from these higher considerations, it cannot be a dishonest ambition that the Government of which I form a part, should have the credit of an act, which is to wash out a foul stain upon British Rule, and to stay the sacrifice of humanity and justice to a doubtful expediency; and finally as a branch of the general administration of the Empire, I may be permitted to feel deeply anxious that our course shall be in accordance with the noble example set to us by the British Government at home, and that the adaptation where practicable to the circumstances of this vast Indian population, of the same enlightened principles, may promote here as well as there, the general prosperity, and may exalt the character of our Nation.*

November 8, 1829. W. C. BENTINCK.

78. A letter in condemnation of the encouragement given by some Christians to the orthodox Hindus to appeal against the Suttee Regulation. (November 27, 1829).

To The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru & Chronicle.

Sir,—I have just heard that a petition is being prepared to Government by several Natives, for the purpose of inducing the Legislature to permit a continuance of burning their wives. I really cannot find language to express my feelings

* Jud. Cons. (Cr.), December, 4, 1829, No. 10.

when I hear it said that several Europeans holding high and responsible situations under Government, have encouraged those deluded and cruel men to this inhuman appeal ; but I trust that no Native of respectability will cast such a stigma on himself and his descendants, as to sign a Petition to Government for the sufferance (and by implication) legislation of the most *infernal system of murder* that ever was devised by man. Should it unfortunately be the case that any Native Gentlemen, who mix in European Society sign the Petition referred to, I hold it to be the immediate duty of the European Gentry to cease from all further intercourse with such natives, and to make their detestation of their cold blooded conduct, by every means in their power. In fact, any European Gentleman who deliberately Associates with a Native Gentleman, that either signs this Petition or advocates the practice, deserves himself to be branded with infamy.

That the most amiable and confiding of the human race, should from their weak and helpless situation as the Consorts of Men be doomed to suffer the most painful and dreadful destruction, is in itself a crime of such magnitude as to chill the blood at the bare idea of such a demoniacal rite ; but, that Europeans, men, whose education and habits, have engendered the best feelings of our nature, should, for an instant, give countenance and familiarity to the perpetrators thereof, is a circumstance too painful to comment on, and too true to deny. I therefore, Sir, think it the duty of your fellow journalists to call upon every Christian and more especially every Briton to remove the stigma which has been so long cast on the English Nation by their permittance of this diabolical custom ; and that now, when the Government are favourable to its abolition, we should join heart and hand in crushing a crime so monstrous, *for ever*! *

I am, Sir, in haste, your obedient servant,

27th Nov., 1829. HUMANITAS.

79. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the above. (November 28, 1829).

The report to which our correspondent *Humanitas* alludes is calculated to arouse the indignation of every man who has received a moral education and has the common sympathies of humanity in his composition. We are really at a loss to express our sense of astonishment and disgust to hear it said that there are persons bearing the name of *Englishmen,* who are now urging on the natives to petition the Government *against* the abolition of Suttees. They are, it would appear, actually desirous to continue these terrible sacrifices which have so long been the disgrace of India and the wonder of the whole civilized world.

We understand there is in the *Chundrika* of yesterday, a violent article on the subject of Suttees, which we will get translated and present to our readers on Monday.†

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* November 28, 1829.
† *Ibid.*

80. Mrs. Martin's letter on the credit due to Rammohun Roy for the abolition of Suttees. (November 26, 1829).

To The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru & Chronicle.

Sir,—Your Journal of this morning announces the promulgation of a measure of Government which may be considered as instantly giving origin to a new era in the Administration of British India.

The statesman whose name is associated with the proceedings of this memorable juncture merits the loud applause of those whose interests are more immediately identified with the Government over which he presides, as having exhibited that Government in a point of view at once interesting and novel,—in an attitude of independence it had never before assumed,—and as being free to co-operate for, and sufficiently powerful to, the establishment of measures in the advocacy of Justice and the public weal.

This, Sir, is the circumstance which will render the rule of Lord Wm. Bentinck in India more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors,—this confirms his claim to that constitutional liberality of character, without which a great and good man never existed,—and this it is Sir, to be hoped, is a presage of that paternal care and protection, so long an unrealised anticipation to our Oriental subjects.—And this, suffer me to repeat, is a strong and forcible proof that no administration of integrity is necessitated to shrink from the performance of that which has for its object, the felicity of those for whom it is appointed to act.

To this point then, in the present interesting proceeding extends the merits of the Bentinck policy,—that the Government of this country is, by consequence of that measure, demonstrated to be free ; that it is no longer *one of opinion*, and that in its operation for the promotion of general equity and good, it will meet with the suffrage rather than the opposition of every advocate for the welfare of the British Indian Empire.

But, Sir, in the further investigation of this affair, the *full onus* of merit will be perceived to rest, not on the Government, but on one of the most eminent Philanthropists that any country has ever produced, and without whose extraordinary and unceasing exertions, it would be supererogatory to insinuate that the act of council, now so generally applauded might never have been passed. Your observation that "Europe will resound with praises on the exertions of the Indian Government on this occasion" should certainly have been modified ; the series of grievances to which its imbecility in this respect has given protracted continuance can surely not be cancelled by the mere tardy introduction of a measure which a disgraceful apprehension of danger, alone prevented from being earlier adopted—and which, as I have before observed, would not now, in the utmost probability, have been brought into effect, (though to diffuse a peculiar radiance even over the present administration) but for the powerful though unacknowledged aid of the great Hindoo Philosopher, Ram Mohun Roy,—and in this view of the case it is doubtlessly too premature to anticipate the favourable decision of an European tribunal on exertions of such a vague or equivocal nature. National opinions are too strong to submit to instantaneous revulsion, and the

sentiments of Europe, and of even cold and calculating America as she contemplated the encreasing power of Britons in the East, must inevitably have been those of ridicule or contempt, of derision or of utter abhorrence,—and a system of policy, it will be remembered, instituted and maintained by those bearing the insignia of a nation so great and glorious as that of England, which attempted not to abolish, and scarcely to ameliorate, the circumstances of a rite which the most palpable superstition had ventured with unhesitating boldness to introduce.

Frozen indeed must be those emotions, and superficial, vitiated, and contemptible those political theorems, which unconscious to the enthusiasm of philanthropy in the one instance, or trembling at the supposititious embarrassment in the other, renounce alike the honor, the greatness and the immortal glory to which the performance of courageous and generous deeds conducts!

But a dawn is bursting on a new and happier prospect, the triumphs of liberty, whether over abject systems of polity or national error, are necessarily remarkable for an emanation of splendor, which dissipating the surrounding darkness chases the fugitive shadows to the gloom of the eternal past,—at least to the countrywomen of the Hindoo Patriot may it prove so,—at least to those prodigies of fortitude the Indian widows may the present era prove a Jubilee which enfranchises them for ever,—and in commemorating the amiable and highly politic administration of Lord Bentinck, may they never cease to remember the glowing sympathy, intelligence, and fearless energy displayed through a course of *eighteen years*, by their great and at length successful advocate, Ram Mohun Roy.

Suffer me, Sir, in apologising for this long intrusion and your valuable time to assure you of my warm concurrence in the principles of your Journal.*

And have the honor to be, your obedient,

Calcutta, 26th November, 1829. FRANCES KEITH MARTIN.

81. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the above. (November 28, 1829).

In a preceding page we have inserted a letter from Mrs. Martin on the abolition of the Suttees. Our fair correspondent has paid a just tribute to the labours of that learned Brahmun and ardent philanthropist, Ram Mohun Roy. This enlightened Hindoo has long laboured to prove to his countrymen that the custom is not only abhorrent to every principle of humanity but is actually in contradiction to the Shasters or Sacred writings. It must indeed be a proud and happy reflection to this eminent and worthy Native Gentleman that his exertions and his hopes, are now about to be consummated by the manliness and good feeling of the present Government. The fervent eulogy of an English Lady, thus openly and nobly bestowed upon this excellent Individual, we are quite sure will not be undervalued by him, however accustomed he may be to the voice of praise from almost every quarter of the globe. We cannot, however, help regretting that our fair correspondent should have made rather an invidious

* *Ibid.*

distinction between Lord William Bentinck and Ram Mohun Roy, with reference to their peculiar share in the glory to accrue from the suppression of so ancient and detestable a practice as the Suttee. Lord William Bentinck has done all that a Governor could do. If he has not devoted so many years of labour and anxiety to the accomplishment of the same object, he has evinced the same sincerity of purpose, and has seized on the first opportunity of effecting, at one blow, what Ram Mohun Roy has prepared the way for by the energy of argument, and the grace of eloquence. Let us not therefore offer our exclusive praise and gratitude either to Ram Mohun Roy or to Lord Wm. Bentinck. The former would never have succeeded in his patriotic and enlightened labours without the co-operation of the latter, nor would Lord Bentinck, have ventured on so desirable a measure, if the minds of the natives had not been prepared to abandon the worst of superstitions, by the unwearied labours of their distinguished countryman.*

82. Mrs. Martin's reply to the above. (November 28, 1829).

To The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru & Chronicle.

Sir,—The view you have taken of my letter of the 26th instant, relative to the abolition of Suttees, is of such a peculiar nature, that I cannot in justice either to the opinions therein maintained, or to the motives which prompted me to address you on the subject, allow it even a tacit acquiscence.

From what premises you derive the opinion of my having made (what *you* term) "an *invidious* distinction", I am perfectly ignorant—but it is sufficiently obvious to myself, and most probably is so likewise to the majority of your readers, that after deploring (but not refuting) the *"invidiousness"* or rather the justness of my observations, you have, by a mode of reasoning singularly ingenious, discriminating, and unique, arrived at precisely the same conclusions as myself. This Sir, however I do not aver your having done either directly or openly ; you have thrown a veil of such a subtle and mysterious description over your sentiments (though possibly rather inadvertently than designedly) that the negligent or hasty peruser of your editorial columns might not easily penetrate: but as you no doubt remember "Veritatis simplex oratio est" was the motto of a celebrated Roman, and is certainly worthy both of admiration and adoption. It is not to this point however, that I more particularly wish to request your attention, for *distinction,* I avow having both perceived, and intended to make, though by no means a *distinction* of an *invidious* character.

But Sir, the eulogy that could be proffered with such a paltry design, the encomium that could be thrust on an individual, surrounded by whatever assemblage of virtues—to whatever height exalted—to whatever honors entitled, for the mere sake—the mere degrading object,—for the mere profane and deeply odious purpose of reaping that individual's favourable acknowledgment or regard, would seem too impious even for the boldest venality to designate by the terms of

* *Ibid.*

ingenuous or *noble*—and yet Sir, such by implication have you affirmed my recent address to you to be—an address prompted only by a love of free discussion, and dictated only by the spirit of justice.*

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obliged,

Calcutta, 28th Nov., 1829. F. K. MARTIN.

83. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the above. (November 30, 1829).

In the observations which are made on Mrs. Martin's letter inserted in last Saturday's *Hurkaru,* it appears by the communication from the same Lady in a preceding column that we have unintentionally displeased her. We beg to assure her that we meant nothing offensive, nor did we intend by the remotest implication to affix a shade of censure on the tone and spirit of her communication. She appeared to us to have perhaps unconsciously brought Lord W. Bentinck and Ram Mohun Roy into an invidious contact, and anxious as we were that no feeling of this nature should arise in any quarter, we suppose that we expressed ourselves in our ardour, in a way that was not sufficiently explicit to prevent the misapprehension under which our fair correspondent appears to labour.†

84. The Preamble to the Suttee Regulation. (December 4, 1829).

The practice of suttee. or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated, and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up nor observed: in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked. The measures hitherto adopted to discourage and prevent such acts have failed of success, and the Governor-General in Council is deeply impressed with the conviction that the abuses in question cannot be effectually put an end to without abolishing the practice altogether. Actuated by these considerations, the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British government in India, that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules, which are hereby enacted to be in force from the time of their

* *Ibid.*, November 30, 1829.
† *Ibid.*

promulgation throughout the territories immediately subject to the presidency of Fort William.

85. Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, communicating the Regulation passed for the abolition of the Suttee. (December 4, 1829).

Honourable Sirs,

We have the honour to transmit to your Honourable Court a copy of our proceedings of the present date, containing the reports of suttees for the years 1827 and 1828, received from the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, together with various other documents, and a printed copy of the regulation which we have this day passed "For declaring the practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the Widows of Hindoos illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts".

Crim. Cons, 1829, 4th December, No. 1 to 25.

2. We also submit copies of the papers noted in the margin, as separate numbers of the packet.

3. The documents referred to will put your Honourable Court in possession of all the information that has been obtained on this interesting question since the last letter to your Honourable Court connected with it, under date the 10th of April 1828.

4. We beg especially to refer your Honourable Court to the Governor General's minute for the reasons which have influenced us in adopting this decisive step.

5. The Report for the year 1828 exhibits a decrease of fifty-four cases of Suttee, compared with 1827, and a still greater proportion as compared with former years, a result that would have been most satisfactory could we have ascribed it to any change of opinion amongst the people at large. But we see no reason whatever to justify such a conclusion.

6. Your Honourable Court will be gratified by perceiving the great preponderance of opinions of the most intelligent and experienced of the civil and military officers consulted by the Governor General, in favour of the abolition of Suttees, and of the perfect safety with which in their judgment the practice may be suppressed.

7. A few indeed were of opinion that it would be preferable to effect the abolition by the indirect interference of the magistrates and other public officers, with the tacit sanction alone on the part of Government, but we think there are very strong grounds against the policy of that mode of proceeding, independently of the embarrassing situation in which it would place the local officers, by allowing them to exercise a discretion in so delicate a matter. To use the words of the Governor General, we were "decidedly in favour of an open avowed and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the moral goodness of the act, and our power to enforce it."

8. Your honourable Court will observe that the original draft of the regulation was considerably modified before its final enactment, and that it was deemed advisable, at the suggestion of the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut, to omit the distinction originally made between misdemeanor and culpable homicide, in being accessory to a Suttee, and also in the degree of interference to be exercised by the police-officers. Upon the fullest consideration of the objections taken by the Court, we determined that it would be better to leave the apportionment of punishment to be regulated by the Commissioners of Circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of each case, and that separate special instructions should be issued to the police-officers, as well as to the European authorities, to ensure a moderate and lenient exercise of the powers vested in them respectively by the Regulation.

9. Finally, also, we were induced by the advice of the Nizamut Adawlut to leave out a provision that the Mahomedan law-officers should not take any part in trials in cases of suttee. We were disposed to think that the attendance of the law-officers might be liable to misconstruction, and afford an opening to objections which it was desirable as much as possible to avoid; at the same time the opinion of the Court against excepting the offence in question from the ordinary course of trial, was doubtless entitled to much weight, and upon the whole we were willing to be guided by their judgment in omitting the section altogether.

10. We beg to refer your Honourable Court to the enclosures contained in the letter from the registrar of the Nizamut Adawlut under date the 3rd instant (No. 21), for the special instructions above noticed, which have been issued to the Commissioners of Circuit, the Magistrate, and the police-officers for their guidance.

11. In conclusion we venture to express a confident expectation that under the blessing of Divine Providence the important measure which we have deemed it our duty to adopt will be efficacious in putting down the abhorrent practice of suttee, a consummation, we feel persuaded, not less anxiously desired by your Honourable Court than by every preceding Government of India, although the state of the country was less favourable in former times than at present, for its full and complete execution. It will be too much to expect that the promulgation of the abolition will not excite some degree of clamour and dissatisfaction, but we are firmly persuaded that such feelings will be short-lived, and we trust that no apprehension need be entertained of its exciting any violent opposition or any evil consequences whatsoever.*

We have,, &c.,
W. BENTINCK.
COMBERMERE.
W. B. BAYLEY.
C. T. METCALFE.

Fort William,
4th December, 1829.

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C), 1830, Vol. 28, p. 3

86. The Petition of the orthodox Hindu community of Calcutta against the Suttee Regulation, together with a paper of Authorities, and the Reply of the Governor-General thereto. (January 14, 1830).

On the 14th January the following native gentlemen, Nimychurn Siromonee, Hurronoth Turkobhooshun, Bhowanee Churn Bundopadiah, Baboo Gopee Mohun Deb, Baboo Radhakant Deb, Maharajah Kallikissen Bahadoor, Baboo Neelmoney Dey, Baboo Gocoolnath Mullick, Baboo Bhowanee Churn Metter, and Baboo Ramgopaul Mullick, waited by appointment at Government-house to present the following petition to the Governor General. His Lordship received them in the council chamber.

"To The Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, &c.

"My Lord : We, the undersigned, beg leave respectfully to submit the following petition to your Lordship in Council, in consequence of having heard that certain persons, taking upon themselves to represent the opinons and feelings of the Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta, have misrepresented those opinions and feelings, and that your Lordship in Council is about to pass a resolution, founded on such erroneous statements, to put a stop to the practice of performing suttees, an interference with the religion and customs of the Hindoos, which we most earnestly deprecate, and cannot view without the most serious alarm.

"With the most profound respect for your Lordship in Council, we, the undersigned Hindoo inhabitants of the city of Calcutta, beg leave to approach you in order to state such circumstances as appear to us necessary to draw the attention of government fully to the measure in contemplation, and the light in which it will be regarded by the greater part of the more respectable Hindoo population of the Company's territories, who are earnest in the belief, as well as in the profession of their religion.

"From time immemorial the Hindoo religion has been established, and in proportion to its antiquity has been its influence over the minds of its followers. In no religion has apostacy been more rare, and none has resisted more successfully the fierce spirit of proselytism which animated the first Mahomedan conquerors.

"That the Hindoo religion is founded, like all religions, on usage as well as precept, and one when immemorial is held equally sacred with the other. Under the sanction of immemorial usage as well as precept, Hindoo widows perform, of their own accord and pleasure, and for the benefit of their husbands' souls and for their own, the sacrifice of self-immolation called suttee, which is not merely a sacred *duty* but a high privilege to her who sincerely believes in the doctrines of their religion ; and we humbly submit that any interference with a persuasion of so high and self-annihilating a nature, is not only an unjust and intolerant dictation in matters of conscience, but is likely wholly to fail in procuring the end proposed.

"Even under the first Mussulman conquerors of Hindostan, and certainly since this country came under the Mogul Government, notwithstanding the fanaticism and intolerance of their religion, no interference with the practice of

suttee was ever attempted. Since that period, and for nearly a century, the power of the British government has been established in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and none of the governors-general, or their councils, have hitherto interfered in any manner to the prejudice of the Hindoo religion or customs ; and we submit, that by various Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, under the authority of which the Hon. Company itself exists, our religion and Laws, usages and customs, such as they have existed from time immemorial, are inviolably secured to us.

"We learn with surprise and grief, that while this is confessed on all hands, the abolition of the practice of suttee is attempted to be defended on the ground that there is no positive law or precept enjoining it : a doctrine derived from a number of Hindoos, who have apostatized from the religion of their forefathers, who have defiled themselves by eating and drinking forbidden things in the society of Europeans, and are endeavouring to deceive your Lordship in Council by assertions that there is no law regarding suttee practices, and that all Hindoos of intelligence and education are ready to assent to the abolition contemplated, on the ground that the practice of suttee is not authorized by the laws fundamentally established and acknowledged by all Hindoos as sacred. But we humbly submit that in a question so delicate as the interpretation of our sacred books, and the authority of our religious usages, none but pundits and brahmins, and teachers of holy lives, and known learning and authority, ought to be consulted ; and we are satisfied, and flatter ourselves with the hope, that your Lordship in Council will not regard the assertion of men who have neither any faith nor care for the memory of their ancestors or their religion: and that of your Lordship in Council will assume to yourself the difficult and delicate task of regulating the conscience of a whole people, and deciding what it ought to believe, and what it ought to reject, on the authority of its own sacred writers, that such a task will be undertaken only after anxious and strict inquiry, and patient consultation with men known and reverenced for their attachment to the Hindoo religion, the authority of their lives, and their knowledge of the sacred books which contain its doctrines ; and if such an examination should be made, we are confident that your Lordship in Council will find our statements to be correct, and will learn that the measure will be regarded with horror and dismay throughout the Company's dominions, as the signal of an universal attack upon all we revere.

"We further beg leave to represent, that the inquiry in question has been already made by some of the most learned and virtuous of the Company's servants, whose memory is still reverenced by the natives who were under their rule ; and that Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general, at the request of Mr. Nathaniel Smith, the then chairman of the Court of Directors (the former being well versed in many parts of the Hindoo religion), having instituted the inquiry, was satisfied as to the validity of the laws respecting suttees—that a further and similar inquiry was made by Mr. Wilkins, who was deputed to, and accordingly did proceed to Benares, and remain there a considerable time, in order to be acquainted with the religion and customs in question ; that his opinion was similar to that of Mr. Warren Hastings; and that this opinion was since confirmed by Mr. Jonathan

Duncan, whose zealous and excellent administration in Benares and other parts of Hindoostan will long be remembered by the natives with gratitude.

"In the time of Lord Cornwallis, some of the Christian missionaries, who then first appeared in this country, secretly conveyed to the council some false and exaggerated accounts of the suttee practice, and first advanced the assertion that it was not lawful. His Lordship in Council, after inquiry, and by the assistance of Mr. Duncan, was satisfied of its lawfulness, and was contented to permit us to follow our customs as before.

"In the time of Lord Moira and Amherst, a number of European missionaries, who came out to convert Hindoos and others, renewed their attack upon this custom, and by clamour, and falsely affirming that by compulsive measures Hindoo women were thrown into the fire, procured the notice of government, and an order was issued requiring magistrates to take steps that suttees might perform their sacrifice at their pleasure, and that no one should be allowed to persuade or use any compulsion. On the concurrent reports of various gentlemen then in the civil service, that in all instances which had come under their cognizance, the widows went to the funeral piles of their deceased husband cheerfully, these governors-general were satisfied, and no further interference was attempted.

"The qualified measure last adverted to did not answer the object proposed, and it proved (as we humbly submit) the impolicy of interference in any degree with matters of conscience.

"The fact was, that the number of suttees in Bengal considerably increased in consequence within a short time; and in order to ascertain the cause, a reference was made to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, who could assign no satisfactory cause to account for it. Though it might perhaps have occurred to gentlemen of so much experience, that the interference of government, even to this extent, with the practice, was likely, by drawing to it the attention of the native community in a greater degree than formerly, to increase the number of votaries.

"From a celebrated instance relating to suttees that we immediately hereafter beg leave to cite, Your Lordship in Council will find, that on the occasion alluded to, no other good was obtained by an attempt to prevent the widow burning with her deceased husband than that religion was violated, and to no purpose a suttee. In the time of Lord Clive, his dewan, Raja Nobkissen, endeavoured to prevent a widow's performing the sacrifice, by making her believe that her husband had been already burnt ; and when she discovered that she had been deceived, offering her any sum of money that might be required for her support as a recompense: but nothing would satisfy her ; she starved herself to death. His Lordship then gave orders that no one should be allowed to interfere with the Hindoo religion or custom.

"Independent of the foregoing statement, your Lordship in Council will see that your predecessors, after long residence in India, having a complete knowledge of the laws and customs of Hindoos, were satisfied as to such laws, and never came to a resolution by which devout and conscientious Hindoos must be placed in the most painful of all predicaments, and either forego, in some degree, their

loyalty to government, and disobey its injunctions, or violate the precepts of their religion.

"Before we conclude, we beg to request your impartial consideration of the various Acts of Parliament passed from time to time since the reign of his Majesty George III, and which have ever since been strictly preserved: the substance and spirit of which may be thus summed up, viz., that no one is to interfere in any shape in the religion or the customs of Hindu subjects. These Acts, conceived in the spirit of the truest wisdom and toleration, were passed by men as well acquainted at least as any now in existence with our laws, our language, our customs, and our religion, and have never been infringed by the wisest of those who have here administered the powers of government, and we trust will be preserved for the future as for the past inviolate, constituting as they do a most solemn pledge and charter from our rulers to ourselves, on the preservation of which depend rights more sacred in our eyes than those of property or life itself ; and sure we are that, when this most important subject has been well and maturely weighed by your Lordship in Council, the resolution which has filled us and all faithful Hindoo subjects of the Hon. Company's government with concern and terror, will be abandoned, and that we shall obtain a permanent security through your Lordship's wisdom against the renewal of a similar attempt.

"And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

(Signed) "Maharajah Sree Grischunder Bahadur, and
800 other signatures".[1]

This petition was accompanied by a paper of authorities, subjoined to the reply.

The following is the paper of authorities:

A translation of a decision of the legal points declaring the practice of suttee lawful and expedient, the 29th December, 1829.

"That woman who, on the death of her husband, ascends the same burning pile with him, is exalted to heaven as equal in virtue to Arundhooty. She who follows her husband to another world, shall dwell in a region of joy for so many years as there are hairs on the human body, or thirty-five millions. As a serpent-catcher forcibly draws a snake from his hole, drawing her lord from a region of

[1] Pundits Nemoy Chond Seeromony, Haroownauth Tarkabhoosun, and Joygopaul Tarkalunkar (*Belonging to the Govt. Sanscrit College*)

Pundits Ramjoy Tarkalunkar, and Caleecanta Beddabaugish (*Belonging to the Supreme Court*).

Pundit Buddynauth Woopadha (*Belonging to the Sudder Dewany and Nezamut Adalut*)

Respectable Natives of Calcutta :—

Moharajah Greeschund Roy Bahadoor, Moharajah Sibkissen Bahadoor, Moharajah Kaleekissen Bahadoor, Moharajah Gowoor Bulhub Bahadoor, Moharajah Nursing Chonder Roy Bahadoor, Rajah Rajnarain Roy, and Coomar Rajnarain Roy Bahadoor.

Baboos Gopee Mohun Deb, Radhacanto Deb, Ramgopaul Mullick, Baugobutty Churn Mittre, Prankissen Bissaus, Radhamadhub Banerjee, Cosseenath Banerjee and about 1,126 more names of natives of first respectability. (*John Bull*, January 19, 1830).

torment, she enjoys delights together with him. The woman who follows her husband to the pile expiates the sins of three generations, of the paternal and maternal side of that family to which she was given while a virgin. There having the best of husbands, herself best of women, enjoying the best of delights, she partakes of bliss with her husband in a celestial abode during fourteen ensuing Indras' reigns. Even though the man had slain a priest, or returned evil for good, or killed an intimate friend, the woman expiates those crimes: this has been declared by Angira. No other imperious duty is known for virtuous women at any time after the death of their lords, except casting themselves into the same fire". These texts of Angira are quoted in the *Shoodi-Tutwa*.

The text of Vishnu is cited in the same work: "After the death of her husband, a wife must practise austerities or ascend the pile after him".

The text of Menu is laid down in the *Nirnaya Sindhu*: "A wife (after the death of her husband) may either practise austerities or commit herself to the flame". "On the death of her husband, if, by chance, a woman is unable to perform concremation, nevertheless she should preserve that virtue required of widows. If she cannot preserve that virtue, she must descend to hell. On the breach of such virtue, there is no doubt but that her husband descends from the celestial abode, as well as her father, mother, brother, and other relations". These are two texts of Cashikhund.

The following text is cited in the *Nirnaya Sindhu*: "In kali, or the present age, there is no other course for widows than dying with or after their husbands". "Ascending of women to the funeral pile is the object of removing all the sins of their own and their husbands, is the means of freeing from the region of torment, and it gives many heavenly fruitions and also the final beatitude". This is a text of Grahyacarica, cited in the above-mentioned work.

According to the doctrines of several sages, quoted by many law-expounders of several schools, it is admitted that after the death of her husband, a wife must ascend to the funeral pile ; if she be unable to do so, she must lead an ascetic life.

Some blasphemous persons, whose minds are infected with atheism, misinterpret the meaning of the texts of several intelligent sages, through their incompetency to understand the genuine construction of the law. Thus, in the preceding text of Vishnu, asceticism, being mentioned first in order (they say), is the principal injunction, therefore it is incumbent on the widow to live as an ascetic ; if she be unable to do so, then she will commit herself to the flame. Moreover (they say), austerities gradually purify the mind, for by succession it is the only cause of final beatitude which constituted the object of the most excellent spirit: therefore it is preferable to concremation, which gives a temporary and small degree of heavenly fruition, and it is incumbent on the women, after the death of their husbands, to practise it (asceticism). And also (they say), the law of Menu is more prevalent than other Smritis, for it is immediately originated from Sruti, and consequently his law must be followed. Moreover, the term *asceticism* being mentioned in the text of Menu ("a widow desiring to follow the excellent duties of the chaste women, will live in the state of forbearance, restraint, and asceticism until her death") and in that of Vishnu ("after the death of the husband, a wife must practise austeri-

ties or commit herself to the flame"), as well as in the other Smritis, it (asceticism) must be practised.

These three arguments are refuted one after another, thus: the first-mentioned argument is inadmissible, because, upon examining the meaning of the text of Cashikhunda ("if a woman is unable to perform concremation, &c."), it is observed that the order of the meaning has preference over that of reading, mentioned in the text of Vishnu, and concremation is preferable to asceticism for its being admitted in the first instance ; and it is understood, from the doctrines of the several laws, that concremation expiates all the sins of the woman guilty of several crimes (who performs it) and that of her husband, frees three families (or her father's, mother's, and husband's) from hell, and bestows the final beatitude, after a long enjoyment of the heavenly fruitions.

It appears from the Shastra that the first thing which the widow ought to do is to ascend the flaming pile. Although it is understood by law, that in the event of the non-performance of such concremation by any sudden occurrence, asceticism, which is a secondary injunction, and not very excellent, is to be practised ; yet it is inexpedient for a woman, who is capable to perform concremation, to practise it, as there exists a great *fear* of her own and her husband's, as well as her father's, mother's, brother's, and other relations, descending to hell, and suffering its torments in case of the breach of those virtues mentioned in Cashikhunda.

The second argument is inadmissible also ; for, although asceticism, from its purifying the mind, &c., is a gradual step for final beatitude, yet it appears in law that it is inexpedient for a woman (who is capable to perform concremation, which can be done by a short time suffering, and which, after the enjoyment of many heavenly blessings, bestows final beatitude) to practise it, which being subject to hate for labouring under austerities for a long time.

The third argument is likewise inadmissible, because there is no contrariety of the doctrines of Menu regarding concremation ; it is inferred from the meaning of the above-mentioned text of Cashikhunda that it (concremation) must be performed ; and the last injunction (asceticism) is Camya, or an optional act, as appeared in the before-mentioned text of Menu, which ends with "a widow desiring to follow the excellent duties, etc." Hence it is inexpedient for a widow to practise austerities who is capable to perform the first injunction, concremation.

It should not be doubted that concremation being not mentioned in the Institutes of Menu, is inconsistent with the law promulgated by him. If it be supposed, then, there would arise a dispute regarding the celebration of many nitya or perpetual, naimatica or periodical, and camya or optional acts, which are not ordained by Menu, such as doorgapoojah, dolajatra, deppannita, shyamapoojah, and other religious observances, the non-performance of which is sinful. If it is allowed, then the pundits of different schools, who follow the tenets of the Vedas, Pooranas, and other shastras, having doubted the genuineness of those works which enjoin the above ceremonies, may recede from the celebration of those acts, and thereby the laws would be useless.

No person of this country, except the yavana or barbarous race, and nasteca or atheist, does declare the inutility of the Vedas, Pooranas, and other laws, for by which doing the doctrines of heretics are to be supposed as prevalent authorities.

Although suhayaman, or dying with the husband, doorgapoojah, and other religious ceremonies which are ordained in the other Smritis, are not mentioned in the Institutes of Menu, yet those acts are not to be considered as repugnant to his laws, for they are not prohibited by him. The term "contrariety to self-opinion", signifies prohibition, therefore there is no contrariety of the doctrines of Menu regarding concremation. According to the logical phrase, "let the wicked be satisfied", if it be acknowledged that the repugnancy is to be considered merely for non-assertion, there is no harm to the point in view.

It is unreasonable to determine that concremation is not mentioned in Menu from its being not found in some Bengal printed copies of the Institutes of Menu, *in which the text has been omitted by the mistake of the printers,* for the authors of the *Nirnaya Sindhu* and other works, which are most prevalent in Dravira and other countries, quoted the following text of Menu: "A widow may either practise austerities or commit herself to the flame". And for the logical phrase "non-prohibition constitutes sanction", cited in the *Dattaca Chundrica* and other works, it is determined that concremation has been mentioned in the Institutes of Menu, and is not inconsistent to his law. And by the doctrines of the Rigveda, treating of the muntra or formula to be repeated at the time of concremation, "let not these women be widowed", &c., it is admitted that concremation is conformable to Sruti, and by the logical phrase, where a discordancy arises between Sruti and Smriti, the former has preference over the latter's it is unobjectionable that concremation, being enjoined by Sruti, which is the most prevalent authority, and original of all the Smritis, must be performed.

It should not be said that concremation is not to be performed for fear of committing the sin of suicide, because there is no such crime ; as the text of the *Brahma Poorana,* quoted in the *Soodhe Tutwa* and other authorities, says that "the Rigveda expressly declares that the loyal wife who burns herself shall not be deemed a suicide" ; under these circumstances, the practice of concremation has preference over that of asceticism. This exposition is conformable to all the tenets of the Hindoo law.

(This paper of authorities was signed by 120 pundits).

Another petition was presented by the deputation, from the interior, signed by 346 respectable persons, accompanied by a paper of legal authorities, bearing the signatures of 28 pundits.

After a conference on the subject of the petition, his Lordship delivered the following reply:

"The Governor-General has read with attention the petition which has been presented to him ; and has some satisfaction in observing that the opinions of the pundits, consulted by the petitioners, confirm the supposition that widows are not, by the religious writings of the Hindoos, commanded to destroy themselves ; but that, upon the death of their husbands, the choice of a life of strict and severe morality is every where expressly offered ; that in the books usually considered of the highest authority, it is commanded above every other course, and is stated to be adapted to a better state of society ; such as, by the Hindoos, is believed to have subsisted in former times.

"Thus none of the Hindoos are placed in the distressing situation of having to disobey either the ordinances of the government, or those of their religion. By a virtuous life, a Hindoo widow not only complies at once with the laws of the government, and with the purest precepts of her own religion, but affords an example to the existing generation of that good conduct which is supposed to have distinguished the earlier and better times of the Hindoo people.

"The petitioners cannot require the assurance that the British government will continue to allow the most complete toleration in matters of religious belief ; and that, to the full extent of what it is possible to reconcile with reason and with natural justice, they will be undisturbed in the observance of their established usages. But some of those, which the Governor-General is unwilling to recall into notice, his predecessors in council, for the security of human life and the preservation of social order, have at different times found it necessary to prohibit. If there is any one which the common voice of all mankind would except from indulgence, it is surely that by which the hand of a son is made the instrument of a terrible death to the mother who has borne him, and from whose breast he has drawn the sustenance of his helpless infancy.

"The Governor-General has given an attentive consideration to all that has been urged by the numerous and respectable body of petitioners ; and has thought fit to make this further statement, in addition to what had been before expressed, as the reasons which, in his mind, have made it an urgent duty of the British government to prevent the usage in support of which the petition has been preferred ; but if the petitioners should still be of opinion that the late regulation is not in conformity with the enactments of the Imperial Parliament, they have an appeal to the King in Council, which the Governor-General shall be most happy to forward."*

"January 14, 1830. (Signed) "W. C. BENTINCK".

87. An appeal to the orthodox Hindus on the necessity of establishing the Dhurma Subha. (February 6, 1830).

To all noble and excellent Hindoos.

Through the absence of all religious authority in this country, religion suffers great detriment. It has therefore become necessary that the excellent and the noble should unite and continually devise means for protecting our religion and our excellent customs and usages. It is, however, difficult to assemble all men together, for many do not invite to their houses or visit any beside those in their own circle, and there is no place of general resort. Though we are firmly united therefore, yet, because we do not meet together, we appear disunited, and hence those of an opposite faith are constantly seeking to destroy our religion. This led many of the respectable inhabitants of this city to assemble together on the 5th of Maugh of the present year, and to establish a society called

* *Asiatic Journal*, July, 1830.

the *Dhurma Subha* for the meetings of wihch a building is to be erected in this great city.

According to the orders of the Right Hon. the Governor-General, an appeal must be made to his Majesty the King of England relative to the regulations forbidding suttees. We shall hereafter inform our readers how, and in what language, and through whom, the petition is to be sent. If any one has any thing to offer on this subject, let him send it to the editor of this paper.

In future, whatever may be proposed in reference to our common religion, will be fully discussed and settled.

To meet the expenses which may be incurred for the object above-mentioned, money must be collected. Those present at the meeting have settled a plan of general subscription. Any respectable man who may desire to subscribe, will be pleased to send his name and the amount of his donations.

In conformity with the desire of that assembly, a President, a Treasurer, and a Secretary have been appointed; their names will be found in this paper. According to the rules settled at the meeting of this Society, whatever may be determined upon after mature deliberation either to be done or to be left undone, will be printed and sent to each subscriber and to every one who desires the preservation of his own religion. We subjoin the general rules of the Society.

Receipts will be signed by the Treasurer, collected by the Secretary, and deposited with the Treasurer.

Members of the Society.—Those who subscribe any sum to the Society will have a voice in the general management.

Duties of the Treasurer.—He will receive money from Donors upon his own receipt, and give credit for it in their names in the books of the Society.

Expenditure of the Funds collected.—Whatever expenses may be authorized by the unanimous voice of the Committee of 12, will be made known in writing, and the Treasurer will then issue money to the Secretary.

Duties of the Committee.—They will hold meetings and conduct business, examine the accounts of the Secretary, and exhibit them at the general meeting of all the members. When any thing important arises, they will direct the Secretary to call a meeting and order him to transact all business.

Duties of the Members.—On the receipt of an invitation from the Secretary, they will repair to the appointed place on the day fixed, and give their particular attention to the business for which they were convened.

Duties of the Secretary.—He will take the opinion of the Committee upon all occasions when their sanction is necessary, and considering it a sufficient authority, will act accordingly. Whenever he considers a meeting of the Committee to be necessary, he will call one, and reply to all questions upon all subjects which the Committee may put to him.

When any member of the Committee is absent for any length of time from the meetings, he will select any one whom he considers fit from among the subscribers to fill his place, and inform the Committee thereof.

Buildings of the Society.—When 20,000 rupees have been collected, it will be decided where and in what manner the building is to be erected. Thus far 1751.

Names of the Committee.

Baboo Ram Gopal Mullick	Muharaja Kalee Kissen Bahadoor
,, Gopee Mohun Deb	Ashootosh Dey
,, Radha Kant Deb	Gokoolnath Mullick
,, Tarinichurn Mittre	Voisnobdoss Mullick
,, Ram Comul Sen	Nilmoney Dey
,, Hurree Mohun Thakoor	Treasurer—Voisnobdoss Mullick
,, Kassenath Mullik	Secretary—Bhowanichurn Banerjee.*

88. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Chronicle" in appreciation of the presentation of congratulatory addresses to the Governor-General on the passing of the Suttee Regulation. (January 16, 1830).

In alluding to the address of the Christians against Widowburning, we forgot to state, that that of the Natives would be presented this day, and it will be a delightful spectacle to witness the association of Europeans and Natives for the purpose of congratulating our rulers on their firmness in abolishing a rite which however it may have been sanctioned by custom, certainly is not made indispensible by the Shasters and was a cruel violation of the laws of nature and humanity. however conscientiously those who have practised and defended it, may have deemed it to be consistent with both.

We understand that the petition in favour of the continuance of the practice was on Thursday, finally decided on by Government, which has rejected the appeal against the abolition of it on the grounds that it is not imperatively enjoined by the Hindoo Lawgivers ; and is totally repugnant to the dictates of humanity and justice. Several highly respectable and intelligent natives who have supported the abolition of the Suttee, attended on the occasion, prepared (if necessary), to prove by the Shastras, and the evidence of the Pundits who accompanied them (and among whom was the Pundit of the Supreme Court) that the abolition of the Suttee was not in opposition to these sacred authorities. From the hour of attendance we presume, that Natives and Christians will assemble together: the hour of attendance proposed is 11 o'clock, as the Rt. Honorable the Governor General has fixed noon as the hour for the reception of the Addresses.†

89. An account of the presentation of Addresses to the Governor-General on the abolition of the Suttee. (January 18, 1830).

In our preceding columns, will be found several documents relative to the Regulation lately passed on the subject of Suttee.

* *Samachar Durpun*, quoted by *India Gazette*, February 8, 1830.
† *Bengal Chronicle*, January 16, 1830.

The first is a Petition, which, on the 14th instant, was presented to his Lordship by a deputation from a number of Natives—apparently conscientious advocates for the practice. His Lordship's reply follows it—and will, we trust, set the matter at rest.

On Saturday forenoon, a meeting took place at the Town Hall, of those who had signed the Address of the Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta to the Governor General, on the abolition of the practice alluded to ; for the purpose of having the same presented to his Lordship.

The meeting was both numerous and respectable, comprising Gentlemen of the Civil and Military services, members of the Mercantile houses, and other respectable citizens. Mr. G. J. Gordon having been nominated to present the Address, proceeded at 12 o'clock, to Government House, accompanied by a cavalcade of some two or three hundred persons.

On arriving at Government House, they assembled in the lower Hall, where they met several Hindoo Gentlemen, who had also come to present a gratulatory Address to the Governor General on the same subject.

Shortly afterwards Captain Benson announced to the Native Gentlemen, that his Lordship was ready to receive them, accordingly they proceeded to the presence chamber on the upper story, where his Lordship with his suite stood under the State Canopy. Lady Bentinck was also present, accompanied by several ladies. Near his Lordship also we observed some of the Government Secretaries and other gentlemen. Baboo Rammohun Roy then advanced towards his Lordship and intimated the purpose for which they had come ; after which Baboo Collynauth Roy read the Address of the Hindoo Inhabitants in Bengallee, which was followed by the reading of the translation of the same, which, as well as his Lordship's reply, may be referred to in our preceding columns.

After the Native Gentlemen had retired, the Subscribers to the Address of the Christian Inhabitants were admitted to his Lordship's presence. Mr. Gordon then stepping forward close to where the Governor General stood, said "that his Lordship having been pleased to receive the warm thanks and congratulations of a very respectable portion of the Hindoo community, whose opinions and feelings were more nearly and peculiarly interested in the late Regulation, it was now his proud and heartfelt gratification to be the bearer of an Address on the same occasion from another portion of the inhabitants, which, with his Lordship's permission, he would proceed to read". Mr. Gordon read the Address accordingly —which will also, with his Lordship's reply, be also found in our preceding columns.*

90. Another account of the proceedings of the presentation of addresses to the Governor-General on the abolition of the Suttee. (January 19, 1830).

A meeting of the Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta, who signed the Address to the Governor General, expressive of their approbation of the late measures of

**Government Gazette,* (2d. Suppl.), January 18,1830.

Government for the purpose of abolishing Suttees, took place at the Town Hall on Saturday, G. J. Gordon Esq. in the Chair, when it was agreed, that the gentlemen present should proceed to the Govt. House, for the purpose of presenting that document.

The deputation was met at Government House by the following Native Gentlemen with an address to the same effect, on the part of the Hindoo Inhabitants.

Roy Kaleenath Chowdhury.
Veikoonthnath Roy.
Koner Suttyerkinker Ghosaul.
Koonj Behary Roy.
Huri Hur Dutt.
Ram Mohun Roy.

These gentlemen were received in the presence chamber by Lord and Lady William Bentinck, whom they presented the following address which was read first in the native languages by Roy Kaleenath Chowdhury, and in English by Baboo Huri Hur Dutt.

* * * * * * *

We regret to say that on account of the death yesterday morning of Radanath Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore his brother, and several members of that respectable family were prevented from being present on the occasion.*

91. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Chronicle" on the above. (January 19, 1830).

In another part of our Paper will be found an account of the presentation of the addresses on the abolition of the Suttee, together with the addresses themselves, and the replies of the Right Honourable the Governor General, which express in language equally forcible and eloquent, sentiments at once honourable to the governing, and full of promise to the governed. We trust that both replies will be republished in the Native Papers; and we should be glad if they could be more widely circulated among those who are most deeply interested in them than they can be by those journals; because their language is calculated to create in the whole native community, a reliance on the justice of the existing administration, to assure them that the recent measure rests on grounds widely remote from any intention to depart from that toleration which they have constantly experienced and which they have a right to expect, and because the reply to the English address in particular, while it repeats the declaration that the

* *Bengal Chronicle*, January 19, 1830.

measure we speak of, has been dictated by a warm interest in the welfare of the Hindoo community, pledges the government to "the prosecution and support of every measure and institution by which knowledge may be diffused, morals improved, the resources of the country enlarged, the wealth and comfort of the people augmented, their condition raised or their happiness promoted." The Natives have in every measure of the present government, affecting them, received proofs of its intention to follow this enlightened policy towards them; and we trust therefore, that among all of them who hear of it, this pledge will diffuse satisfaction and inspire confidence.

Those who signed the Natives Address would also have attended in a body at the Government House ; but that it was in the first instance signified we hear, that his Lordship would prefer receiving a deputation both of Natives and Christians : and when in consequence of the wish of the latter, his Lordship signified his willingness to receive the whole body of those who had signed the addresses, the intimation was too late, to admit of the Natives profiting by it.*

92. A quotation with approval of the tribute paid to Rammohun Roy for his unwearied exertions to effect the abolition of the Suttee. (January 22, 1830).

We have received the first number of the *Calcutta Magazine*, which promises to be an agreeable and well arranged Miscellany........................ The article on the Abolition of Suttee, although carelessly written, is good as far as it goes. but there are several aspects of this interesting subject which the writer has not touched. The following is a just tribute to Rammohun Roy for his unwearied exertions to affect the overthrow of this unnatural custom:—

"For a long time the anomaly went on without, perhaps attracting so much notice as it ought to have done. Murmurs not loud, but deep, were heard against the custom as well in India itself as in different parts of Europe. At length out of the very body of Hindoos themselves stepped forward an enlightened, and intrepid assertor of the laws of nature and humanity. This was not however a mere well meaning, but ignorant zealot. No, the person in question was a man of extraordinary talents, and endowments, and of a benevolence equal to his intellect. He was too, a Brahmin, a learned Brahmin, and he proclaimed it to his deluded countrymen that Suttee was nowhere enjoined in the shasters ! We are too much accustomed in the worldliness of daily *parlance* to attribute many things to chance or mere human ability. We must confess, that to us it appears, that the finger of Providence was visible in a proceeding, which out of the very ranks of bigotry and superstition, called forth a powerful and enlightened advocate for the interests of truth, nature, humanity and true religion".†

**Ibid.*
† *India Gazette*, January 22, 1830.

93. A letter deprecating the effort of the Editor of the "Samachar Chundrika" to bring materials for attack on the Suttee Regulation from distant places. (January, 1830).

To the Editor of the India Gazette.

Sir,—You will greatly oblige me by inserting the following translation from the Sumbad Cowmoody in your valuable Journal, by which your readers will perceive to what shifts the *Chundrika* is driven, being obliged to bring his materials for attack upon *Colonization* and *Suttee*, from no less a distance than *Benares*.

"We perceive by a notice in No. 454 of the Chundrika of the 13th Magh, that a petition and byavustha (or written legal opinions of pundits,) on the subject of burning of widows are in the act of preparation at Benares ; likewise, at the same place a petition against residence and cultivations of lands in the Mofussil by Europeans. This certainly surprises us that so many sensible men as there are there, should act so inconsistently with their own interests. Be that as it may ;— if there be any foundation in the report, we shall not fail to examine into its merits. The *Chundrika* likewise says, that Rajah Cally Sunker Ghosal sent word to attach his name to the petition in favor of the burning of widows. We are no less astonished at this; for this report, as we hear, is quite the reverse of his former letters, etc. In fact, the *Chundrika* can only seek for aid from the *Benares* community."*

I am, Mr. Editor, your most obedient servant.

Calcutta, Jan., 1830. A.

94. A letter in refutation of the assertion of the "Samachar Chundrika" that cases have taken place in violation of the Suttee Regulation. (April 13, 1830).

To the Editor of the *India Gazette*.

Sir,

Observing in your valuable paper of yesterday that the Chundrika native paper states "the existence of a report that Suttees are still performed in various parts of the country", I must in reply beg to observe that you are sadly misinformed ; the above is not the language of the wily Editor. I fancy I discover more than an ample wish of furnishing the public with news. To what I am about to say, I call not only your attention but that of every friend to humanity, every enemy to the horrible Suttee rite, and every one whose duty it is to see the regulations of our Honorable Governor rightly enforced.

In No. 461 of the Chundrika of the 8th Falgoon, it is modestly stated that on the death of a respectable Rajpoot, his wife became desirous of sacrificing herself with her deceased husband, but the Daroga and Police endeavoured to prevent it.

Bengal Chronicle, February 2, 1830.

On this they were attacked and driven off by the relatives and friends of the parties, and the Suttee took place accordingly. Very good—a word on this by and by. No notice having been taken of this a little time was allowed for it to digest among the deluded public, and a second notice appeared in No. 472 of the same paper of the 29th of March to the following effect. "That in the Zillah of Burdwan in the month of Maug last, (mind Magh last, and Burdwan is only 30 miles from Calcutta), a milkman departed this life, and his wife burned herself with his corps ;" but says the Editor, "we can gain no particulars as to what plan was pursued with the Thanadar, Daroga, &c. of the place". Now with regard to the first, let me ask in what part of Hindoostan are natives to be found sufficiently bold to fly in the face of public authority, drive away its officers, and perform an act so expressly forbidden by a recent Government Regulation.

No, I say that there must be some sinister motive in thus raking together accounts which if true, had the Editor of the Chundrika but one grain of sense, he would for the honor of his countrymen use every means to conceal but he has other ends in view. He well knows how easily his countrymen may be imposed upon, and their weak minds inflamed in matters of religion, and thus does this good subject artfully suggest to them the means of performing the unhallowed and forbidden rite.

For in the second article what otherwise can the Editor mean by, "as to what plan, &c.", but to insinuate that the Thanadars and Darogahs may be tampered with, or other means used to prevent the interposition of their authority.

As to the names of persons, villages, &c. inserted in the accounts it is a well known fact that where an appearance at least of truth is required persons are not over-nice in supplying these little particulars themselves.

It appears somewhat strange to one that no one of the officers of Government, whose duty it is to see to these things, and who receive papers for this purpose, has acquired into the truth of such publications in order that if found so, the offenders may, according to the regulation, receive the punishment they so justly merit, and this be published in the Government Gazette which will at once strike a terror and discourage others from pursuing this illegal and abominable human sacrifice.

But if proved false, the publishers of the report should be called upon to answer for so flagrant an attempt to impose upon the public.*

Calcutta, 13th April, 1830.

I am,
Your's obediently,
A FRIEND TO THE HUMAN RACE.

95. A curious account of begging on the Suttee account. (April 26, 1830).

Having made known that money would be necessary for prosecuting the plan of sending a petition to England, for re-establishing the practice of Suttee

*_India Gazette_, (Suppl.), April 19, 1830.

it has been collected from those who signed the subscription book belonging to the Dhurum Subha, besides which we have received intelligence that some persons are going about begging for and receiving donations of one anna.

One of these persons, we suppose, with three or four others, having a book with him, in going his rounds went into Shibtulloh Gully, and met with a person named Ramshabuk Mookerjia, a tax collector, asked him his name, &c., but the sircar, instead of returning an answer, said to him, are you religious, or do you follow the irreligious? The Brahmun being much astonished at this, asked the sircar what right he had to put such a question. The latter replied, that he belonged to a person who could easily take away any one's caste, therefore, said he, if you do not contribute something for the Suttees, we will prevent others from smoking with you, *i.e.* you shall lose your caste immediately. The Brahmun being provoked at this, said, our caste is not so trifling a matter as to be injured either by your words or by the endeavours of those from whom you come.

Mookhopadhia having rebuked him severely, turned him away from his house. This is a good rule of the Shubhas!! that poor persons who cannot afford to give, should be attacked in their own houses, and thus have their caste sought to be destroyed.*

96. An account of the steps taken to counter the appeal of the orthodox Hindus against the Suttee Regulation to England. (June 29, 1830).

Our present Governor General on the 4th of December, 1829, in perfect conformity with the most celebrated of the shasters, and the dictates of reason passed a Regulation abolishing the practice of burning women. In this affair it is matter of astonishment, that some persons in this neighbourhood, calling themselves the Dhurma Subha, have drawn out a new law on the subject, (which however they do not publish) and are about to send it to England with a petition to revoke the very beneficial regulation passed on the subject by the Governor General ; and to lay out 50,000 Rupees in transmitting it. Having made this public, they have been collecting money from various classes of persons. The Editor of the Durpun in the 630th Number of his paper asks why those who are opposed to the Dhurma Subha do not draw out their legal authorities and present them to Parliament. We suspect the Editor is not informed on this subject ; we would there beg to say that the legal authorities (against the rite) have been put together at great length from the most celebrated shasters, and that the small sum necessary to cover the expense incurred, has been collected. But this party has been at no such pains in regard to the collection of authorities, or the amassing of money as the members of the Dhurma Subha ; for it was the completion of their object alone which they kept in view. The gentleman who will proceed to England with their documents, was offered by them the sum of 5,000 Rupees to bear the expenses of his journey, but he absolutely

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, May, 1830.

refused to receive any thing for conveying to England the legal precepts, which referred to so righteous an act as that of saving the lives of women, and said that he esteemed himself sufficiently happy in having witnessed the extinction of female immolations ; he is now going to England to present the precepts. He who is proceeding to Great Britain, from the other party to establish the immolation of females, how can he accomplish his object without receiving 50,000 Rupees from those divine incarnations? Our legal precept and petition have been prepared and will be very speedily dispatched to England.*

97. The Address of the Christian community of Calcutta to the Governor-General on the abolition of the Suttees, together with His Lordship's Reply. (June, 1830).

This subject seems, by the last advices, to occupy a considerable share of public attention at the presidency. A petition has been presented to the Governor-General, accompained by legal documents, from the native inhabitants against the measure; but it is said that it was difficult to get signatures to it, and that many of them have been extorted by threats and taunts, or added with reluctance by persons whose sentiments and inclinations are far from being in accordance with the language of the petition, but who signed merely to please the elder members of their families, upon whom they are dependent, or from whom they entertain expectations of pecuniary benefit. It would appear that the government had satisfied itself that the majority of the native community was decidedly opposed to the practice, before it ventured upon the measure. Several suttees have been prevented (one paper says about twenty), since the promulgation of the regulation, without any ill consequence. The following is a copy of the address of the Christian community of Calcutta to Lord William Bentinck, which was read by Mr. Gordon, at the head of the deputation.

"My Lord : We the undersigned, the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, beg leave to offer to your Lordship our warmest thanks and congratulations on the passing of a regulation for suppressing the inhuman practice of burning widows on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands, immolations which outraged the tenderest feelings and strongest ties of nature, and which had been too long the reproach of this country, and the astonishment of other nations. We entertain no apprehension that an act of beneficence which will be commemorated as one of the proudest events in your Lordship's administration, and as one of the most signal blessings that has yet been conferred on India, sanctioned as it is by the prayers and applause of the most enlightened among our Hindoo and Mahomedan fellow subjects, can be misconstrued into a disposition to infringe the established principles of toleration, or to deviate from that candid and indulgent respect for the religious and civil rites, usages, and customs of all classes of the native population, which we trust will ever continue to be an attribute of the British Government.

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Bengal Chronicle*, June 29, 1830.

"We rather cherish a confident expectation that it will be esteemed a pledge of the cordial interest which their rulers take in their happiness, and of their willingness to extend to them the various advantages which flow from useful knowledge and equal laws.

"While British supremacy at length prevails undisturbed over this vast empire, the objects which remain to occupy the cares, stimulate the exertions, and illustrate the history of government, are the means of securing the stability of the empire by promoting the civilizing arts of peace, the spread of education, the prosperity of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial industry, and the improvement of judicial and administrative institutions. In prosecuting such enterprizes, your Lordship will always command our earnest wishes for their successful accomplishment, and in whatever manner it can be most beneficially applied, our humble but zealous co-operation".

His Lordship replied to the address in the following terms :

"Gentlemen : I thank you for this address. The decided concurrence of my much esteemed colleagues ; the sentiments recorded by several of the ablest and most experienced of those who had long and honourably been engaged in the administration of affairs ; the result of extensive inquiries addressed to many valuable servants of the Company, civil and military ; and the facts and opinions gathered from other gentlemen, European and native, excellently qualified to form a sound judgment on the subject, all combined to assure me of the propriety of the resolution, which we unanimously adopted to prohibit the practice of suttee. It is not the less satisfactory to receive this additional and powerful testimony in support of the views by which we were guided. For the names annexed to the address afford ample evidence that the sentiments it expresses are alike consistent with an intimate knowledge of the habits and feelings of our native fellow-subjects, and with the most cordial and liberal desire to advance their prosperity.

"You do no more than justice to the government in supposing that its decision was influenced by motives free from every taint of intolerance. And I need not, I trust, assure you, that the same warm interest in the welfare of the Hindoo community which urged us to the adoption of the measure in question, will continue to animate our exertions in the prosecution and support of every measure and institution by which knowledge may be diffused, morals improved, the resources of the country enlarged, the wealth and comfort of the people augmented, their rights secured, their condition raised, or their happiness promoted".*

98. An account of a meeting held by the orthodox Hindus to form the Dhurma Subha. (July, 1830).

A meeting of the natives was held at the Hindoo College on the 17th, to consider the reply returned by the Governor-General to the anti-abolitionists of suttee. Bhowanuchurn Boneyea said that an answer had been received to the

Asiatic Journal, June, 1830.

petition they had presented to the Governor-General concerning the suttees, which Babu Radhakant Deb read. The gentlemen, on hearing this, said that they were desirous of appealing to the authorities in England ; and that it be solicited of the Governor-General to postpone the operation of the regulation till an answer is received from England. Baboo Radakissen Mitter proposed that twelve gentlemen be chosen from among the assembly to form a committee, upon which the following were elected :

Baboo Ram Gopal Mullic, Gopee mohun Deb, Radha Cant Deb, Tarinee Churn Mitter, Ram Comul Sen, Hurry Mohun Tagore, Kossinoth Mullic, Moharaja Kollikissen Bahadoor, Asootosh Sircar, Gokoolnoth Mullic, Byorobdor Mullic, Neilmoney Day, and Bhowanuchurn Bonerjee was chosen secretary. After which Bhowanuchurn moved that a place should be prepared for the purpose of holding meetings and discussing religious points, which was unanimously agreed to. It was observed further, that although there are several native gentlemen in this city who could individually in the cause of religion, expend twenty, twenty-five, or fifty thousand, or even a lack or two lacks of rupees, it was not proper that one person should bear the whole burden. Baboo Radhakissen Mitter then proposed that a subscription should be raised ; and on a paper being circulated, the following sums were immediately subscribed for. [Here follow the names of several respectable and wealthy natives, as also those of some pundits.] The sum subscribed amounts to 11,260 rupees, being from 2,500 to 1,000 rupees from each individual. It was then questioned whether the book for subscription should be sent out ; to which it was answered that it be sent to all persons of the Hindoo religion, and that subscription of even one single rupee should be received. On being questioned where this money should be deposited, it was agreed that Baboo Byorobdor Mullic be appointed treasurer, and that all money should be expended with the orders of the committee ; the secretary to transact all business with and by the consent of the committee to all meetings. It was stated by Baboo Gokoolnoth Mullic, that those Hindoos who do not follow the rites of Hindoo religion should be excluded from the Hindoo society, which met the concurrence of all present ; no names, however, were mentioned. If there be any such persons, we think their names shall be brought forward at any future meeting.*

99. An account of a meeting of the Dhurma Subha. (August 2, 1830).

On Sunday, the 4th Shrabun, there was a meeting of the Dhurma Subha, when much business of the Society was transacted, of which we now publish the particulars.

Mr. Francis Bathie has been appointed to take home the petition in favour of the burning of widows and against colonization. The written agreement which had been made with him was at this meeting made known to the Society and received the concurrence of all. That gentleman was himself present on the

* *Samachar Chundrika,* quoted by *Asiatic Journal,* July, 1830.

occasion and at the desire of the members received all those papers and documents which he requested as necessary to support the petition. All the members of the Committee signed his power of attorney. On enquiry being made with regard to the reward which was to be given to him, and the legal expenses which he might incur the Committee of Finance was authorized to disburse whatever funds might be found necessary. Mr. Bathie then rose and addressed the assembly at great length. The substance of his speech was as follows:—"I am now proceeding to England on your behalf, and to fulfil your wishes will spare no labor either of body, mind, or speech—I take God to witness that there shall be no negligence on my part. After having carefully perused your petition, and the legal opinions and documents with which it is supported, I feel a firm conviction that your request will certainly be granted." After this and other such remarks, conveyed with the utmost urbanity and talent, he took leave of the assembly, taking with him all the papers. He will embark on the 27th of July.

It was next mentioned as highly probable, that petitions would hereafter be signed and sent from other places. The petition which the Attorney has now taken with him, contains the signature of many inhabitants of Calcutta, both native and foreign, and of those residing in the vicinity of Calcutta, in the towns of Chinsurah, Chandernagore, and Serampore, in the villages of Cossipore, Bhuwaneepore, and other places, and in the districts of Jessore, Jelalpore, Fureedpore, &c. &c. Upon the question, therefore, how the petitions which may hereafter arrive are to be transmitted, it was determined that they should be sent to Mr. Bathie by post. The Secretary then said. It was formerly determined that until this petition should be sent home, a meeting should be held every Sunday. Through the favor of the Almighty this determination has hitherto been kept. But in what order shall meetings be held in future? Upon which it was settled, that a meeting should be held on the first Sunday of every month, but that if in the intermediate time any important business should arise, the Secretary might convene an extra meeting. It was next determined that as the great object of the Society, the sending to England a petition in favour of Suttees, had been accomplished, it was necessary to take into consideration the erection of a house. But until the buildings of the Dhurma Subha were ready, Baboo Gokoolnath Mullick took upon himself the charge of providing a suitable place for the meeting. The Secretary was also directed to execute all the necessary measures and to correspond with the Finance Committee. As the constitution of the Society had not been fixed, but business had been hitherto conducted only upon certain general principles, it now became necessary also to draw up the form of that constitution, which task was committed to Baboo Radha Kanta Deb, and Baboo Ram Komul Sen, and Baboo Bhuwaneechurn Bundopadhya. They agreed to this proposal, and promised speedily to present the draft to the Society, which after having been discussed and passed in the Committee, will be printed and published.

After these matters had been dispatched, Baboo Ram Komul Sen arose and thus addressed the assembly :—"All the members of the Committee have equally labored in this establishment of this Society and in promoting its chief object, the despatch of the petition to England ; yet it is a matter of duty that we should

acknowledge the peculiar exertions of Bhuwaneechurn Bundopadhya by a vote of thanks ; for although few are ignorant of the labour he has given, and the personal loss he has incurred in promoting this subject, yet as being more particularly acquainted with it, I now make it known to all''. He then described at length the exertions and the losses, the judgment and the ability of Bundopadhya, upon hearing which the whole assembly was struck with the justice of his remarks, and voted their thanks to the Secretary.

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Baboo Ramkomul Sen then arose again and began to extol Tarineechurn Mittre, more particularly for his excellent translation of the petition and the legal precept into Hindee and in Bengalee by which his talents, learning, and labors had been so eminently displayed. Unless the Mittre Baboo had labored in this manner, the meaning of our English petition could not have been understood by all. I therefore move a vote of thanks to him, which was unanimously carried.

Bhuwaneechurn Bundopadhya then arose, and respectfully addressing the meeting said, Baboo Radha Canta Deb has prepared the petition in favor of suttees in English and inserted in it the Regulation passed by the Governor General, together with an appropriate reply to every single statement it contains, and has also answered fully the reply given by the Governor General to our first petition, and has diligently collected from many works whatever precepts were to be found relative to Concremation and Postcremation, and a life of austerities, and having translated them, has also inserted them in our petition. This petition was sent for correction to a learned Englishman, who on reading it was highly gratified, and greatly extolled the Baboo. The attorney, Mr. Francis Bathie, also, on seeing the petition felt convinced that its object would certainly be granted. When therefore we observe the great diligence and ability which the Baboo has exerted, he appears worthy of our peculiar thanks. Baboo Oomanund Thakoor supported the motion of Bundopadhya, and said, we offer to the Baboo our highest gratitude and thanks, and desire always to do so. Babu Ramkomul Sen then observed, that it was not in their power to do justice to the ability of Baboo Radha kanta Deb. Baboo Bhuguvuteechurn Gungopadhya then observed that this was nothing but the truth. All then, by general consent, voted their thanks to the Deb Baboo, who arose, and in mild and elegant language acknowledged his obligations to the meeting, and returned his thanks to the members of the Committee.

Bhuwaneechurn Bundopadhya then rose again and said, that with the assistance of Nemichunder Seeromonee, Sumbhoochunder Bachusputee, and Joygopal Turkulunkar and under the sanction of Neelmonee Nyalunkar and Joyenarayan Turkopanchanun, Huronath Turkbhoosun had prepared the legal precept originally sent to the Governor General, as well as that now sent with the petition. This legal precept has been sent for signature to many different places, and all the pundits have united in extolling the learning of Turkubhoosun as exhibited in this legal document so consonant with the Shastras, and have affixed their signatures to it ; he is therefore worthy of a vote of thanks. Upon which Babu

Radha kanta Deb rose and offered particular thanks to Turkubhoosun, adding also thanks to all the pundits who are members of the Committee. The remaining business of the Society was then committed to the Secretary, and the meeting broke up towards the evening.*

100. A sarcastic letter on begging on the Suttee account. (August 9, 1830).

To

The Editor of the India Gazette.

Sir,

We beg you will oblige us by giving insertion to the following letter in your widely circulated paper.

We feel much delight in saying that the practice of Suttees exercised in various parts of the East Indies, being prohibited by the irresistible orders of the Government, the opulent and the most virtuous Natives of this country, considering their religion on the brink of destruction, have instituted a Society entitled "The Dhurma Subha". The members assembled have resolved that as the Rulers, a nation of contrary faith, are adopting measures for gradually making away with the religious customs and manners practised by the Hindoos from immemorial ages, a petition should be sent to England to be presented to Parliament, entreating their permission for the toleration of those usages. Although incapable themselves to afford expences that would be incurred in this undertaking, their humanity and zeal for re-establishing their religion (as they call it) have induced them to raise money by way of alms, even of four pies, from the richest natives to the most indigent peasants in this country; and a European Philanthropist, whose profession is that of an Attorney at Law in the Supreme Court, has been intrusted with the deputation. As it is said that this measure will succeed in restoring all the Hindoo usages and customs abolished by the Government, we, the Criminal Prisoners of the Allypore Jail, most submissively entreat to bring to the notice of the compassionate members of the Dhurma Subha and their deputy, the European Gentleman, that theft and robbery are our ancestorial and family usages and customs, and in exercising them we have been thrust into confinement under every sort of distress and torment by our opponents, the Governors of the country. Their indefatigable exertions and unabated attention towards accomplishing the object for which they have established their association, have filled us with expectations and hopes, that if they succeed in revoking the Government orders, and can re-establish the practice of burning poor and helpless widows alive, the natural mildness and clemency of their disposition will, without fail, lead them to exert themselves in preserving the usages and customs of our forefathers ; since the principles which induced them to found the Dhurma Subha, dictate it, and any deviation from them would be an infringement of the regulations they themselves have framed. Though this undertaking may require a large sum to be spent, we beg

*John Bull, August 2, 1830.

that by admitting us as members of their Society they may extort from us a little subscription, to which we hope, they will not object. If opposition be met with from our antagonists, they will, as in the case of Suttees, not fail to unite their endeavours against them. Thus their ardour for the cause of our ancient customs and usages will every × × × × × × all doubt, to the excellence of their Dhurma Subha, which is one of the principal objects of its institution.*

THE CRIMINAL PRISONERS OF THE
ALLYPORE JAIL.

101. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" approving of the effort of Rammohun Roy to oppose the appeal of the orthodox Hindus against the Suttee Regulation to England. (November, 1830).

Our readers will have observed that that distinguished native gentleman, Ram Mohun Roy, has within the last few days, proceeded on his long intended voyage to England. This step has called forth various remarks from our contemporaries, and has also excited some curious speculations among his countrymen who appear for the most part unable to comprehend or appreciate his objects and purposes. We have received several letters on this subject from Correspondents which we thought it necessary to withhold, because they seemed to us to forget that the public had no more to do with Ram Mohun Roy's movements than with those of any other private gentleman, except in so far as he chose to make his views known. In point of fact we believe he has no other than the very laudable purpose of making himself better acquainted with the manners, institutions, and literature of the nations of Europe ; and we join with those who have expressed the hope that his example by encouraging similar attempts on the part of other natives may have the effect of drawing more closely the bonds that unite India to England and of rendering the connection mutually and permanently beneficial.

In consequence of the Petition to Parliament got up by those natives who are opposed to the abolition of the rite of widow-burning, Ram Mohun Roy is taking to England a Counter-Petition, a copy of which he put into our hands before his departure with permission to publish it after he was gone. We have now accordingly the pleasure of presenting it to our readers. It embodies the Address presented to Lord Bentinck, on the occasion of the abolition, by those natives who approved of the measure, by most of whom we suppose it has been signed. If the anti-abolitionists hope, or the abolitionists fear, that the British Parliament will disapprove of the act of the Local Government, we can tell them that there is not the slightest ground for either feeling, but since the former have thought proper to petition for the re-establishment of the ancient rite, it was certainly desirable that their representations should not go before the Legislature unopposed and uncontradicted. This object will be answered by the Counter-

* *India Gazette*, August 9, 1830.

Petition of which Ram Mohun Roy is the bearer, and which will prove to the Legislature that when, in their enactments for the government of this country, they proceed on principles of just and enlightened policy, there is a class of natives, which we know to be steadily encreasing in number and influence, capable of appreciating their motives and intentions, and equally competent to understand the operation of measures which subserve private and party interests, but do not promote the public good.*

102. A praise for the Suttee Regulation on the prevention of a case of woman burning taking place. (November 1, 1830).

We have received a letter from Burdwan, dated the 25th Ashween, stating that on the 2d. of that month a brahmun named Govindaram Ghosal having died at the age of 80 years at Kaleegram to the north of Kanchunnugur, westward ot Burdwan, his wife aged 60 years made known her resolution to burn. By breaking a branch of a mango tree, &c., she gave the signs of a Suttee ; and talked boastingly of her recollections of a former birth. But her contemptuous talk was of no force against the orders of Government, which accord with the best shasters. How much our Ruler deserve to be praised in reference to this matter we cannot express ; for had it not been for his orders, we should always have remained overwhelmed with grief.†

103. An account of an address presented to the Governor-General at Buxar on the abolition of the Suttee. (November 15, 1830).

After a most prosperous voyage, the Governor General, we understand, arrived at Buxar on the morning of the 5th November. The fleet had not met with any difficulty worth mentioning, in its progress, and was expected to reach Benares, at the latest, on the 12th. His Lordship, it was understood, would spend a day or two at Ghazeepore. Our Correspondent adverts to a circumstance of a gratifying nature, which occurred at Buxar ; and which was not the less so from its being wholly unexpected. Rajah Gopaul Surren Singh, of Buxar, and Baboo Kooar Singh, availed themselves of the opportunity of his Lordship's passing the Station, to present to the Governor General an Address of thanks for the suppression of Suttee. The Address (which bears the signatures of all the Zemindars, Merchants, &c. of the District,) after a reference to the Shasters, in proof of no such rite being enjoined in the sacred records of the Hindoos ; conveys a strong expression of the gratitude of the subscribers to the Governor General in Council for its suppression.‡

*_India Gazette_, quoted by _Calcutta Monthly Journal_, November, 1830.
† _Sambad Cowmoody_, quoted by _John Bull_, November 1, 1830.
‡ _Government Gazette_, November 15, 1830.

104. A letter of a Hindo on the above. (November 19, 1830).

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru & Chronicle.

Sir,—It gives me infinite pleasure to observe in your paper of the 17th instant, an article purporting to be that when the Governor General was passing the district of Buxar, a number of Zemindars, Merchants, &c. had waited on His Lordship for the purpose of presenting an Address expressing their grateful acknowledgments for the Act of humanity which His Lordship in Council has conferred towards the Hindoo community in having suppressed the diabolical practice of Suttees in this country.

It is no doubt fresh in your memory that when an address of a similar nature was presented to His Lordship here, the Secretary of the Dhurmo Shooba in conjunction with some of the unprincipled and bigotted Hindoos, circulated a report that the document in question was got up by the influence of certain persons—namely —M—R—and D—T—who had induced their dependants to subscribe their names to it.

Now, Mr. Editor, allow me through the medium of your wisely conducted Journal to call the attention of the secretary of the Dhormo-shoobah, as well as of those bigotted Hindoos to the article above alluded to, and request them to be so candid as to say whether the present address had its rise by the interference and instrumentality of the two genltemen above noticed, or that the Zemindars, Merchants, &c. had from a consciousness of the great benefit conferred on the Hindoos, came laudably forward to express their gratitude and approbation of so good an act.*

Your's obediently,
A HINDOO.

Chitpore-road,
the 19th Nov., 1830.

105. Deprecating remarks of the "Sumachar Chundrika" on the above Buxar Address. (November 29, 1830).

When the Regulation for the abolition of Suttees was published, all the Hindoos of this country being alarmed presented an address to the Governor General for the preservation of that rite. And a few Native and English, and a great number of Feringhee gentlemen presented another address of congratulation to his Excellency on its immediate abolition. Was it established by this that the rite was not enjoined in the Hindoo Shastrus? Or was his Excellency not acquainted with the deception of those adressers? He has given his consent to have an appeal transmitted to England from knowing what is said in the Shastrus respecting both *con* and *post-cremation*. Therefore the suttee is not contrary to the Shastrus because some persons have presented an address of congratulation to his Excellency at Buxar. The Governor General will consider that these persons are just of the same sort as the small number who presented to him the address of congratulation

* *Bengal Chronicle*, November 25, 1830.

in Calcutta. For what reason those persons did so we formerly explained in the Chundrika, and it is unnecessary to repeat it. We suppose that the inhabitants of Buxar have presented this address from an idea that it would highly gratify the Governor General and so promote their own interests with him. But they must be ignorant of English magistrates and especially of the principles, character and practice of our present Governor General ; for they are impartial, and support only what is just. Hence he has not been at all displeased with those native Gentlemen who for the preservation of the Suttee have appealed to England against his Regulation. If you ask, what is the proof that he is not displeased with them ; we reply, he has been seen cultivating friendship and shewing favour to chief natives of wealth in this city. In the first place, after the abolition of the Suttee he invited them to splendid balls at his house and satisfied them all with attention and honour. A few also of those who presented the address of congratulation were present ; but not because they were his especial friends or peculiarly honoured by him. Besides, Baboo Gopee Mohun Deb, Baboo Radha Kanta Deb, and Muha-Raj Kalee Krishnu Bahadoor, when they attended the Supreme Council to deliver the address of remonstrance in favour of Suttees, had much conversation with his Lordship. Had he been partial, he would have manifested much displeasure with them ; but instead of this he exhibited the greater favour. For at the time of the Doorga Pooja he gratified the above mentioned gentlemen by visiting both their houses. Wherefore he is not gratified by improper praise ; and he is not unjustly provoked to violate what is right. No one, then, need be anxious about the preservation of Suttees. Our advocate will return with victory.*

106. The remarks of the "Bunga Doot" on the above Buxar Address. (December 9, 1830).

When con and post-cremation were abolished, we were exceedingly anxious that they should be restored ; and we were particularly in hopes that all the Hindoos in Hindoosthan would show themselves zealous for the maintenance of the Suttee. But we have been astonished to find it published in the English paper, that when his Excellency the Governor General on his journey to the Western Provinces, arrived at Buxar, all the Landholders and Merchants there met and presented to his Lordship an address of congratulation, in which it is asserted that the performance of Suttee is not enjoined by the shastrus. This is against us. We have however still one hope resembling the hope which Dhriturustra placed in Sulyu.†

107. Further remarks in praise of the Suttee Regulation on the prevention of female immolations taking place. (January, 1831).

At Krishnunugur, in the district of Hoogly, there was an ancient pundit called Trilochun Turkalunkar. He being indeed very aged, was seized with disease in

Samachar Chundrika, quoted by *John Bull*, November 29, 1830.
† *Bunga Doot*, quoted by *John Bull*, December 9, 1830.

Pous last, on Thursday, the 16th of that month, and just after sun rise departed this life. Before his death, his son having by the advice of the physicians given up all hope of his father's recovery, became anxious to bring him to the banks of the Ganges, but his wife intending to ascend the pile with him, forbad his being taken to the river. After the death of the Bhuttacharjee a report having arisen that his widow would burn with him, the Daroga of that division and the landed proprietors, repaired to the spot ; but they were not required to use any exertion, for the son and the family of the deceased pundit had united together to keep the widow in great seclusion ; yet the Daroga remained on the banks of the Darokeshur river until the dead body was consumed, and then returned home. The widow remained some time without food, but soon began again to partake of it, and to engage in the affairs of the house. Through the favor of the Almighty, our Governor General has established so excellent a rule that women can no longer be murdered. We are therefore bound to pray for his prosperity with all the powers of the mind and body.*

108. A Hindoo correspondent's remarks in refutation of an assertion that the suppression of Suttees was due to the exertions of the Christian missionaries. (May, 1831).

A Hindoo correspondent of the *Bengal Chronicle*, with reference to an assertion of Mr. F. Buxton, in the House of Commons, that the suppression of suttees was owing to the exertions of the Missionaries in India, observes: "For my part, I am indeed at a loss to conceive how any credit can be due to that quarter in the affair, when those people had as much part in it as we may be said to have had in the business of the Catholic Emancipation in England ; it having, to our knowledge, been chiefly promoted by two individuals amongst us of distinguished talents and public spirit, namely R—Roy and D—Tagore, at whose expense the present eulogium is unmeritoriously conferred upon people who took no interest whatever in the matter in question". The individuals referred to are Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore.†

109. An account of the proceedings in the House of Lords on the presentation of the counter-petition on Suttees by Rammohun Roy. (July 1, 1831).

The Marquess of Lansdowne said, he had a petition of a peculiar nature to present to the house, to which he wished to call heir lordships' attention. Their lordships doubtless, were acquainted with the fact, that Lord William Bentick, as Governor-General of India, took upon himself some time ago, after giving to the subject that calm and serious attention which is demanded, to issue an order by which a most inhuman practice, that of burning widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, was forbidden. In consequence of this, some months

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, January, 1831.
† *Asiatic Journal*, May, 1831.

after the order was carried into effect, a number of Hindoos assembled together, and signed a petition, deprecating this intervention with their religious ceremonies, and condemning the interference of the Company and their agents, in thus forbidding the fulfilment of an ancient rite. The petitioners prayed that the subject might be investigated before the Privy Council. The petition was forwarded to the Privy Council, and if it were the wish of those persons to be heard before that body, it would be the duty of the Privy Council so to hear them. But since that petition was presented, an individual who, he believed, was known to some of their lordships, and whose abilities were very generally acknowledged in the East—a Brahmin of India, Ram Mohun Roy—called upon him and stated, that, under the impression which existed in India, that such a petition as that which he had described would be presented, not to the Privy Council, but to the House of Lords, a number of the most influential and intellectual natives of India had met together and determined to send a counter-petition (that which he held in his hand) to the House of Lords. In the petition they expressed the great approbation with which they viewed this act of the Government of India ; and they stated their decided conviction, after looking into the Shasters and Vedas, that the inhuman custom which had been abolished was not authorized by the Hindoo religion. They observed, that it was first instituted by certain Hindoo princes for private and personal reasons ; and they further declared, that one of the most important injunctions of Menu was, that widows should live in the observance of purity and virtue after the death of their husbands—that they should lead a life of chastity and austerity but that they should not destroy themselves. In his opinion, every human mind must rejoice at the abolition of such a custom. Many of those who had governed India were, he believed, shocked at the reflection that a practice of this description prevailed, and that they were without the power of preventing such disgusting scenes.

The Petition was laid on the table.*

110. The opinion of the "Sumachar Chundrika" respecting Kaleenath Chowdry, an eminent member of the Brahmo Subha. (July 2, 1831).

We have read the remarks of the *Durpun* on this subject, and now give our opinion with much regret, replying in the first place to the latter remarks of the Editor. He says that all Hindoos are the opponents of Government. What matter for regret is this! We believe that the Hindoos are far more devoted to their sovereign than any other people ; they never object to any law of the Government ; nor can the Editor of the *Durpun* bring an instance of it. If he says, why then did you appeal against the regulation abolishing Suttees, we reply, if the Governor General had promulgated that regulation as an act of the *King*, we should never have appealed, for then all our doubts would have been at an end. We should have judged that the King is the natural protector of the lives, property and religion of his subjects. If he destroys them, who can preserve them? Thus,

* *Ibid*, August, 1831.

"My father and mother, by their sovereign right, have sold me ; the King is about to sacrifice me, and the gods are about to accept the sacrifice, who then can preserve me?"

Therefore by appealing on the subject of Suttees with the concurrence of the Governor General, it is plainly evident that the Hindoos are perfectly obedient to Government. If, making no appeal, they had opposed the execution of the regulation, they might have been charged with disobedience. Hence the Editor of the *Durpun* cannot be reckoned among the friends of the country.

The Editor has written with grief on the subject of Roy Kaleenath Chowdry ; we are also grieved at it, for the Roy Baboo is a man of noble birth and his family is generally renowned throughout Bengal and Hindoostan, and to this day no other person of the same family has done anything to destroy religion. The Rajahs of Noornugger, the heads of the illustrious kayustha family of the Chowdrees, as well as Baboo Goorooprisad Chowdry, the chief Vakeel of the Court of Appeal, and a very near relative of the Roy Baboo, and also many other kayusthas of the same family, grieved at the Regulation respecting Suttees both signed the petition of appeal, and sent donations to the Dhurma Subha, wherefore it appears that Kaleenath Baboo, although so intelligent, having been caught in the net of evil counsellors, has been expelled from the society of his native friends and relatives who profess the same religion with him ; this is matter for regret.

The Editor of the *Durpun* farther writes, that Roy Kaleenath Chowdry in company with many other native gentlemen presented the congratulatory address to His Lordship, from which it might be inferred that many others equal to Roy Baboo put their names to the address ; but we can affirm that no other person of equal rank with him affixed his signatures to it. If the Editor of the *Durpun* is acquainted with their names, let him mention them, that our doubts may be removed.

He has called upon us to remember the outrages we suffered under the Moosoolman Government ; we had altogether forgotten those outrages ; the justice and equity of the British Government had driven them from our minds ;—but should the holy rite of Suttees not be re-established, the remembrance of them will be very naturally recalled, even without the Editor of the *Durpun* to prompt us.*

111. A letter communicating a curious account of a Suttee case. (September 17, 1831).

To the Editor of the Cowmoodee.

It was formerly the practice, that through fear lest the women of this country should escape from the burning pile which they had ascended as Suttees, they

**Samachar Chundrika*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, July 2, 1831

were firmly held down by persons on both sides by bamboos over their bodies: and now and then one, with the idea that disgrace attended the irresolution requiring bamboos, would leap with great force upon the pile. The reports of such affecting sufferings of our women, have caused you to use severe reproof. But now an astonishing report has reached me, which I send you for publication, and on seeing which I am sure you will be very indignant.

On the death some time since, of a raja-like person to the south of the town of Hustina, (old Delhi) his family thought it was necessary that his second wife should become a Suttee. And although the widow was not inclined to this, yet it was effected by the zeal of the family. Also, as the raja was gone to heaven, it was necessary that he should be able to carry on his regal business, and therefore it was agreed that his counsellors and secretaries should go to the sacrificial pit. The raja, too, must ride on horseback in heaven ; therefore an excellent horse was taken from his stables, and added to the funeral pile. Servants, both men and women, would also be required ; and therefore a number of them were thrown into the fire. In this way, twenty or twenty-five persons accompanied the raja.

Thus, Mr. Editor, I observe, that if where such crimes as these were perpetrated the Honourable the Governor General had not forbidden them then we should not simply have said that the women of the country were unfortunate, but we should rather have thought that our country itself was most miserable.*

A. TEACHER.

112. A pamphlet of Rammohun Roy "containing some remarks in vindication of the Resolution passed by the Government of Bengal in 1829 abolishing the practice of female sacrifices in India." (1831).

The practice of burning Hindoo widows, on the funeral piles of their husbands, was abolished by the Government of Bengal, on the 4th of December, 1829, in consequence of which, these unfortunate and deluded persons have been completely saved from destruction, for a period of two years and upwards. Certain Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta, who find this humane measure detrimental to their own interests, have under the advice of an attorney of the Supreme Court, at the Presidency of Fort William, thought proper to bring the subject before the Privy Council, with the view of having the Regulation rescinded and the practice renewed.

2. Par. As to the propriety, or justice, or humanity of re-establishing such a cruel usage, it may safely be left to the wisdom and discretion of the exalted individuals, before whom in this christian country and enlightened age, the subject is to be discussed.

3. Par. With regard to the question of policy, which to many statesmen seems paramount to justice, humanity, conscience, law and religion ; It might

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, September 17, 1831

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have been alleged that the abolition would be an interference with the religious rites of the Hindoos, and would cause insurrection, perhaps revolution in the country, and terminate in the loss of the British possessions in India. On this point I beg to offer a few remarks.

First. If there had been any chance of popular commotion being excited by such abolition, it might have been expected immediately after the measure was adopted in the latter end of the year 1829. About two years and upwards however passed, and no accounts have been received that any widow has been burnt, in opposition to the regulations of Government, or even that any attempt at commotion has ever been made.

Secondly. From a reference to the printed official returns, (laid before Parliament) of the number of Suttees within the territories of the Presidency of Fort William, from 1815 to 1828, inclusive, it appears that within the province of Bengal, including the city of Benares (to which place an immense number of the Bengalees, male and female, retire, from religious prejudices to end their days,) and Patna, which is adjacent, and has been long united to Bengal, by political connection as well as by close and constant intercourse, the number of female sacrifices has mounted to 7941, whereas in the whole extent of the upper provinces, classed under the head of Bareilly, we find only 203 in a period of 14 years, (on an average about 14 in each year) ; consequently had there been any chance of any popular commotion, it might have been dreaded in Bengal particularly, where the practice chiefly prevailed. But it is well known that from education and want of physical energy, the natives of Bengal are the last persons in the world to be expected to rise against public authority.

Thirdly. Even in Bengal a greater number of the most intelligent and influential of the natives, landholders, bankers, merchants, and others, felt so much gratified with the removal of the odium, which the practice had attached to their character as a nation, that they united in presenting an address of thanks and congratulation, on the subject, to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, on the 18th of January,1830,[1] and in like manner, when his Lordship, in his progress to the upper province, arrived at Buxar, (situated between Patna, and Benares), persons of the highest rank respectability, supported by numerous inhabitants, presented another address, expressive of their satisfaction at the abolition of the horrible custom, as will appear by the Calcutta Government Gazette of November 15th, 1830.

Fourthly. It was not religious devotion alone which prompted the generality of the natives of Bengal, who carried on the practice of widow burning to such an extent ; nor is that their motive for wishing its re-establishment. But it is their worldly interest which many wish to serve under the cloak of religion. Since according to their law of inheritance (the Dayabhaga) a widow is entitled to inherit the property of her deceased husband, without regard to his condition in life, and therefore is a complete bar to the claims of the father, mother, brothers, sisters and daughters of the deceased, who have all consequently a

[1] Vide the Bengal Hurkaru, or the India Gazette, of the 18th of January, 1830.

direct interest in the destruction of the widow[1]. But in the upper provinces, where the Mitakshara is respected as the law of inheritance, according to which the rights of the surviving wife are more circumscribed, the relatives of the husband are not much interested in her death ; and in these provinces it is found that the Suttees are comparatively very rare.[2]

Fifthly. Hence, it is obvious, that as the adherence of the Bengalees to this practice generally springs from selfish considerations of a worldly nature, the abolition of such a fertile source of intrigue and calculating cruelty cannot excite any apprehension of religious enthusiasm in those persons who are conscious of the unworthiness of the cause they advocate ; even if the Bengalees had possessed physical energy, and a warlike education. These considerations (and many others might be added) are sufficient to shew, that policy by no means requires the re-establishment of the open perpetration of suicide and murder.

4. Par. It might be alleged, that the British Government has pledged itself not to interfere with the religious rights of its Indian native subjects ; but, it must not be forgotten, that according to common sense, as well as from a reference to precedent and the practice of the local government during the whole period of its dominion in India, it is clear, that this rule was always unequivocally meant to apply to religious observances which are considered incumbent on the people, according to the principles of their own faith, and which are not a nuisance and outrage to public feeling. On this principle, the government, from time to time, prohibited various practices performed in the name of religion ; such as the perambulation of the streets by Nagas, (or naked devotees), infanticide and suicide under the car of Juggannath, the self-destruction and public burning of lepers, human sacrifices, &c. &c ; it being found that these practices were only partially observed and consequently merely optional, not incumbent, since their omission involved no loss of civil rights, nor did it bring reproach on those who failed to observe them ; while their observance was highly offensive, a nuisance to the public, and a reproach to a civilised government. The case is precisely the same with respect to widow burning. For, first, in regard to the number of widows burning in the province of Bengal, only one widow out of perhaps thirty, and in the upper provinces, one out of nine hundred and ninety-nine could be prevailed on to perform this horrid sacrifice ; while all the rest lived in the enjoyment of their civil rights and social respect (as shewn by thousands of judicial decrees) ; and again, on the score of nuisance, it is a source of greater offence and disgust to the public than the rest, from its being performed with more publicity and tumult, and exhibiting the most helpless of human beings expiring under the greatest sufferings. Therefore, a regard to consistency and

[1] "The whole wealth of a deceased husband, who has no male issue, shall belong to his widow, though there be brothers of the whole blood, paternal uncles, (daughters), daughter's sons, and other heirs." Colebrooke's translation of the Dayabhag, Chap. XI, sec. I. Art. 3rd.

[2] A wife being chaste takes the whole estate of a man who being separated from his co-heirs and *not* subsequently *reunited* with them, dies leaving no male-issue. Colebrooke's translation of the Mitakshara, Chap. II. Sec. 1. Art. 39. It should not be overlooked that amongst the Hindoos, brothers very generally, or almost always, live in joint families, and very often first and second cousins also; consequently the qualification of non-separation has almost annihilated the rights of the widow.

its own character compelled the government to deal with this practice as they had done with the others before mentioned.

5. Par. In addition to its local observation of the option exercised by widows, of either living an austere life, or of burning themselves with the corpse of the husband, government was furnished with the verdicts of the Pandits of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, and of the Supreme Court of Calcutta: who, notwithstanding their enthusiastic zeal in favour of the practice of concremation, felt compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge, that at most it was entirely optional ; nay, that an austere life was more meritorious.

First. In reply to the question submitted to the Hindoo Law Officers of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, in March 1817, it was stated (p. 174), that "the woman who wishes to accompany her deceased husband, let her ascend the funeral pile." In some cases, the widow may be laid on the funeral pile, before it is lighted, by the side of her husband. But, (p. 175) "if she be then destitute of the wish to perform the act of sahagamun (concremation) *she must be lifted off*". Again (page 175), "If having arrived at the place of burning, she determine to burn, the ceremony of depositing the widow must be again gone through" "If she afterwards express a wish to rise, she must be lifted off".

Second. The Pandit of the Supreme Court (Mrityoonjay) states, (page 178) that according to the Jutta Mala Bilas "ascending the funeral pile is a voluntary act and not an indispensible one". (p. 182) "The alternative of leading an austere life being mentioned and any objection adverse to it, being removed by the comparison cited in the text, this alternative seems evidently to be recommended by the favoured side of the argument". (p. 182) "In a person who is careless about absorption and desirous to obtain a paradise of temporary and inconsiderable bliss the act of *anoogamun* (following the husband) is justifiable, but from this reasoning it appears evident that the leading of a virtuous life is preferred as the *superior* alternative and that the act of anoogaman is held to be of inferior merit". (p. 182). "No difference prevails with regard to the propriety of leading a life of austerity". (p. 183). "Not the slightest offence attaches either to the women who depart from their resolution (of burning) or to those who persuade them to relinquish their intentions". (p. 183).

6. Par. If we look further into the consequences arising from the successful exertion of European Orientalists, in translating Sanskrit works, in various branches of literature, into the English language, we find that the public is no longer entirely at the mercy of the Brahmans, in the interpretation of the Hindoo law, and Religious doctrine. For example, the translation of the institutes of Menu, by Sir William Jones, which is before the public, and which, to use the language of that immortal work, is a "system of duties, religious and civil, and of law, in all its branches, which the Hindoos firmly believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of the time by Menu the son or grandson of Brahma, or in plain language, the first of created beings, and not the oldest only, but the holiest of legislators, a system so comprehensive and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as the institutes of Hindoo law". (Sir W. Jones's works Vol. VII. p. 76 Preface).

7. Par. This great legislator, in prescribing the duties of widows, thus ordains: "Let her (the widow) CONTINUE TILL DEATH, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women, as were devoted to one only husband" ; (Chap. V, Verse 158, p. 271) "and like those abstemious men, a virtuous wife ascends to heaven though she have no child if after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity". (Ver. 160). But a widow "who from a wish to bear children, slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace upon herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord". (Ver. 161).

8. Par. Here Menu by the expression "Let her continue till death", imperatively commands the widows to live a life of virtue, piety, and austerity, discountenances her marrying again, and does not admit the idea of any such alternative as that of burning with the corpse of her husband.

9. Par. It cannot be alleged that the Ved may have justified the practice and superseded the authority of Menu ; since the Ved itself declares that "whatever Menu pronounced was a medicine for the soul". (*Vide* Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, lines 21 and 23).

10. Par. Nor can it be alleged, that Ungira and some other legislators who recommend widow burning, and also profess to found their doctrines on the Veds, should be considered of equal authority to Menu ; since on the contrary the Ved itself in the text above quoted, the authority of which all acknowledge to be supreme, sanctions every precept of Menu, and in addition to this, Vrihaspati declares, "that Menu held the first rank amongst legislators ; because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda ; that no code was approved which contradicted Menu". (Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, line 25).

11 Par. Therefore any quotation from other authorities or detached passages attributed to Menu, but not to be found in his code, and inconsistent with it cannot be considered as of any validity. Then, whence, it may be asked arose a practice so repugnant to reason, and so contrary to the most ancient, and highest legislative authority of the Hindoos? Only (I reply) from the jealousy of their Princes, who were unable to tolerate the idea of their wives proving forgetful of them, and associating with other men after their deaths, and their dependants were induced to follow their foot-steps, actuated by the same motives, and also by the influence of example, while their surviving relations did not fail to encourage the practice, for the reasons above explained, to promote their own interests, and literary men of similar feelings have not been wanting, to support their views, by interpolations, and inventions, under the name of traditions, and quotations, from the Poorans and Tantras, which all acknowledge to have no limit, or certain standard. But fortunately it is an established rule, that every doctrine founded on these, is to be rejected, when on a fair critical examination it proves to be inconsistent with Menu, the only safe rule to guard against endless corruptions, absurdities, and human caprices.

R. M. R.

APPENDIX

It cannot, I think, be irrelevant to the subject, to bring under the notice of the British Public, that the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo Widows alive, on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, was a measure not indiscreetly or rashly adopted by the Governor General of Bengal, but that it was recommended and officially suggested to Lord William Bentinck—by the members of the Supreme Council, by the judges of the Sudder Dewany, and Nizamut Adawlut, who are most deservedly entrusted with the power of life and death, over the millions of the Natives of India,—by the officers of Government, holding responsible situations, and possessed of the best local information,—as well as by the long-resident Europeans of the first intelligence and unquestionable respectability; with the exception of six individuals out of the whole British public living in India.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE ABOLITION.

1. Members of the Supreme Council.
    1. Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief.
    2. The Hon'ble W. B. Bayley.
    3. Sir Charles Metcalfe.
2. Judges of Nizamut Adawlut, or Supreme Criminal Court.
    - W. Leycester, Esq., Chief Judge.
    - A. Ross, Esq., Second Judge.
    - C. F. Sealy, Esq., Third Judge.
    - R. H. Rattray, Esq., Fifth Judge.

3. Officers of Government holding responsible situations, Military, Judicial and Revenue, and long resident Europeans of high respectability.

1st. Those of persons in favour of an immediate and total suppression of the Rite by the authority of Government.

1. Lieut. Colonel Richard Audree.
2. Major W. S. Beatson.
3. Colonel R. H. Cunliffe.
4. Major R. L. Dickson.
5. Lieut. Colonel J. Doveton.
6. Brig. General F. Duncan.
7. Lieut. Colonel W. Dunlop.
8. Lieut. Colonel C. Fagan.
9. Lieut. Colonel W. C. Faithful.
10. Lieut. Colonel J. Kenedy.
11. W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.
12. Lieut. General G. Martindell.
13. Captain J. B. Neufville.
14. Lieut. Colonel C. Povolen.
15. Brig. General W. Richards.
16. Captain S. Riley.

17. Captain D. Ruddell.
18. Major General Shuldham.
19. Lieut. Colonel E. Simons.
20. Lieut. Colonel H. T. Tapp.
21. Captain C. Thoresby.
22. Lieut. Colonel L. H. Todd.
23. Major F. Walker.
24. Captain G. Young.
25. J. Young, Esq.

2nd. Recommending the immediate suppression of the Rite by the authorised interference of the local magistrates.

J. Dunsmure, Esq.

3rd. Persons who recommend a total and immediate prohibition of the Rite by Legislative enactments, as expedient, safe, and practicable.

1. W. W. Bird, Esq.
2. R. M. Bird, Esq.
3. G. F. Brown, Esq.
4. James Calder, Esq.
5. W. Ewer, Esq.
6. Robert North Collie Hamilton, Esq.
7. A. Stirling, Esq.
8. A. Trotter, Esq.

4th. Persons who recommend a gradual abolition of the Rite by the authorised interference of the Magistrates.

1. Major H. Hall.
2. Major A. Hardy.
3. Lieut. Colonel W. H. Kemm.
4. Major L. Land.
5. Lieut. Colonel J. H. Littler.
6. Brig. General James Price.
7. Lieut. Colonel J. Skinner.
8. Lieut. Colonel B. Rope.
9. Lieut. Colonel E. F. Waters.
10. Lieut. Colonel E. P. Wilson.

5th. Persons who abstained from giving any opinion on the subject at large, but apprehended no danger from a prohibition of the Rite, as regards the Native army.

1. Major T. Palmer.
2. Brig. General R. Patton.
3. Lieut. Colonel W. Wilson.

Parties who entertained sentiments moderately or directly different from those above stated.

1st. Persons adverse to a direct prohibition of the Rite by Government.

1. Brig. General J. W. Adams.
2. Major General J. Arnold.
3. Major Thomas Barron.
4. Lieut. Colonel Wm. Casement.
5. Major C. Frye.
6. Lieut. Colonel C. P. Gilman.
7. Captain J. Nicholson.
8. Brig. General J. O. Halloran.
9. Lieut. Colonel T. H. Paul.
10. Lieut. Colonel W. D. Playfair.
11. Lieut. Colonel H. Roberts.

2nd. Persons adverse to a total prohibition of the Rite as being premature.

1. W. Blunt, Esq.
2. H. Douglas, Esq.

3rd. Persons adverse to every species of official interference with the Rite of Suttee.

1. H. H. Wilson, Esq.
2. Captain J. Cowslade.
3. Brig. General A. Knox.
4. Brig. General J. R. Lumley.

4th. Persons adverse to a prohibition of the Rite, as being a departure from the principles of toleration, but who conceived it would be safe though productive of dissatisfaction.

1. T. Packenham, Esq.
2. W. Wilkinson, Esq.

Abstracted from the Appendix to the Statement submitted by the East India Company, to the King's most Honourable Privy Council.*

113. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" against a misrepresentation on the abolition of Suttees. (April 12, 1832).

Amongst the most amusing specimens of—stolidity shall we call it, or wilful misrepresentation? which at times we are favored with from the conclaves in Leadenhall-street is an extraordinary passage in the speech of Sir Charles Forbes at the debate which took place on the subject of Episcopal Establishments for this country which we have published in our paper of the 10th.

The Hon'ble Bart. is represented to have said that "he did not oppose the motion on the ground of expense but because he believed it would be extremely injudicious to enlarge our church establishment in India *so soon after the (as he considered it) dangerous experiment of the proclamations of the Governor General against Suttees!*" If this sentiment had been uttered by any old maiden lady in an obscure village a hundred miles from the metropolis while sipping her tea, we should not have been astonished; but when we recollect when, and where,

* Reprinted from "The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy" (Centenary Edition), published by Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1934.

and by whom it was uttered we confess we are at a loss what epithet to apply to such absurd, and we will add mischievous, nonsense. The *dangerous* experiment! Why, Sir Charles! not a dog has barked the more for it, and the few opponents of the measure in Calcutta have quietly petitioned parliament to be allowed to roast and fry their faithful spouses, mammas, and grandmammas, as in duty bound ; and, had you been desirous of information on the subject, there is not an individual, who has any knowledge of India, in London, who could not have afforded you enough to shew you the absurdity of talking about the *danger* of the measure, and from Rammohun Roy or Mr. Crawfurd you might have heard enough to convince the most sceptical of the perfect safety of it. But you belong, peradventure, to the class who would yet gull the people of England with "the extraordinary peculiarities of the natives of India", whence *sequitur,* India must be inevitably lost if it be not made a patronage farm of for you and your's ; kept apart to be governed by a *caste* reared for the purpose ; and most carefully preserved from the intrusion of all interlopers. We have a word of advice for you, and we beseech you ponder it well, make a few enquiries on your subject before you begin to talk about it, and be aware how you mistake your interested prejudices for the result of your unbiassed judgment. Indian matters are no longer amongst the mysteries of the occult sciences.*

114. A letter on Mr. Bathie, the solicitor, and the Suttee petition. (April 30, 1832).

To the Editor of the Cowmoodee.

We hear it noised abroad that Mr. Bathie who proceeded to England with a petition for burning women, has lately sent a letter to Calcutta, in which he says that he had dispatched another letter by the *General Palmer* to the Dhurma Subha on this subject. That letter has not yet reached Calcutta, but Mr. Bathie says it is likely to afford much satisfaction to the Hindus. If this be true, Mr. Bathie's letter will probably convey the information that the English are prepared to re-establish the rite, or have given him a hope that they will sanction the custom of burning women. This is sufficient to fill us with astonishment. Can it be that the benevolent inhabitants of England have become so merciless, that upon the simple advice of Mr. Bathie, without any authority from the Shastras, they will authorize the murder of thousands of women in this poor country? Can it be in the dispensation of Providence that the minds of the people in England shall have at once changed? They are perpetually devising means for rendering us happy. Now remark ;—that we may not be murdered with clubs in the public paths, they have appointed an establishment of chowkedars. What exertions do the magistrates not make to shield us from the outrages of robbers? May we not therefore enquire, what crime against England the helpless females of this country can have committed, that in revenge these weak women should be sentenced to death? When the letter by the *General Palmer* arrives,

Bengal Hurkaru, April 12, 1832.

and its contents are fairly known, we shall be anxious to ascertain from Mr. Bathie what royal minister, or public officer, or chief, can have led him to expect that this prayer for the burning of widows can be complied with? When we are acquainted with the name of that individual, we shall offer our own remarks.*

SOME PEOPLE.

115. Thanks of the Editor of the "Gyananweshan" for the rejection of the Suttee appeal by the Privy Council. (November 10, 1832).

We now recommend that our friends should form a Subha, and in expression of their joy should send a Letter of thanks to England to the Privy Council. For his present Majesty and his Ministers have bestowed life upon our countrywomen ; and not to thank them for this would certainly show stupidity. It is proper that all should consider the matter, and render them praise. But the partisans of the Dhurma Subha will not do so. On the contrary this intelligence will overwhelm them in a sea of grief ; and they will lose both sleep and appetite in thinking what to write to their subscribers in the country to maintain their confidence. The Editor of the Chundrika in his rage may now say what he likes ; but their supremely holy rite of murdering women will never more return: their regret merely will long remain.†

116. Accounts of the hearing of the Suttee Appeal before the Privy Council. (November 10, 1832).

The important question which has engaged so much of the public attention, as to the right of the local Government of India to prohibit among Hindoos the religious rite of Suttee, or burning of widows, came to be argued before the Privy Council on Saturday, in the form of "an appeal by certain Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, &c. against a regulation made by the Governor General (Lord William Bentinck) on December 4, 1829, declaring the practice of Suttee illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts."

The Privy Councillors present were—The Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Amherst, the Master of the Rolls, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, Sir W. H. East, and the Right Honourable Charles Grant.

Dr. Lushington, with whom was Messrs. Drinkwater and M'Dougall, argued the case on behalf of the appellants. He proceeded in the first place to show that the religious rite and custom of Suttee was an integral and essential doctrine of the Hindoo religion, as appeared from the concurring opinions which had been obtained from some of the most celebrated Pundits, corroborated by passages

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *India Gazette*, April 30, 1832.
† *Gyananweshun*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, November 10, 1832.

from the Hindoo sacred writings. From several extracts referred to, we insert one as containing the substance of all that is contained in the opinions of the Pundits in favour of the practice. It is from the text of Angiras, which is stated to be of high authority.

[Here follow some passages.]

The Hindoo Pundits and other persons of eminence, having perfect faith and confidence in these doctrines, represented to the Bengal Government that they had acted in opposition to the English Laws. To support this representation, Dr. Lushington observed that their measure was contrary to the 12th section of the Regulation of George III ; in which are these words :

"In order that due regard may be had to the civil and religious usages of the natives, it is enacted that the rights and authorities of the fathers of families and masters of families, according as the same may be exercised by the Gentoo or Mahomedan law, shall be preserved to them within their families respectively, nor shall the same be violated or interrupted by any of the proceedings of the Supreme Courts, nor shall any act done in consequence of the rule or law of caste, so far as respects the members of the same family only, be deemed a crime, although the same may not be justifiable by the laws of England."

Now it could not be asserted that, at the passing of this Act, the Legislature was in ignorance relative to the rite of Suttee ; for after many Governors had returned from India, and told them of the rite of Suttee, they had consented to it. In conclusion, he pressed upon the Privy Council the injustice and impolicy of the regulation, which would be regarded by the natives of India as the commencement of a series of innovations upon all those religious rites and practices which they revered. Whilst the confirmation of the Regulation would merely gratify a few individuals, who, like Christians, were desirous that this rite should be at once abolished. He then begged to say that we had engaged in that in which we ought not to interfere. The gross idolatry practised in India was as much opposed to our feelings as Christians as suicide ; yet idolatry was not only recognized, but encouraged in India, and it was well known that a large revenue was derived from it.

Be that as it may ; if Government lay their hands upon religion, the minds of 100,000,000 subjects will be at once unsettled ; and if the regulation be persisted in, it will create so much dismay and such a general feeling of apprehension and discontent amongst all classes of the natives of India, as might tend greatly to endanger the British empire in the East. Upon grounds of expediency therefore, he called upon the Privy Council to decide in favour of the Appellants' prayer.

Mr. Drinkwater followed on the same side, and had not closed his argument when the Council rose.

The further hearing was adjourned to Saturday next, when the Solicitor General, Sir Charles Wetherell, Sir Edward Sudgen, Mr. Sergeant Spankie, &c. are to be heard on the part of the East India Company.

Rammohun Roy and several distinguished individuals connected with India were present during the argument.—*June 25.*

2nd July.

The Lord President of the Council, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the President of the Board of Controul, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Paymaster of the Forces, the Marquis Wellesley, Sir L. Shadwell, and Sir H. Easte, had an adjourned meeting on Saturday morning, at the Council office, as Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to hear an appeal of his Majesty's Hindoo subjects against an order of the Governor General in Council, in Bengal, relative to the religious rite and custom of Suttee. The Honourable William Bathurst attended as Clerk of the Privy Council. The Raja Rammohun Roy sat near their Lordships as on the former occasion. Mr. Drinkwater resumed his address in support of the appeal. The Solicitor General, in reply, was heard on the part of the East India Company, and contended that they possessed the power of making the order in question; and, in proof that the power of the Company extended so far, cited the rendering the person of the Brahmin (sacred according to the Hindoo law) amenable to the criminal law. Mr. Sergeant Spankie followed on the same side. Their Lordships adjourned at four o'clock.

9th July.

The Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council held a meeting at eleven o'clock on Saturday morning at the Council Chamber, Whitehall. to resume the hearing of an appeal from the Hindoo inhabitants of India against an order of the Governor General and the Supreme Council of Bengal, abolishing the rite of Suttee. The Lords present were the Lord President, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the President of the Board of Control, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Paymaster of the Forces, Earl Amherst (formerly Governor General of India), Sir L. Shadwell, and Sir H. Easte. Mr. Greville and the Hon'ble William Bathurst attended as Clerks of the Privy Council. The Raja Ram Mohun Roy was present. Mr. Sergeant Spankie resumed his address on the part of the East India Company, in support of the power possessed by the Governor and Council to issue the order in question. At the conclusion of the learned Sergeant's address Dr. Lushington rose to reply on the part of the appellants, and pointed out the spirit of discontent, which, according to the evidence of those most conversant with the feelings and customs of the Gentoo nation, would be excited should their Lordships sanction this interference with one of their most sacred rites. Dr. Lushington concluded his arguments at three o'clock when Counsel withdrew. Their Lordships afterwards remained a considerable time in deliberation, and will submit the result to his Majesty in Council for his approbation.*

The argument on the appeal of certain of his Majesty's Hindu subjects, inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, &c. against the Regulation XVII of 1829, passed for abolishing the practice of burning widows, commenced this day, before a Council composed of the Lord President (Marquess of Lansdown), the Lord Chancellor, Marquess Wellesley, Earl Amherst, Lord John Russell, Sir Jas. Graham, Sir E. H. East, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Charles Grant.

Samachar Chundrika, quoted by *Samachar Durpun,* November 10, 1832.

Dr. Lushington, for the appellants, argued that this question, involving a rite held sacred by Hindus, must be tried, not according to Christian principles, but by the laws and customs of Hindustan ; that the abolition of the rite was an infringement of the stipulation that the Hindus should be left in peaceful enjoyment of their religious customs and usages ; that by the 37 Geo. III c. 142, it was declared, that nothing done in consequence of the rule of caste should be held a crime, although it be not justifiable by the law of England, and that the suttee rite was in consequence of the rule of caste. The learned civilian contended, that the Hindu law supported the usage ; that if intolerance began there was no limit to it ; that idolatry was as great an offence to Christianity as suttees ; and that persecution tended to defeat its own object.

After hearing Mr. Drinkwater on the same side, the Council adjourned the further hearing of the case till the 30th.*

July 11.

This was a matter of a petition to his Majesty in Council, by certain Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, &c., against a regulation of the Governor General of Bengal, dated the 4th December 1829, declaring the practice of suttee illegal, and punishable by the criminal courts.

On the part of the appellants, it was alleged, that when informed that such a regulation as that in question was contemplated by the local government, they presented a petition or remonstrance to the Governor General, earnestly deprecating the impending interference of government with the religion and customs of the Hindoos ; to which petition the Governor General returned a reply, intimating his intention of persisting in the prohibition ; and they prayed that the regulation may be disallowed, on the following grounds :

I. That the regulation, interfering with the most ancient and sacred rites and usages of the appellants, and in direct violation of the conscientious belief of an entire nation, was passed without any previous communication with the parties affected and aggrieved thereby, and without affording them any opportunity whatever of stating their objections to the same.

II. That the several allegations set forth in the preamble of the regulation, as the inducement or ground for the same, are untrue so far they relate to facts, and wholly erroneous so far as they relate to the religious opinions of the Hindoos.

III. That the abuses (if any) which may have arisen or occurred in the practice of suttee, can be effectually prevented by a proper attention to the opinions of the Hindoos, and an equitable administration of the existing laws, without requiring a total interdiction of the practice ; the appellants, nevertheless, wholly denying that such abuses have existed.

IV. That upon the receipt of the petition of the 19th of December, the Governor General did not proceed to investigate the facts, or examine the reasons upon which the regulation had been grounded. but dismissed the appellants without redress.

* *Asiatic Journal*, July, 1832.

V. And because the regulation is an unjust, impolitic, and direct infringement of the sacred pledge to keep inviolate the religion, laws, and usages of the Hindoos, manifested throughout the whole general tenor of the acts of the legislature of Great Britain, and the regulations and conduct of the government of the East India Company, and more particularly in opposition to the express terms of the statute 37 Geo. III. cap. cxlii. sec. 12.

On the part of the respondents, the Court of Directors alleged that the power of making laws for the natives of Bengal is vested in the Governor General in Council, which power is recognized and confirmed by the British legislature ; that in exercising this power, the Indian Government has at all times manifested a just attention to the religious opinions and customs of the natives, as far as compatible with the paramount claims of humanity and justice ; that a discriminating regard for those religious opinions was not incompatible with the suppression of practices repugnant to the first principles of civil society, and to the dictates of natural reason ; that the attention of the Bengal government has been for many years directed to the rite of suttee, and the various opinions collected, and the frequent discussions the question received in all its bearings, had afforded a body of information which served as a basis for legislation on the subject, with a view to its safe and final adjustment ; that the special attention of Lord William Bentinck had been directed to the subject in 1824, and he had addressed a circular to 53 individuals, selected for their talents and experience in the manners and character of the Hindoos, requiring them to state their opinions as to the abolition of suttees ; that the majority were in favour of an abolition of the rite ; that the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut were unanimous in opinion, in the year 1828, "that the practice may be prohibited without danger, and that it should therefore be prohibited"; and that, in accordance with this recommendation, the Governor General passed the regulation in question, which was approved by all the members of government. The Court, therefore, submitted that the petition ought to be dismissed for the following reasons :

I. Because the rite was made instrumental to the commission of the most atrocious and cruel murders, prompted by jealousy of family honour, ambition to extend the reputation of the family by such a sacrifice, or the desire of obtaining the deceased's wealth.

II. Because the Hindoo law is not mandatory on the widow, in relation to the rite of suttee.

III. Because the regulation cannot properly be regarded as a departure from the just and established principles of religious toleration, on the observance of which the stability of the British power in India mainly depends, because the rite is not prohibited as a religious act, but as a flagrant offence against society : it admits of question whether the rite is sanctioned by the religious institutes of the Hindus: by many of the most learned Hindus of the present day it is regarded as absolutely sinful.

IV. Because no apprehensions could justly be entertained that a prohibition of the rite would be followed by any demonstration of popular discontent : it was the duty of the government, whenever it could do so with safety, to

prohibit a practice which so powerfully tended to deprave the natural feeling and character, and which taught perverted religion to predominate over the best affections of the heart. State necessity, and views of political expediency, had hitherto rendered, or seemed to render it unwise to attempt a total suppression of the practice by the direct and open interference of the government. These reasons having ceased to operate, the time had arrived when government, consulting the best interests of its native subjects, was called upon to pronounce the rite illegal, and prohibit its observance.

The case of the appellants was supported by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Drinkwater, and Mr. Macdougall ; that of the respondents by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Sir J. Scarlett, Sir C. Wetherell, Sir E. Sugden, Mr. Serj. Spankie, and Mr. Lloyd.

The following is a copy of the decision :

At the Court at St. James's, the 11th July, 1832 :

Present,—the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas, there was this day read at the Board a Report from a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, dated the 7th July instant, in the words following, viz.—

"Your Majesty having been pleased, by your order in council of the 11th of May 1831, to refer unto this Committee the humble petition of certain Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, &c., setting forth that (here the petition is inserted); the Lords of the Committee, in obedience to your Majesty's said order of reference, have taken the said petition into consideration ; and having heard counsel for the petitioners thereupon, and also on behalf of the East-India Company, their lordships do agree humbly to report as their opinion to your Majesty, that the said petition should be dismissed".

His Majesty, having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the said petition be, and the same is, hereby dismissed this Board.*

117. Notice and proceedings of a meeting in the Brahmo Samaj to congratulate the authorities on the rejection of the Suttee appeal by the Privy Council. (November 6 & 10, 1832).

Notice is hereby given that a Meeting of the Gentlemen favourable to the abolition of the Suttee rite will take place on Saturday next, the 10th instant, at 6 o'clock, p.m. at the house of worship in Jorahsanko belonging to the Hindoo Unitarian Association (ব্রাহ্মসমাজ Bruhmah Somaj) to take into consideration what measures should be adopted to express their gratitude for the confirmation by the King in Council on the 11th July last, of the order for suppressing the burning of Hindoo widows issued by the Governor General in Council on the

* *Ibid*, August, 1832.

4th of December 1829 ; and for the dismissal of the appeal made by a portion of the native community against the measure.

It is therefore hoped that all Gentlemen favourable to the abolition of the Suttee rite will favour the Meeting with their presence.*

BYCOONTNATH ROY,
6th November, 1832. RUMANATH TAGORE,
RADHAPRUSAD ROY,
Trustees.

According to advertisement, to consider the propriety of sending an address of thanks to his Majesty, because the abolition by the Indian Government of the custom of our countrywomen being burned with their deceased husbands has been confirmed by his Privy Council in England,—last Saturday evening, the Hindoos who favour the abolition of Suttees formed a Society at the Brahmya Sumaj in Jorashanko, with the permission of the Trustees of that building. The Company began to assemble even before the evening. Of Europeans, Mr. James Pattle, Chief Member of the Sudder Board, Capt. Everest, Mr. David Hare, and several other individuals of distinction, attended, whose names we know not and therefore cannot publish. We can also confidently affirm, that nearly three or four hundred respectable Hindoos came to the meeting.

In the first place, Baboo Radha Prusad Roy proposed that Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor be appointed Chairman of the meeting ; and the motion being seconded by Shreejut Ramchundra Gangopadhya, the Baboo being elected by the unanimous vote of the meeting, rose and respectfully took the chair.

Mr. James Pattle informed the Chairman, that Mr. Alexander Ross, the first Judge of the Sudder, (he will soon come into Council), was exceedingly desirous of attending the meeting, but had been prevented by a previous engagement ; and he had requested Mr. Pattle to communicate this to the Meeting.

The Chairman then rose and said, that the Gentlemen present must be aware of the object of the meeting. When the Governor General Lord William Bentinck abolished the burning of women, certain of our fellow Hindoos through hatred, or for some other reason, had appealed to England. The appeal, however, has been dismissed by the King in Privy Council. Wherefore we the Hindoos now present, have met to send an address of thanks to his Majesty the King in England. What greater cause of congratulation can we have than this, that Mr. James Pattle has attended our meeting, and Mr. Alexander Ross has sent us information that he is prevented coming solely by a particular engagement. Except the Governor General, there is none in higher authority in the Revenue and Judicial Departments than these Gentlemen. Their attendance deserve our best acknowledgements. The presence of these other Gentlemen, likewise, increases our confidence. So anxious are they for the welfare of our country, that they have taken the trouble of coming all this distance. Many other distinguished Gentlemen also have expressed their regret that, from not having notice of the meeting a day earlier, they are unable to atttend on account of

* *Samachar Durpun*, November 10, 1832.

previous engagements. Likewise many Hindoos of the first rank regret, that their private affairs have prevented their attendance; and they have declared their approbation of such an address as will be adopted by this meeting, and their readiness to affix their signatures to it.

Baboo Roy Kaleenath Choudry then rose, and said with much elegance, that for some time the practice of burning women with their deceased husbands has prevailed in our country. We consider it, however, an abominable thing; neither is it stated in the shastras to be a rite of chief importance, as has been shewn by many proofs. It has been continued in our country only by violence and covetousness; and we have not only considered it abominable, but through this burning of feeble women, we have been disgraced and put to shame in the eyes of many. For this reason, foreigners have not only despised, but even abhorred us, because we had not a spark of compassion for our wives. Moreover, through this means, some of our countrymen have even been guilty of their mother's death. But by our British Rulers, this load of disgrace has been removed from us: and why therefore should we not declare that his British Majesty is unequalled in the preservation of the lives, property, and honour of his subjects? Can we refuse to render our thanks to the English people, for this beneficial measure? But in this matter, we are under special obligations to the benevolence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor General in Council; and had we each a thousand mouths we should be unable to declare their praise. When the burning of women was abolished by our compassionate Indian Government, in the XIIth Regulation of 1829, some of our countrymen through opposition appealed to England to obtain its repeal. The appeal has been rejected by the King in Privy Council. We have heard this with thankfulness. By being subjects of the British Government, we have been delivered from this hated and despised practice. It therefore behoves us to offer our address of thanks to his British Majesty. Wherefore I move that an address of thanks be sent to the King of England. Baboo Muthoornath Mullik then rose and seconded the motion of the Roy Choudry Baboo. All the meeting joyfully declared their assent.

Baboo Prusunna Koomar Thakoor next rose and expressed his sentiments by saying: The King of England is our paramount Sovereign indeed; but our country has come into the hands of the Honourable Court of Directors, and to them we are indebted for the care and preservation of our property, lives, and honour. They are therefore the protectors of our country. In the present matter, the Honourable Court of Directors have greatly benefited us; and I cannot conceive it just or proper, that we should be silent on the subject. The Indian Government abolished the burning of women by the XIIth Regulation of 1829; but had the Honourable Court chosen, they could themselves have repealed that Regulation. But instead of doing so, for the preservation of life in this country, they used the greatest exertion to have the appeal dismissed, and sent Counsellors, &c. to the Privy Council. Were we not to thank them, therefore, we must be truly ungrateful. It is not fit then that we should refrain from thanking the Honourable Court. I therefore move that a letter of thanks be sent to them

collectively. This was seconded by Baboo Tarachand Chukerburtee, and unanimously agreed to by the meeting.

Shreejoot Radha Prusad Roy rose, and said: We suffered many kinds of oppression through the indifference of our former rulers, by which not only was our property endangered, but continual attacks were made upon our lives, caste, and religion. Since the accession of the British Government, we have been delivered from all these oppressions, as all acknowledge. But all Hindoos are not unanimous in acknowledging our obligations to the British Government for abolishing the violent murder of women, under the name of suttee. The error of those who are opposed to this measure must be evident, on the smallest consideration. For its unmercifulness is manifest. The son with eagerness burns in the fire the mother who bore him for ten months in her womb, and with all suffering and patience brought him up to years of understanding, whilst she is in perfect health—than which no death can be more agonizing. As a means of keeping this fond mother from escaping from the flaming fire, large bamboos and strong ropes are brought. Are the cruelty and mercilessness of such conduct not manifest to them? Were these opponents unprejudiced, and did they express the real sentiments of their hearts, they would of necessity acknowledge the burning of women to be a cruel practice. Let these opponents then in their hostility say what they please against us (here the speaker adduced various illustrations of the cruelty of this unmerciful practice)—even if the shastras depended for their continuance upon the allowance of this practice, yet if it were by any means abolished, it would become us to declare our joy. It is marvellous, however, that the opposite is the fact. These opponents conceive that our Rulers have laid hands upon the Hindoo religion, because they have abolished this rite. But that is not the case : for a person does no violence to religion who neglects this rite. In the second place, in the administration of criminal justice, the Hindoo shastras have been laid aside since the days of our former rulers. Would the Government be thought to hinder the Hindoo religion, if they opposed human sacrfiices, if they were about to be performed according to the directions of some of the shastras. The abolition of this cruel burning of women has long been an object of anxiety to our compassionate Governors, and was so particularly to Lord Moira ; but from the prejudice of certain Councillors, it would not be effected. Dr. Lushington in the same way endeavoured to lead his Majesty and his Councillors into this error, that if the burning of women were not again allowed in India, there would be insurrections there. But has it not been seen that the drowning of children at Gunga Saugur was prevented by our Rulers, and yet who engaged in insurrection then? And who does not rejoice in the recollection of it? In the same manner many things which our Rulers hold to be cruel and unjust are abolished in opposition to our shastras : and when there were still many Hindoo Princes in the height of their power, although the Hindoo religion was injured without reason by the Moosoolman Rulers, yet no one was able to make any insurrection. Now, when this most cruel practice was mercifully abolished by our gracious Governor General and the Supreme Council, certain of the Hindoos sent an appeal to England, which has been most justly dismissed. It is therefore

most incumbent upon us to send an address of triumphant congratulation to the Originator of this measure. I move, then, that such an address be sent to Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor General in Council. Baboo Ramlochun Ghose then rose to second the motion, and observed : In 1819, when I was Shereestadar in the Civil Court at Patna, the wife of a respectable friend of mine there, was desirous of becoming a suttee, but the Judge, Mr. W. H. Tippet showed great anxiety to prevent her. However he was prevailed upon by my intreaties, and those of the family, not to interfere. When the time of burning arrived, I saw myself that the poor old woman was bound down with bamboos and hemp ropes. From that time, it has been my earnest desire, that this practice might be abolished. Besides, God has placed our country women in a dependent state ; but the Governor Bahadoor has made this Regulation for their deliverance. He therefore deserves nothing but our gratitude. Consider, Gentlemen, how he has heaped up merit in the sight of God the Creator of all. Should any Hindoos say, that the English are invading the Hindoo religion, their opinion is inconsiderate and irrational : for the very name of the prevention of injury and malice is *religion*. How can this burning of women, for which no sufficently contemptuous language can be found, be called and esteemed religion? And how, therefore, can we say that the English are hostile to religion? It is strange, that certain Hindoo Gentlemen, will put their fingers in their ears and run out of the place, when they witness the sacrifice of kids and the like, whilst in this matter they shew not a particle of feeling, unless it be as much as is possible of cruelty. It must certainly be allowed that when the Moosoolmans were our rulers, they committed many acts of violence and injustice for the suppression of our religion. Thus Atoorung Badsha levelled with the ground the temple of Seeb at Benares, and erected a Musjeed in its place, and by force made many Hindoos Moosoolmans, and in many similar ways attempted to overthrow the Hindoo religion. Now, through the favour of the English, our religion is practised without let or hindrance. They have never made any attempt against religion. Wherefore I most freely declare, that the English are worthy of all praise. The Governor General Bahadoor has abolished Suttees : by the Vth Regulation of 1831 he has entrusted Hindoos with the office of Principal Sudder Ameen : and by his other actions we perceive that he is desirous in future of conferring still farther honour upon us. It is therefore impossible to say, what farther claims he may yet have to our gratitude. It connot be said that the Governor Bahadoor has interfered with the Hindoo religion. We ought rather to pray to God, that our present Governor General may continue to rule over our country for many years. It would certainly be for the permanent advantage of the country.

Baboo Shyamlal Thakoor moved that a Committee be appointed to prepare all the addresses both in the Bengalee and the English language ; and that the Committee consist of Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor, Baboo Prusunna Koomar Thakoor, Baboo Kaleenath Roy, Babu Muthoornath Mullik, Baboo Radha Prusad Roy, Baboo Hureehur Dutt, and Shreejoot Ramchundra Beedyabageesh Bhuttacharju. The motion was seconded by Baboo Chundrashekur Deb. The Chairman then observed : It will be necessary to have our addresses prepared both in the English and the Bengalee language, and in the knowledge of both these, I have seen few

equal to Baboo Huruchundra Laheerhee. I believe therefore that he would render us great assistance in this business, and move that he and Baboo Shyamlal Thakoor be chosen members of the Committee. This was seconded by Sreejut Radha Prusad Roy, and unanimously agreed to by the meeting.

Baboo Huruchundra Laheerhee then rose, and said that it gave him the greatest pleasure to be elected a member of the Committee for preparing an address to the King of England.

Baboo Hureehur Dutt said that after what had been said by the previous speakers on this subject, he did not wish to occupy much time. He therefore moved that the addresses to his Majesty and the Honourable Court of Directors be sent to Raja Ram Mohun Roy, and that he be requested to present them himself : likewise that the Committee be authorized to write to other friends in England, that in case the Raja should not be there when the address arrive, they may be presented by some other person. This motion was seconded by Shreejoot Ramchundra Gungopadhya,and unanimously agreed to.

Baboo Chundra Shekur Deb then moved, that as the Raja had devoted much labour to this matter, thanks were likewise due to him. The motion was seconded by Baboo Shyamlal Thakoor, and agreed to by all with great satisfaction.

Sreejut Krishna Mohun Banerjee spoke at great length on this topic, and greatly enlarged on the zealous endeavours of the Raja for the abolition of the evil practices and customs of this country.

After this, when the speeches were all concluded, the Chairman rose and said: We are assembled this evening because of the abolition of widow-burning ; but in Balasore, many men, women, and children of our countrymen are dying through want. Let us therefore, on so joyful an occasion as this, collect a few rupees by subscription. If we can thus give them food for even one evening, it will be a pleasant thing. Certainly if some of our countrymen could collect by subscription nearly thirty thousand Rupees, to send an Englishman to England to gain the burning of living women, no one can imagine, think, or say, that to spend a few rupees to preserve the lives of all those people would be extravagance. Please to observe how much money and labour English Gentlemen are devoting to the relief and preservation of our countrymen. But how melancholy it is, that we find our own countrymen so slack in this business! Baboo Hureehur Dutt seconded this proposal ; and signatures for more than 1,000 Rupees were obtained on the moment. We have not leisure at present to give the names of the subscribers.

Baboo Eeshwur Chundra Mittra, then made a long speech respecting the abolition of widow-burning, the praise of Ram Mohun Roy, and his share in the establishment of the Bramya Sumaj. But as all present were then occupied with the signing of the subscription, we could not fully catch the tenor of his speech.

Baboo Huruchundra Laheerhee then rose and said: I am exceedingly glad that I came to the meeting this evening ; and I would thank the Chairman for the admirable manner in which he has conducted the business of the meeting. Shreejoot Radha Prusad Roy seconded this proposal, and it was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman then rose and respectfully said:—Gentlemen, I am greatly obliged and distinguished by the honour of having been appointed your Chairman: but before the meeting is dissolved, I would with all my heart render thanks to the Sahebs who have attended the meeting, and to those who have contributed to the abolition of those female immolations. This was assented to by all ; and after joyfully expressing their gratitude, the assembly broke up.*

118. Lamentations of the "Samachar Chundrika" on the rejection of the Suttee appeal by the Privy Council. (November 14, 1832).

In anguish and distress, with great grief and affliction, overwhelmed in a sea of sorrow, swimming in a river of tears, we now publish the sad intelligence respecting Suttees. We must communicate this unpropitious news, even although we know it will certainly produce the keenest sorrow and grief of heart in all our readers who are devoted to the Hindoo religion ; for it is the business of a newspaper to publish every thing whether propitious or unpropitious. In particular, there is not a man but is anxious to hear the news about Suttees. Whether they be for or against Suttees, both parties desire to know their victory or defeat. Hence we are constrained to publish this grievous intelligence. On Monday evening, the 5th November last a "Reformer Extraordinary," was published: that is, an Extra of the English Newspaper of Baboo Prusunna Koomar Thakoor, printed and published by Bholanath Sen: and it stated that after the Suttee case had been three days under discussion, it was *dismissed ;* that is, the prayer of the Appellants was not granted.

This statement cannot be unfounded. Prusunna Koomar Thakoor and Bholanath Sen are hostile to Suttees, it is true, and are quite capable through partiality of seeking to distress the pious Hindoos. But on this occasion we cannot doubt them: for this is not a matter of laughter and joke, that they should make an amusing story of it in a newspaper. Besides our belief is confirmed by the expressions of joy which they have used in their paper ; for they have long prayed for the abolition of Suttees. When the Right Honourable Lord William Bentinck published his Regulation, the Thakoor Baboo with some others addressed his Lordship with thanks. Wherefore if the Regulation had been set aside, their grief would have been a thousand times as great as that now experienced by the Hindoos. As that is not the case, but their prayer is granted, nothing can exceed their joy. Be that as it may: since the Suttee Appeal has been dismissed all the persons will reflect:—

"If a mother administers poison——a father sells his son——or the King commits injustice——then from whom is deliverance to be obtained?"

By considering this, the burning in the hearts of our great men will be extinguished, through this immortal water of instruction. What other refuge is there? Were there any Court superior to the Privy Council, all would have exerted themselves to apply to it, as is proved by what was done before.

**Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, November 24, 1832.

It was reported in November 1829, that a draft was prepared of a Regulation by the Governor General to abolish suttees, and the Regulation would soon be passed. Having heard this in some way or other, in great distress and anxiety a petition was prepared, to beg that his Excellency would not pass such a Regulation ; and all the chief men, that is, 800 persons signed it: and having obtained a precept from the most eminent pundits, with proofs from the Vedas and other shastras, that concremation was a true piece of holiness: they presented them to His Excellency. When he had read the petition and the precept, he sent for eight or ten of those eight hundred, and at a sitting of the Council pronounced ; "I shall not abolish this Regulation". When they had received this severe answer, all the godly considered whether there was any other means of redress, and saw it right to make an appeal to His Majesty in England. All the chief people of the three Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with one consent stated at large their distress through the injury done to their religion, and sent to England a petition with the shastras on the subject. The godly exhibited the greatest zeal, in heart and hand, in sending this petition to England, and thought nothing of the spending of their money. They did whatever was required. An English Attorney went from this country, and engaged in this cause the first Counsellors. Their knowledge, skill, and labour too have been abundantly manifest. In fact, no one has failed to do his utmost: and for the cause why our prayer has been unsuccessful, we must refer to the verse quoted above.

When such an injury against religion as this is committed, we must conclude that justice has departed from the earth. All Hindoos on hearing this intelligence will now weep and lament ; but who will care that the rivers of their tears flow? On the contrary their opponents who wish the overthrow of religion embarking in a vessel of joy on this river, will go to the Judges who favour them and say, that many rivers are flowing from the weeping of the Hindoos, and therefore it is very distressing to stay in their country: in such an extremity, therefore, will not the King command, at once to clear away the very sources of those rivers? If such a command be given, all must of course sit still in silence. This attack upon religion has been made in the reign of his present Majesty. Wherefore if any other rite be attacked, no one will be able to raise a cry, for no one will be able to shew any way of petitioning ; because as this has been the result of an appeal when the rite of suttee was by force abolished, so hereafter an appeal must be made to the same King and the same Privy Councillors. There is now no farther good for the Hindoos. When the order of the Governor General was passed, there was yet hope that He who was the sovereign of the country would certainly have compassion upon his subjects. Now it is ascertained that in the Kingdom of England, compassion is extinct. Besides, if Hindoos had any other place to which they could go, they might prolong their lives in the observance of their religion. But there is no such place ; and as long as they have a Hindoo soul, they cannot go elsewhere ; for it is said in the shastras: "Our mother and our native land are better to us than heaven". Wherefore it is not the custom of Hindoos to go to other countries. Neither can they rise in insurrection: that is certain. Had they possessed the ability to do so, the Moosoolman princes could not have come and overthrown the Hindoos. Wherefore in that way their valour and power were

displayed ; and had the Government been aware of its existing in the smallest degree, they would never have published this Regulation. If it be said, can the same compassion be expected from violence, which follows a humble and submissive petition to the King? We reply that through acquaintance with this, all Hindoos are exceedingly submissive to Government, and never give opposition to their commands. In this mind they sent their petition all the way to England. The Hindoos had never sent a complaint to England ; but they had submitted to many grievances. Those related however only to money matters ; and a small temporal injury was sustained by them. If Government were to plunder the Hindoos of all their wealth, and only leave them food and clothing, yet they are not a race to rebel on such an account. The Hindoos are now rebelling in heart, because of the injury done to religion. This cannot be doubted. But Government will not be able to see any rivers of blood. There is no doubt, however, that they will see many wonderful, unheard of, unthought of marvels—such as conflagrations, inundations, drought, deluging rain, famine, plague, lightnings, the bursting of the heavens, variances, confusions, and such like calamities. The Hindoos can now only appeal to Him who is Lord of the King ; and when they rebel, they have no farther power.*

119. Editorial remarks of the "Samachar Durpun" in criticism of the above. (November 14, 1832).

It is a rule with us to reserve all extracts from the Native Papers for our Saturday's Durpun ; but our poor friend the *Chundrika* is so sad about the abolition of Suttees, that we quite pity him. We have therefore allowed him to give vent to his lamentations in our paper of to-day ; and we hope his heart will thus be relieved of much of its sorrow, for it is a great comfort at all times, to be permitted to tell our griefs. Considering all things, we think the doleful lament of the Chundrika is as moderate as could well be expected ; and his conclusion is exceedingly reasonable. We perfectly agree with him, that the Hindoos will not be guilty of any rebellion. Dr. Lushington and others did them great injustice, when they threatened that they would be provoked to insurrection by the final abolition of Suttees. There will most certainly be no such thing. They will obey the laws, pay their taxes, and bless the Government that protects them from oppression, as they have done hitherto: and in a short time one of the chief themes of their gratitude and praise will be, that the Government more compassionate than themselves have tied up their hands from murdering their poor wives and helpless daughters.

The Editor of the Chundrika says that the decision of the Suttee question, is not a matter of laughter and jest : and here too we agree with him. It is a matter of most solemn joy—of unbounded blessing to India. But our friend of the Chundrika really tempts us extremely to laughter and jesting by the manner in which he treats of it. According to him Lord William Bentinck has no compassion—and the King's Councillors have no compassion—and the King himself

* *Samachar Chundrika,* quoted by *Samachar Durpun,* November 14, 1832.

has no compassion—and the whole English nation are without compassion: but why? Because their armies are ordered to go and lay waste India with fire and sword—to carry off the wives of the Hindoos, and butcher their children before their eyes—or to take from them their possessions, and drive them out as wanderers to a foreign land? Not at all: but because they insist upon saving the wives and daughters of the Hindoos from a most cruel, cruel death ! Is it credible, that any Hindoo father can take his little infant daughter in his arms, and weep over her innocent and smiling face with this lamentation—"Ah joy of my heart, to what misery art thou doomed! It can never be that thou wilt be burnt alive ! A cruel King has forbidden it ! Oh what sorrow that these limbs can never quiver in the agonies of a horrible death ! Woe is me, that thou wilt never have an opportunity of screaming out thy life in the anguish of the flames!" Is there, we ask, a Hindoo father capable of uttering such a lament as this? Surely it cannot be. Hindoos have hearts like other men, although mistaken opinions have long hardened them. Now their hearts will learn to feel as the hearts of others feel : and, we repeat it, in a few short years, the Hindoos themselves will be the most loud in blessing and praising the English Government for having even by force saved their wives and daughters.

The Government needs not our vindication, else they should have it to the utmost of our ability. We can find no words adequately to express our gratitude to Lord Bentinck, to His Majesty's Ministers, and to His Majesty himself. With our whole souls we abhor the shedding of blood—and above all the blood of poor defenceless women ; and therefore in proportion we exult in their lives being secured. We have looked on, we have wept over, women doomed to perish on the funeral pile ; and now, God be praised, that we shall never have to do so again!

We have said that the conclusion of the Chundrika is exceedingly reasonable. He says the Hindoos will make their appeal to the great Sovereign of Kings. They cannot do better. There too we would leave the cause. And may God, in infinite mercy, avert both from the Hindoos, and their Rulers, all evil, and bless them with all good!*

120. Congratulatory remarks of the "Reformer" on the rejection of the Suttee appeal to England. (November 17, 1832).

We hasten to congratulate the *liberal* portion of our countrymen on this happy event—one of the NOBLEST TRIUMPHS ever achieved in the cause of HUMANITY. We have not been deceived in the result. England is and ever will be the first in the cause of freedom and Humanity. The triumph is Glorious! ! Rejoice.

Ye Widows of India ! ! ! Your wishes, the wishes of all who love their country, of all who have one spark of philanthropy in their bosoms, are now accomplished : the first step towards liberality has met with deserved and triumphant success, and the name of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, the names of

* *Samachar Durpun*, November 14, 1832.

all who advocated the cause of the Widow and of Humanity will descend to posterity amidst the blessings of millions. No longer shall the smoke of the kindling pile, blackened with deeds unnatural, sully the fair face of heaven : no longer, shall legalized murder stalk through the land, blasting the fair forms of those beings whom heaven gave us for our comfort and our solace through the pilgrimage of life !—no longer shall the graves of the departed be dishonoured by crime foul and unnatural!—The bigot may lament his defeat: but every heart of feeling, every friend of humanity, every true Hindoo will Rejoice! ! !*

121. Remarks of the "Samachar Chundrika" in criticism of the above decision of the authorities in rejecting the Suttee appeal. (November 17, 1832).

Having learned from the *Reformer* that the Suttee Appeal to England has been dismissed, we published the intelligence on Thursday, the 24th Kartik last. We have since learned by a letter from Mr. Bathie to the Dhurma Subha, that the information is correct. A small alleviation, however, has now been received, of the distress of the holy Hindoos. For we yet hope in a very short time, to be able to inform our readers of the means adopted, through the zeal of Mr. Bathie and the wisdom of Dr. Lushington, to have a new and just decision in this case, and that injury may not be done to the Hindoo religion. The letter of Mr. Bathie now received, and a copy of Dr. Lushington's representation presented to His Majesty's Council immediately after the Appeal had been dismissed, have been taken away for examination by some members of the Dhurma Subha, who were not present at the meeting on Wednesday last. They will shortly be returned to the Secretary, and we hope to publish them as soon as they are received.

The substance of what took place on the trial of this cause before the Privy Council, has been published in the English newspapers. And although we have not received all the papers respecting it, yet an account of the speeches of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Drinkwater on one day, occupying forty written pages, has arrived. From it we learn, that of the ten members of the Privy Council, six exhibited decided hostility to the cause of Suttees. For Dr. Lushington silenced the Counsellors and Solicitors of the Company, and the Lords, by his excellent reply. No reason can be discovered why they should dismiss the cause. For the Regulation was made on the ground that it (the Suttee) was not enjoined in the shastras ; but it was proved by the precepts to be a part of the shastras. The Counsel on the other side had said that the Company had a right to make Regulations respecting the Hindoo religion ; but on the contrary Dr. Lushington proved that from the Act of Parliament it could not be shewn that the Company had any such right. Moreover four of the ten Lords who sat in the Privy Council said that the Regulation against Suttees must be rescinded, otherwise great injustice would be done: but six were against them ; and the opinion of the majority, according to English law, is valid. Hence people must say, that this Regulation has been forcibly maintained against the poor Hindoo subjects.

Even the opponents of Suttees, if they judge impartially, must acknowledge that injustice has been done ; for they are not ignorant of Courts. But they

*_Reformer_, quoted by _Samachar Durpun_, November 17, 1832.

have determined that Suttees are evil, and therefore you may say what you please. Had such a decision been given in any other cause, would they not have declared that it was unjust. The Hindoo subjects will now all judge in this way—that after the Moosoolmans had committed many outrages, they at last set themselves to overthrow religion, and they were removed. After having experienced many sufferings under the government of the Moosoolmans, we had coolness (quiet) for a short time under the Mlechas. Now we perceive they are about to inflict upon us still greater evils. For one or two of the Viziers of the former inconsiderately gave distress ; and afterwards when a considerate one succeeded that distress was removed: but their sovereign never made a law that this rite should be abolished. These (the present rulers) enact a regulation that this practice shall never be again allowed. Wherefore we may truly say, they do a worse injury than the Moosoolmans. The preservation of the Hindoo religion, therefore, is in great danger: for since one Regulation made by the Company Bahadoor respecting religion has been confirmed by the King, they will hereafter have abundant confidence to make a Regulation for the abolition of whatever they may take a dislike to. It is not therefore to be doubted, that by degrees they will entirely abolish the whole of religion. How unfortunate are the Hindoos, that their Sovereign, who preserved his subjects like a father, should like an enemy take a sword in hand to destroy the Hindoo religion. The impious enemies of our religion now say, "Go and die by the Ganges": and so, indeed, Hindoos would do well to do. Only they would be guilty of the sin of suicide: and for fear of this none will be able to do it. But it would be better than living deprived of religion.*

122. Another account of the meeting of congratulation on the abolition of the Suttee in the Brahmo Samaj. (November 17, 1832).

On Saturday evening last, those Gentlemen who rejoice in the abolition of Suttees, met and formed a distinguished Committee in the public Hall of the Bramhyu Sumaj. Its President was Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor. The first question proposed to the eminent European and Native Gentlemen present was, what is your wish should be done in expressing our thanks to the King of England and the Privy Council, to whom we owe it, that we have been gladdened by the joyful intelligence just arrived from England, that the most abominable crime of female murder has been abolished? All present with the greatest delight united in the sentiment, that it was most necessary it should be done. It was then unanimously agreed that thanks should also be given to the Court of Directors. It was inquired in the third place, whether thanks ought not to be given to the most benevolent Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, with whom the matter of our joy originated? And to this all gave their full assent, that it was most proper. The fourth proposition was: What is your wish respecting the committing to Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the Addresses to the two Authorities before mentioned in England? This too was assented to with much pleasure by the Assembly. It was particularly resolved, that it was most necessary to render

**Samachar Chundrika,* quoted by *Samachar Durpun,* November 17, 1832.

thanks to Raja Ram Mohun Roy because of his labours for the abolition of female murder, and the abuse he had received from their merciless murderers: and to this the Chairman instantly gave his consent. After the discussion on these points was concluded, for the assistance of those who are now perishing of want through the dreadful calamities in the South, the compassionate Chairman, Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor thus addressed the meeting: "If you are willing for the relief of those wretched people, to write down your subscriptions at this meeting, let us now make a subscription paper." There was not a person at the meeting so hard-hearted as to object to this. On the contrary, those gentlemen who have already this year subscribed to save the lives of those unfortunate people, were the first to subscribe now. We cannot now give the names of the subscribers, as we fear they would occupy too much space. The Editor of the Cowmoodee will no doubt publish them. In this matter we must render praise to Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor, for he has sought to obtain relief for those distressed people both from his own means and through others. If the Gentlemen connected with the Dhurma Subha were to shew similar compassion, their deliverance from their distress, might be secured. If it be said they are now in sorrow, and it would therefore be very difficult immediately to raise a new subscription for the poor and needy. We reply, they could do it without any new subscription, for they have now a balance of the money they begged for Suttees ; and if this were given they would confer life upon the afflicted. One or two of the chief contributors to the Suttee subscription have said before us, that they must have an account of the proportion of their subscriptions that has been spent, and the proportion still in existence. But if the remaining balance were given to this object, the Secretary would be saved the trouble of such a calculation. Besides they might consider that such a gift would be a sort of atonement for them. They will do what they deem proper. We have another cause of great satisfaction: Baboo Shyamlal Thakoor, and Baboo Huruchundra Laheerhee (both members of the above Subha) made this declaration, that they now conceive concremation to be an abominable practice: and the meeting were gratified by their consenting to become members of the Committee.*

123. Editorial remarks of the "Samachar Durpun" in approval of the above proceedings. (November 17, 1832).

Amongst our extracts from the Native Papers will be found an account of the Meeting held at the Hall of the Bramhyu Sumaj, at which thanks were voted to His Majesty and his Ministers, to the Court of Directors, Lord William Bentinck, and Raja Ram Mohun Roy, for the several parts they have taken in securing the abolition of Suttees. We have taken this account from the Gyanunweshun ; and it renders any other unnecessary. The conduct of the meeting deserves the highest commendation. They have rendered praise to those to whom praise was due: and their praise springs evidently from the gratitude of generous minds, and is not the adulation of sycophancy. Nothing could be more appropriate at such a meeting, than the proposal of Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor to raise a subscription

* *Gyananweshun*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, November 17, 1832.

for the relief of the sufferers at Balasore. He has done himself infinite honour by it ; and we rejoice that his proposal met with so cordial a reception. Not the least interesting feature of the meeting, was the adherence to its sentiments of Baboo Shyamlal Thakoor and Baboo Huru-chundra Laheerhee, who formerly gave their support to the measures of the Dhurma Subha. Now, however, they rejoice that those very measures which they supported, have proved unsuccessful. We have always said, that the Hindoos generally would in their hearts rejoice in the abolition of Suttees ; and here is a convincing proof, that we spoke what was fact. Indeed no pretence of religion can conceal from any man, that the death of a poor broken-hearted woman upon the funeral pile is a most monstrous cruelty. The Hindoos who feel it to be so, will now we hope come boldly forward, like the above mentioned Baboos, and openly declare their sentiments. To cling to the defence of Suttees now is perfectly useless: and we trust that neither that scorn of every Christian, and wonder of every Hindoo, the attorney Bathie, nor yet the Editor of the Chundrika, will be able to persuade any of the Hindoos to waste more of their money upon this hopeless business. They may talk about fresh petitions as they like, and the attorney's mouth may water after fresh fees, and the Chundrika's fingers may itch for fresh subscriptions ; but they know well that there is no appeal from the Privy Council—not even to the King himself. And to ask the Privy Council to revise its own decision, would be an insult which certainly would not be submitted to.*

124. Remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the conduct of those Privy Councillors who voted for the continuation of the Suttee. (November 17, 1832).

We hear that the only Privy Councillors who voted for the continuation of Suttees were Lord Amherst, and Messrs. Leech, Grant and Graham. It is difficult to conjecture what might be the motives which actuated the three latter gentlemen, but Lord Amherst's conduct is intelligible enough. Unless he believed or pretended to believe in the dangerous consequences likely to ensue from the abolition, he would pass a very plain censure on his own government for not performing an act of humanity repeatedly urged upon him, and which his successor has accomplished without difficulty, and without any other terrible consequence than the mission of a half-witted Attorney. In saying, *pretended to believe*, we do not mean to insinuate that Lord Amherst was not perfectly sincere in his apprehensions of the danger of interference during his residence in this country, of which he knew just as much as those about him chose to tell him and no more. But at this time, two full years after a single stroke of the pen had swept away (for ever we trust) this barbarous rite, when he must have known that not a finger had wagged in all India against the government on this account, though the country was not free from disturbances from other causes ; we think it impossible that at this time Lord Amherst, little as he knows of India, could sincerely believe in the possibility of danger. Neither can we believe that his opinion could have been grounded on a principle which might mislead some, namely, the stipulated non-interference in matters of religion. We must therefore conclude,

**Samachar Durpun*, November 17, 1832.

that if we are correctly informed as to the vote of this nobleman, it has been given in defence of his own policy.*

125. Remarks of the "Samachar Durpun" in criticism of the charges of the "Samachar Chundrika" against the British Government on the rejection of the Suttee Appeal. (November 21, 1832).

Our readers, we doubt not, must have felt no small surprize on reading the observations of the *Chundrika,* which we published in the *Durpun* of Saturday last. We never before heard of a Hindoo, who thought of preferring the rule of the Moosoolmans to that of the English. On the contrary, we have heard many of them most feelingly contrast the state of dread and oppression in which they formerly lived, with their present security and peace. Then, if a man was possessed of any thing whatever, his great concern was to conceal it, that it might not be taken from him: but now, every one can openly and heartily enjoy whatever Providence has blessed him with. And the *Chundrika* thinks this is a change for the worse! His reason for this conclusion is very singular. He says, in fact, that the Moosulmans oppressed their subjects, little or much, according to the disposition of the man who happened to be in authority. That is, we suppose, if the Moosulman ruler was avaricious, he oppressed the Hindoos in their property ; if he was licentious in the violation of their homes ; if he was bigoted, in their religion ; if he combined all these vices in himself, he oppressed them every way: but if he had but one sort of vice they experienced but one sort of oppression: and if he were a miracle of a man, who had no vice at all then for a time they had no oppression of any kind—and we wonder, how often that happened. But reasons the *Chundrika,* the English oppress the Hindoos not according to the disposition of the immediate Governor ; and it cannot matter, therefore, whether he be good or bad. They oppress according to the provisions of a regularly enacted and published Regulation: and therefore their oppression is much more than that of the Moosoolmans. Now we are so stupid, we cannot see the force of this argument. The *Chundrika* does not pretend that the English interfere with the Hindoo religion to the extent the Moosoolmans did: but they have interfered with it ; and their interference is shaped into a Regulation. Hence it is known with what portion of religion they will interfere, to what extent they will interfere, and for what reason they interfere. The English Government have told the Hindoos: "It is our business to protect the lives, property, and worldly interests of all our subjects, be they men, women, or children. But we find that according to a long established practice, which has become in your opinion sacred, many poor women are put to a cruel death, and many fatherless children also are made motherless, and thus are left to grow up in the midst of a cruel world, unguarded from vice, and unprotected from injustice. Our duty therefore will not allow us to permit this any longer. We must protect the widow and the orphan from so great and crying a wrong. Not for our own advantage, but for the good of the poor and the wretched, we command that there be no more suttees. We leave widows full liberty to obey the injunctions of the shastras in

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* quoted by *Calcutta Courier,* November 17, 1832.

living in self-denial all the days of their widowhood ; but we take from them the option of so neglecting their duty as to abandon the children who have now no friends to look to but them".

Thus the English Government have founded their interference with the Hindoo religion upon reason and benevolence, and not upon mere power and self-interest: they have in a public Regulation distinctly prescribed both the object and the extent of their interference. And yet the *Chundrika* says they are worse oppressors than the Moosoolmans! Who will give heed to a man who talks at random in this style?*

126. Editorial remarks of the "Samachar Durpun" in praise of the proceedings of the Brahmo Samaj meeting on the rejection of the Suttee Appeal. (November 24, 1832).

When we published the brief account of the late meeting at the Bramya Sumaj, which appeared in the Gyanunweshun, we did not intend to insert any farther particulars. But the Cowmoodee has given so full and so very interesting a Report of the meeting, that, notwithstanding its length, we cannot hesitate to lay it before our readers. The Report is admirably drawn up, and the speakers appear to have distinguished themselves by no small share of eloquence and feeling. We do not recollect any meeting the Hindoos ever held, which was so eminently honourable to them. The sentiments expressed, and the measures adopted at the meeting, were alike deserving of the highest praise.

The Editor of the Chundrika, we observe, ridicules the idea of the Gentlemen present being called *respectable*—"if age and wealth constitute respectability". None but himself will dispute their respectability, after perusing the report of the *Cowmoodee.* On the contrary, it is manifest that so respectable a meeting of the Dhurma Subha has not yet been held. The test of respectability which will generally be adopted, is the subscription for the relief of the distress at Balasore. If the Secretary of the Dhurma Subha, at the next meeting of that Society, can obtain a larger subscription for this charitable purpose than was made at the late meeting ; we shall begin to think they may lay claim to some share of respectability : for we would associate that term with good deeds rather than either age or wealth. The Secretary must not tell us, that the directors of the Dhurma Subha have already subscribed to the Balasore Fund. So had many of the Gentlemen whose example we recommend to him. Indeed, we believe, the Thakoor Baboos alone had previously subscribed about as much, as all the members of the Dhurma Subha together. We make these observations in friendship : for many very estimable men are connected with the Dhurma Subha, whom nothing but strong prejudice could have led to associate for so bad a purpose: and now that they are of necessity deprived of what they voluntarily disgraced themselves with, we shall rejoice exceedingly to see them devoting their attention to such things as will both benefit others, and do honour to themselves. Had they succeeded in their appeal, we do not know how we could have been ever reconciled to them. But as their labours have proved fruitless, we are

* *Samachar Durpun*, November 21, 1832.

disposed to seek excuses for their faults, and to give them all possible credit for any excellences they may exhibit. They shall always have our aid in every thing by which India can be benefited, as freely and cordially as if they had never been connected with the Dhurma Subha at all.*

127. A good counsel for the "Samachar Chundrika". (December 15, 1832).

Since the dismissal of the Suttee cause the Editor of the Chundrika has sometimes been crying and sometimes bragging, like a man bereft of sense. In his fits of grief he conducts himself like a reckless person; and then in impatience he engages in what is beyond his power, and at last tumbles into deep affliction. Wherefore we warn the Editor of the Chundrika not to plunge into a rebellious proceeding, through the excess of his great distress: for we take the import of what he wrote in the Chundrika on Monday, the 2d. instant, to be, that in his heart he has purposed to commit rebellion. Dr. Lushington having said at the Suttee trial, that if the rite were abolished the Hindoos would rebel ; on this the Chundrika observes: "We declare that Dr. Lushington has with great discernment judged right; he has spoken the opinion of a wise man. If then by fate no war or such like should occur ; yet, who could predict that? A judicious opinion is still worthy of regard, &c."

Reply: From this our readers can judge whether the Editor of the Chundrika is desirous of rebellion or not. If then no insurrection occur, it must arise from the good fortune of the Government. We therefore exhort the Editor, if he is thinking of so impracticable a scheme, at once to give it up, and never again to let such a word escape from his lips. For he must well know how many Moosoolmans were destroyed when the Fukeer Teetoo Meer engaged in this sort of work, and how his own head was dragged into this city by his long beard. He is neither fukeer nor vizier, and has not particular qualification whatever. The other Hindoos, we conceive, will never take part in so hopeless an undertaking. Why then should the Editor of the Chundrika by such language exasperate the Government? Let him leave with the Almighty what he has intrusted to him. Or let him perform devotions over a corpse at the place of burning, or lift up his hands in the waste jungles, and with such austerities offer up his prayers that God may give them ability to murder their women. Then if God's will be that women should be murdered, he will undoubtedly grant the Editor's prayer.†

128. Remarks of the "Gynanweshun" in refutation of some of the false statements of the "Samachar Chundrika" against the proceedings of the Brahmo Samaj meeting. (December 15, 1832).

When the John Bull gave a correct account of the meeting which was held at the Bramhya Sumaj on the 13th July last, the Chundrika indignantly replied:

**Ibid*, November 24, 1832.
† *Gyananweshun*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, December 15, 1832.

"After particular inquiry we have to state, that none were there except those who are accustomed to frequent the place." Reply: We can truly affirm that many attended on that day to declare their joy, who were never present at the regular meetings of the Sumaj. It is unnecessary to particularize other names, as the Editor has published in his own paper that Baboo Huruchunder Lahurhee, and Baboo Shyamlal Thakoor attended the meeting. Besides, in vexation at their attendance, he has published in the Chundrika a groundless letter with the signature of the Lahurhee Baboo. He cannot say that the Lahurhee, a Director of the Dhurma Subha, even before attended the Brumha Subha. Why then did he say that there were none but such as were accustomed to attend? Upright men will see from this, in what way the Editor of the Chundrika speaks the truth. Again he says, that "if 200 or 250 persons were present in that house, there would be no more room." Reply: Two hundred and thirty-six chairs were that day ranged in rows in the hall, and not one of them was unoccupied. Besides, on the north and south sides of that long room many were standing, in many places crowded two three deep; and on the east side, where about eighty persons may be accomodated, not one could find a place to sit down; on the west side, too, a great number were standing. Hence it may be judged how many more than 250 attended. Yet the Chundrika says, that there would be no room if 200 or 250 were present. It thus appears that so far from commending an opponent, he cannot even bear to hear the truth. Otherwise, why did he write such a falsehood? The substance of his third assertion is that Mr. James Pattle, and not Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor, was the chairman of the meeting. The reason why Mr. Pattle was chairman of the meeting he states to be, that it is certain that as long as he is present, than whom none more eminent is in the assembly, there can be no president of less distinction. Reply : After all were seated, Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor rose and addressing the above-mentioned Gentleman said, "These have done me the honour to elect me to be their Chairman". This declaration of the Baboo we heard with our own ears. Wherefore if Mr. Pattle had been president, the Baboo could never have addressed him in this style. If, too, it be a thing understood that the most distinguished person present is always the president of a meeting ; then, as many distinguished Englishmen visit the houses of many wealthy persons at the Doorga pooja and other occasions, are they to be considered the presidents at such assemblies? The little wits which the Editor of the Chundrika had, appear to have been lost through his grief for the abolition of woman-murder. He does not know how or what he writes. When a man fails in his projects, does he not at once fall into confusion? What offence has Baboo Dwarkanath Thakoor done him, that it should pierce him like an arrow that he was elected Chairman? Be that as it may, we suppose the Editor has determined, since the abolition of Suttees, that he will not speak truth even in mistake.*

**Gyananweshun*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, December 15, 1832.

129. An account of the ruptures in the Dhurma Subha party. (December 22, 1832).

From what we hear, we imagine that the Party of the Dhurma Subha is splitting: for Baboo Bhugubutee Churn Mittra having been particularly zealous for the establishment of Suttees is much grieved by the intelligence of their abolition ; yet we learn that his daughter has been married to Baboo Govinda Chundra Roy, the nephew of Baboo Muthoornath Mullik of Andool. It is well known that the Mullik Baboo considers Suttees to be a great abomination ; and Dewan Ramtunoo Roy, the brother of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, who for his pre-eminence in the prevention of Suttees has been called the *opponent of Suttees* by the women-burners, being in the train of the bridegroom was present in the marriage party. Thus sharing the entertainments of all those opponents of Suttees and partizans of the Brumha Subha, the Mittra Baboo has given his daughter to a bridegroom of the party of the Sutee-haters. Baboo Huruchundre Laheerhee having been present at the Brumha Subha, the Editor of the Chundrika, in great distress, published a letter with the signature of the Baboo, to inspire his readers with the idea that the Baboo did not attend that Subha. He cannot however print in the Chundrika any letter signed by Baboo Bhagubutee Churn Mittra saying that the Mittra Baboo's daughter has not been married to Govinda Chundra Roy ; for that was done with all sorts of drumming and noise, and if the Mittra Baboo be provoked the Secretaryship may come into jeopardy. The Laheerhee Baboo may treat with contempt the statement about his attendance ; but were the story of the marriage to be denied, the Mittra Baboo would certainly not keep silence. The Secretary in his grief may now say what he likes in his heart ; but let him publish nothing more in his paper about the cessation of all intercourse with the opponents of Suttees. For the Bhugubuttee is a very learned and religious man ; and since he acts in this manner the artifices of the opposing parties will be of no farther avail.*

130. Suttee Memorial by Mr. Bathie to the King in Council. (January 16, 1833).

To

The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

The Humble Memorial of Francis Bathie, Solicitor at Calcutta, in the East Indies, at present in London, as the constituted Attorney of the above Petitioners and of the Dhurma Subha, or Hindoo Religious Society at Calcutta.

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That your Memorialist, on behalf of your Majesty's Native Hindoo subjects who have petitioned and appealed to your Majesty in Council against a certain Regulation passed by the Governor General in Council in Bengal on the 4th day of

**Gyananweshun*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, December 22, 1832.

December, 1829, "whereby the practice of Suttee is declared illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts", has received intimation of the decision which it has pleased your Majesty in Council to pronounce after hearing for three several days by their respective Counsel the Petitioner against, and the Honorable East India Company in support of the Regulations in question.

That your Memorialist ventures most humbly to represent on behalf of his constituents to your Majesty in Council his deep felt apprehension that the mere dismissal of the Appeal and Complaint of your Majesty's faithful Hindoo Subjects will, unless accompanied by some explanation, occasion great alarm to the Petitioners and your Majesty's Hindoo subjects in general: and being satisfied from the general tenor of his communications and instructions of the probability of this result, he humbly deems it to be his duty to state the same to your Majesty for your royal consideration. He therefore represents to your Majesty that the Petition and complaint herein before presented was founded not only upon a conviction on the part of your Majesty's Hindoo subjects that the Regulation in question was an interference by the Local Government of India with the religious rites and faith of Hindoos, in violation of the uniform policy and assurance of the British Government, but also upon the serious apprehension that the Regulation will be a precedent for future interference by the same Local Government, in their religious observances. From a knowledge of the very strong and general impression which prevails amongst the Hindoo race, your Memorialist, therefore, fears that this decision, unless accompanied by some gracious assurance by your Majesty in Council, to your Majesty's faithful Hindoo subjects, that their religious rites, ceremonies, and custom, shall have British tolerance and protection, will create universal consternation and dismay, and greatly tend to alienate the confidence and affections of the Natives from the Local Government. These consequences your Memorialist apprehends will inevitably result unlesss by your Majesty's authority precautions are adopted to prevent the regulation in question (though not annulled by your Majesty in Council) from being hereafter held up as a precedent authorising the Local Government of India to alter the Religion and interfere with the religious rites and ceremonies observed by your Majesty's Native subjects in India, and enjoined in their sacred writings, though the same may not be in accordance with British Laws or British notions and feelings.

Your Memorialist deeply sensible how much such a gracious assurance by your Majesty in Council on this solemn occasion of the first Appeal to this august tribunal, would be received with awe and respect, by the whole Native population of India, and how greatly it would tend to tranquilize their minds and secure a continuance of their devoted reliance on British government and protection, cannot depart this country to meet his constituents the aforesaid Dhurma Subha, a Hindoo Religious Society at Calcutta, without imploring your Majesty to condescend to grant some gracious assurance of your Majesty's determination to preserve from aggression or interference the religion of your Majesty's Hindoo subjects—your Memorialist not doubting that such a gracious assurance would be received with the sincerest gratitude by the aforesaid Dhurma Subha, or Religious Society, who will instantly disseminate this proof of your Majesty's parental care over the vast

extent of your Majesty's dominions in India, producing amongst upwards of ninety millions of subjects, now gloomy and distrustful—loyalty and affection towards your Majesty's person and government, and securing confidence and respect for the Local Government in India.

And your Memorialist shall as in duty bound ever pray, &c.*

(Signed) F. BATHIE.

131. A native correspondent on the condition of Hindoo females. (December, 1830).

If the British Indian Government, after having mercifully extended its protecting arm over Hindoo females, to prevent them from burning on the funeral piles of their husbands, should remain indifferent to the causes which often led them to the determination of ending a life of misery in this inhuman manner, it will not have fulfilled the expectations which such a glorious measure has raised. Among other circumstances which tend to make the condition of a Hindoo female extremely miserable, the two principal are the marriage of Kooleens, or persons considered of high birth, and the receiving large sums of money in return for daughters, sisters, or other female relatives given in marriage. These Kooleens are generally an ignorant, unprincipled, and unfeeling race, destitute of property. Their alliances are eagerly sought after, and bought with large sums, on account of the honour which their intermarriage with a family is supposed to confer upon it. Thus, finding marriage a source of considerable pecuniary gain, they often have a great many wives, who being generally left with their paternal or maternal relations, in a state of wretched dependence on them for support, have frequently, from a wish to better their condition, been induced to lead immoral lives, or desirous to put an end to their misery, have resorted to the funeral pile of their husbands ; and now that that mode of suicide which they considered as authorized by religion, has been abolished, they will perhaps have recourse to some other. There are others again, not Kooleens, who are obliged in many cases to pay for wives, and the practice of demanding and receiving considerable sums for daughters or near female relatives given in marriage, has prevailed to an enormous extent. Mercenary motives often make a man blind to the defects and vices of the persons to whom he parts with his female offspring. Money will procure wives to the lame, the blind, the idiot, and the lunatic. Can there possibly be a state of society more conducive to the misery of the female sex. Thus united in wedlock, a woman has no taste but of the bitterness of life, and if prevented by the strength of her virtue, or by other considerations from swerving out of the path of chastity, or from laying violent hands upon herself during the life of her husband, after his death she often gladly avails herself of the opportunity thus furnished her under the cover of religion of terminating an

*India Gazette, January 16, 1833.

existence, which she does not wish to be prolonged, having only learnt to identify it, in a manner, with misery itself.

Both these practices however are diametrically opposed to the Hindoo religion. In a small tract published in 1822 by the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy on the rights of Hindoo females, are found some passages quoted from various ancient Hindoo works of great authority prohibiting polygamy, except under certain circumstances, and the sale of daughters and female relatives. The republication of them here with the learned author's remarks on the evils produced by these practices, will, it is hoped, be sufficient to satisfy the public.

The author, in page 8 of his tract, says—

"Some of them (the Hindoos) especially Brahmuns of high birth . . . . and the distress of female sex in Bengal and the number of suicides would have been necessarily very much reduced".

In page 12 he says—

"In the practice of our contemporaries . . . . . . are exposed to be given in marriage to individuals who have already several wives and have no means of maintaining them".

The *Sumachar Durpun* of the 4th instant contains some judicious observations of the Editor on the subject here treated, made in allusion to a letter which appeared in that paper, signed "An unmarried Brahmun". The Editor describes the system as a crying evil, and recommends that the leading members of society in Bengal (meaning of course Hindoo society) should join in a petition to government, pointing out the hardship and the mode of removing it. It would indeed be extremely gratifying, but it can hardly be expected yet, to see the people of this country join in such a petition.

The Government which out of compassion for the fate of Hindoo women, has adopted an equally bold and decisive measure to save them from the flaming pile, ought to take proper steps for rendering their condition such as not to induce them to commit the same violence to their lives only in a different mode and in secrecy, with the disadvantage of the absence of that hope of future reward which existed in the other case, and the presence of the horror of future punishment.

Every man at all acquainted with the state of Hindoo society must admit that the evils described are in existence. That they are evils which ought to be removed none will question. That the sources of these evils—polygamy and the sale of females in marriage—are opposed to the Hindoo religion, no Pundit, who is not interested to maintain the contrary, will deny. Still however the principal Pundits of Bengal should be called upon to give their opinions, and the points bing decided by a majority, proper regulations should be framed for preventing the evil practices.*

* *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* December, 1830.

EDUCATIONAL
AND
LITERARY

132. Lord Minto's Minute on Native Education. (March 6, 1811).

"It is a common remark, that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every enquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is, the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended, that unless Government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless, from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

"The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little of any other support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindoo learning, viz. Benares, Tirhoot and Nuddea. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by the zemindars, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places; and we should have to remark with regret, that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronized by the native princes and others, under the former governments, or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents.

"It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature.

"It is not, however, the credit alone of the national character which is affected by the present neglected state of learning in the East. The ignorance of the natives in the different classes of society, arising from the want of proper education, is generally acknowledged. This defect not only excludes them as individuals from the enjoyment of all those comforts and benefits which the cultivation of letters is naturally calculated to afford, but operating as it does throughout almost the whole mass of the population, tends materially to obstruct the measures adopted for their better government. Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports,

is in a great measure ascribable, both in the Mahommedans and Hindoos, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths. It has been even suggested, and apparently not without foundation, that to this uncultivated state of the minds of the natives is in a great degree to be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which were recently so great a scourge to the country.

"The latter offences against the peace and happiness of society have indeed for the present been materially checked by the vigilance and energy of the police, but it is probably only by the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people that the seeds of these evils can be effectually destroyed.

Sufficient, I presume, has been already said to show the fitness of incurring some additional expense with a view to the restoration of learning in the extensive provinces subject to the immediate government of this presidency. I say "additional", because some expense is already incurred for the maintenance of students at Nuddea, and a liberal sum is allowed for the support of a Hindoo college, on an extensive scale, at Benares. In the former case, however, the expense allowed is quite insufficient for the ends proposed, and in the latter the institution requires to be remodelled, in order to adapt it to the prevailing opinions and habits of the natives, and to correct the abuses which have crept into it. The following points appear particularly to demand attention in revising the rules established for the government of the college of Benares.

1st. A prejudice appears to exist among the Hindoos at that city against the office of professor, considered as an office, or even as a service ; and the most learned pundits have consequently invariably refused the situation, although the salary attached to it is liberal.

2d. The feuds which have arisen among the members of the college, and which may be ascribed chiefly to the avarice and malversation of the former native rector, entrusted with authority over the rest and with the payment of their allowances, have tended materially to defeat the objects of the institution.

3d. That part of the plan which supposes the attendance of teachers and pupils in a public hall appears to be inconsistent with the usages of the Hindoos. It has not only never taken effect, but has tended to prevent the professors from giving instruction in their own houses.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that in correcting the above defects in the constitution of the college at Benares, it will be proper to guard against the introduction of them at any other colleges which may be established.

After the foregoing remarks, it only remains to state the number of colleges which I would at present propose should be established in this country, with a view to the restoration of learning and the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people, and the principles on which I conceive, after making all the inquiries of which the subject is susceptible, that they should be managed.

I would accordingly recommend that in addition to the college at Benares (to be subjected of course to the reform already noticed) colleges be established at Nuddea and at Bhour, near Bhower, in the district of Tirhoot.

The following are the principal rules which I would propose should be established for the superintendence and management of those institutions, including that already existing at the city of Benares:

That the general superintendence of the colleges be vested, at Benares in the agent to the Governor-general, the magistrate of the city and the collector of the province ; at Nuddea in the senior member of the Board of Revenue and the magistrate and collector of that district ; at Tirhoot in the senior judge of the provincial court for the division of Patna and the magistrate and collector of that district; and that such other persons be associated with these officers as Government may at any time deem it advisable to appoint.

2d. That pensions be granted, under the appellation of nuka birt, to distinguished teachers, on condition that they deliver instructions to pupils at their own houses.

3d. That the pensions to the teachers be paid by the collectors under the general Regulations respecting pensions.

4th. That the teachers be nominated by the different committees, subject to the approval or rejection of the Governor-general in Council.

5th. That a public library be attached to each of the colleges, under the charge of a learned native, with a small establishment of servants for the care of the manuscripts.

6th. That the librarians be appointed and remunerated in the mode prescribed with respect to the teachers.

7th. That ready access be afforded both to the teachers and the students, and likewise to strangers, under such restrictions as the public convenience may require, for the purpose of consulting, transcribing the books, or making extracts from them.

8th. That the duty of procuring books, either by purchase or transcription, be entrusted to the librarian, under the control and orders of the committee.

9th. That public disputations be held annually before the committees, and in the presence of all other persons who may be desirous of attending, and that prizes, rewards, and literary honours be conferred on such of the students as shall have manifested the greatest proficiency.

Other subsidiary rules may be requisite for the superintendence and management of the above-mentioned institutions ; but the foregoing are sufficient to show the principles on which they should, in my judgment, be founded; and the statements annexed to this Minute will exhibit the expense which will be required for their support on those principles.

It may possibly be apprehended that the gentlemen composing the committee will not always, nor even generally, be competent to pass judgment on the comparative merits of competitors at disputations, or to form a right opinion of the merits of candidates for pensions on the establishment of professors. Without denying that this may frequently be the case, it may be argued that the pro-

posed objects are not the less likely to be attained. The native princes who granted pensions to learned men under their protection, or conferred recompenses on disputants maintaining a thesis in their presence, were not generally better judges of the literary acquirements of those who become the objects of their bounty. They were in one selection governed by the reputation of the persons to whom they allotted pensions, in the other by the opinion of learned men who assisted at the disputations held before them. The gentlemen of the proposed committees would equally possess the means of consulting competent persons in aid of their own judgment; and even if they be sometimes misled, the institutions will still produce, though less completely, the benefits expected from them. The native princes were themselves frequently deceived and misguided; but their liberality being sometimes properly directed, had the effect of promoting study.

It will be observed that in the foregoing remarks I have confined myself almost exclusively to the plan necessary to be adopted for the restoration of Hindoo science and literature. Considerations similar to those which have weighed with me in recommending that plan would naturally induce me to propose similar arrangements for the revival of letters among our Mahomedan subjects, and the more general diffusion of knowledge among that part of the community. With the difference only in the population of Hindoos and Mahomedans, all the arguments which have been above stated in support of the arrangements proposed to be adopted for the propagation of knowledge among the former would equally apply to similar institutions for the benefit of the Mahomedans. A sentiment of deference, however, for the Honourable Court of Directors restrains me from recommending any extension of the plan until their orders shall have been received on the subject generally of this Minute. I deem it therefore sufficient to add, on the present occasion, that Mahomedan colleges might be beneficially established at Bhaugulpore, Jaunpore, (where Persian and Arabic literature formerly flourished), and at some place in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces ; and that it might be advisable to reform the Madrissa or Mahomedan collegiate institution at Calcutta, on the principles recommended with respect to the Hindoo colleges. The attention of the Honourable Court will be of course drawn to this interesting subject in the next despatch from the Revenue Department.*

(Signed) MINTO
G. HEWETT
J. LUMSDEN
H. T. COLEBROOKE

Orders were issued accordingly to the Revenue Board ; to the committee for the superintendence of the college at Benares ; and to the committees at Tirhoot and Nuddea.

*_Parliamentary Papers_ (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 9, p. 484.

133. Extract of letter from the Court of Directors to Governor-General in Council, intimating that instructions regarding the mode in which the liberal intention of the Legislature in respect to native education should be accomplished, would be communicated early. (September 6, 1813).

Para. 7. You will not fail to notice the 43d section of the Act, by which our Governor-general in Council is empowered to direct that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees shall be annually applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India.

8. We shall take an early opportunity of furnishing you with our instructions as to the mode in which we propose that the wise and liberal intention of the Legislature in this respect should be accomplished.

"53 Georgii 3, cap. 155, sec. 43. And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-general in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India ; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such Regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-general in council, subject, nevertheless, to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries ; provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the governments within which the same shall be situated."*

134. Extract of letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, communicating their above promised instructions. (June 3, 1814).

10. In our Letter of the 6th September last, in the Public Department, we directed your attention generally to the 43d clause in the Act of the 53d of the King, by which Governor-general in Council is empowered to direct that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees out of any surplus revenues that may remain shall be annually applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. We purpose in this

*_Ibid,_ p. 486.

despatch to convey to you our sentiments as to the mode in which it will be advisable you should proceed, and the measures it may be proper you should adopt with reference to that subject.

11. In the consideration of it, we have kept in view those peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered it incumbent upon us, from motives of policy as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions.

12. The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration ; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature ; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country.

13. Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college ; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration.

14. We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.

15. In a political point of view, considerable advantages might, we conceive, be made to flow from the measure proposed, if it should be conducted with due attention to the usages and habits of the natives. They are known to attach a notion of sanctity to the soil, the buildings and other objects of devout resort, and particularly to that at Benares, which is regarded as the central point of their religious worship, and as the great repository of their learning. The possession of this venerated city, to which every class and rank of the Hindoos is occasionally attracted, has placed in the hands of the British Government a powerful instrument of connexion and conciliation, especially with the Mahrattas, who are more strongly attached than any other to the supposed sanctity of Benares.

16. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we desire that your attention may be directed in an especial manner to Benares, and that you call upon your public representatives there to report to you what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city ; what branches of science and literature are taught there ; by what means the professors and teachers are supported ; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage.

17. In the pursuit of this information they will have opportunities of obtaining a knowledge of individual characters, which may enable them to point out to your notice those natives with whom it might be desirable you should consult, and through whose instrumentality the liberal intentions of the Legislature might most advantageously be advanced.

18. The influence of such communications could not fail to be strengthened by your causing it to be made known that it is in the contemplation of the British government to introduce and establish amongst the natives a gradation of honorary distinction as the reward of merit, either by the public presentation of ornaments of dress, in conformity with the usage of the East, or by conferring titles, or by both, as may be deemed most grateful to the natives, who should be invited to communicate their ideas to you upon points so much connected with their feelings.

19. We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.

20. The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly chaplain at Madras; and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.

21. This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindoos is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants. We are so strongly persuaded of its great utility that we are desirous you should take early measures to inform yourselves of its present state, and that you will report to us the result of your inquiries, affording, in the meantime, the protection of Government to the village teachers in all their just rights and immunities, and marking by some favourable distinction any individual amongst them who may be recommended by superior merit or acquirements; for, humble as their situation may appear, if judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand those village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India.

22. We are informed that there are in the Sanscrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the Judicial department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the

Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

23. With a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanscrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed under your authority for this purpose, may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal.

24. We encourage ourselves to hope, that a foundation may in this way be laid for giving full effect in the course of time to the liberal intentions of the Legislature ; and we shall consider the money that may be allotted to this service as beneficially employed, if it should prove the means, by an improved intercourse of the Europeans with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which are essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India.

25. When you have digested any plan calculated to promote the views to which your attention has been directed in the foregoing instructions, you will take the earliest opportunity of submitting it to us for our consideration, but you will not finally adopt any arrangement for carrying it into execution until it shall have previously received our approbation and sanction.*

135. Extract of Letter from the Court of Directors to Governor-General in Council re : the reform of the Benares Sanscrit College and the establishment of Colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot. (October 28, 1814).

(92 to 94) Reform of the Hindu College at Benares, and establishment of two new Hindu Colleges at Nudya and at Bhour, in the District of Tirhoot.

Par. 64. The Minute of the late Governor General upon the establishment of the Hindu Colleges at Nudya and Tirhoot, and for the reform of the College at Benares, not having been before us in the regular course of our correspondence with your Presidency, when our Letter of the Department was written, our sentiments upon the mode of giving effect to the 43rd Section of Chapter 155 of the act of the 53rd of the present King, were conveyed to you without the reference which we should otherwise have made to the opinions recorded by that very respectable authority, in the document to which we here allude.

65. In now adverting to it, we have the satisfaction to observe that the principle sanctioned by the Legislature was fully contemplated by Lord Minto ; and that "the general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people, and the revival of letters," were objects which he had particularly in view, in the measures he recommended.

**Ibid*, p. 486.

66. There are few objects, undoubtedly, more worthy of the attention of a liberal and enlightened Government, than the protection and encouragement of Science and Literature. A generous exercise of this patronage highly becomes the British Government in India, as the Representative of a Nation eminently distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of Letters. The circumstances, too, which have hitherto rendered it necessary to vest all the great offices of Indian trust in Europeans, and which has thereby deprived the Natives of any powerful inducements to the improvement of their talents, make it particularly incumbent upon the Government to afford every encouragement to those who may be disposed to devote themselves to the pursuit of learning for its own sake.

67. We perfectly agree in principle, with Lord Minto that vice is the ordinary concomitant of ignorance ; and that one of the best securities against crime in any country is, the diffusion of knowledge amongst its population. But we are not equally sanguine with His Lordship in expecting that the establishment of two or three Hindu Colleges will tend much to the suppression of the prevailing offences of Perjury, Forgery, and Gang Robbery. For extensive reformation in the morals of the people, we must look to sources of instruction far more abundant, and universally accessible. We understand that in most parts of India there are village schools where the children of the natives receive the common rudiments of education, such as a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic ; and, if the foundations of general virtue and intelligence are not laid in seminaries like these, we are afraid that the deficiency will be but very imperfectly supplied by the academical Institutions at Bhour, Nudya, and Benares.

68. It is obvious, from the abuses which are stated to have crept into the College at Benares, and the feuds which have arisen among its Members, that no Code of Regulations will answer the purpose for which it is intended, without a vigilant and active superintendence on the part of the visitors of the respective seminaries.

69. With a view to their practical utility, we would suggest the propriety of your selecting from among the best qualified pupils at the Colleges, the persons who may hereafter be appointed to officiate as Pundits, Moonshees, &c. in the Courts of Justice. The hope of obtaining these situations would operate upon the pupils as an incentive to zeal and emulation in the prosecution of their studies, whilst the proficiency thus acquired would ensure at least a respectable discharge of the duties with which they were afterwards entrusted.

70. Lord Minto recommended towards the conclusion of his Minute that three new Colleges, (besides those already existing in Calcutta which he proposes to reform), shall be founded for the benefit of the Mahomedan population in the Provinces immediately subject to your Government. The execution however of this part of the plan was properly deferred, until our orders on the general subject of his Minute should be received.

71. If the opportunities of instruction are to be apportioned to the respective numerical amount of our Hindu and Mahomedan subjects the Madrissa College already established at Calcutta, to the reform of which we shall be glad to hear that your attention has been directed, is, of itself, fully equivalent to three

Colleges for the use of the Hindus, we have besides strong doubts of the policy of the British Government in India employing active means to perpetuate and propagate in that country those languages which were introduced into it at the period of the Mussulman conquest. The Mahomedans have an equal right with tho Hindus to protection, to the free exercise of their Religion, and to the benefit of their own Laws : but we are rather disposed to question the expediency of our according, in our own territories, and further special encouragement to the Persian and Arabic Languages, which must be considered, not only as foreign by the great mass of the inhabitants, but as relics of a domination from which they have been long since liberated.

72. Apart, however, from the preceding consideration we are desirous of knowing by experience what advantages shall have resulted from the Hindu and Madrissa Colleges the reform and establishment of which have been already determined on before we assent to any further extension of the plan projected in Lord Minto's Minute. Expecting therefore that you will furnish us from time to time with information upon this interesting subject we direct that the establishment of Mahomedan College, at Bhauglepore, Juanpore and at some place in the ceded and conquered provinces be postponed and that no steps be taken for this purpose without our previous sanction having been obtained always remembering that the Act of the 53rd Geo. 3rd. Cap. 155 Sec. 43 has with respect to this object appointed particular stipulations which are to be observed.*

136. Extract of a Minute of Lord Moira on the Native Education. (October 2, 1815).

119. In looking for a remedy to these evils, the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives will necessarily form a prominent feature of any plan which may arise from the above suggestions, and I have therefore not failed to turn my most solicitous attention to the important object of public education.

120. The humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters, claims the first place in this discussion. These men teach the first rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic for a trifling stipend which is within reach of any man's means, and the instruction which they are capable of imparting, suffices for the village zeemeendar, the village accountant and the village shopkeeper.

121. As the public money would be ill-appropriated in merely providing gratuitous access to that quantum of education which is already attainable, any intervention of government either by superintendence, or by contribution, should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition, and to the diffusion of it to places and persons now out of its reach. Improvement and diffusion may go hand in hand; yet the latter is to be considered matter of calculation, while the former should be deemed positively incumbent. The general, the sad defect of this education is, that the inculcation of moral principle forms no part of it. This radical want is not imputable to us. The necessities of self-defence (for all our

*Letters from Court (Rev.), 28 October, 1814

extensions of territory have been achieved in repelling efforts made for the subversion of our power) and our occupation in securing the new possessions, have allowed us till lately, but little leisure to examine deliberately the state of the population which we had been gradually bringing beneath our sway. It was already vitiated. The unceasing wars which had harassed all parts of India, left everywhere their invariable effects, a disorganization of that frame-work of habit and opinion, which enforces moral conduct, and an emancipation of all those irregular impulses which revolt at its restraint. The village school-masters could not teach that in which they had themselves never been instructed; and universal debasement of mind, the constant concomitant of subjugation to despotic rule, left no chance that an innate sense of equity should in those confined circles suggest the recommendation of principles not thought worthy of cultivation by the government. The remedy for this is to furnish the village school-masters with little manuals of religious sentiments and ethic maxims, conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars; taking care that while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular Creed. The absence of such an objection, and small pecuniary rewards for zeal occasionally administered by the magistrates, would induce the school-masters to use those compilations readily.

122. To those who are anxious to propagate among the vast population of this empire the inestimable lights of true religion, it may be confidently maintained that there is no hope of success but by rendering the people capable of understanding that which is proposed to them ; open the minds of the rising generation by due instruction ; give them a habit of reverencing the principles which the Christian doctrine enjoins without stimulating the parents into opposition by teaching on point adverse to their superstitions; and their inevitable rejection of beliefs irreconcilable to the reason which will have enabled them to exercise, and repugnant to the probity which you will have taught them to admire, must render certain their transition to the path you wish. As it is, their ignorance insures their tenaciousness of their earlier impressions, and pledges their implicit submission to the dictates with which the Brahmins would counteract the object were they alarmed into contest. The progress to be effectual, must be patient and silent; like every other beneficial change, it must rise out of the general sense of society, not be imposed upon it; and to produce that sense, I know no mode but education.

123. The next gradation in public tuition is the higher class of teachers to be found in the principal towns, and the only question in regard to them appears to be the expediency of furnishing them with the means of inculcating more accurate ideas of general science and sounder principles of morality.

124. In these towns will also be found the same medium scale of education for the class of shopkeepers, artificers and labourers as in the country villages, but in these towns, and principally in the chief station of the zillah, and in the neighbourhood of our jails will be found a numerous population, which seem to call for the particular attention of Government. I allude to the offspring of mendicants and vagrants, who nurtured in idleness and vice, are destined to re-

cruit the ranks of the professional thieves infesting all great cities. Houses of industry for the education, reformation and employment of these infant profligates, appear to be particularly needed.

125. That the native governments were not inattentive to the important object of public education, is evinced by the numerous grants of rent-free land, and of pecuniary allowances, for the endowment of public seminaries and the education of particular descriptions of pupils. But in the general disregard of established institutions which appears to have marked the steps of the British Government hitherto, their appropriation has been lost sight of, and the funds have through an inattention been converted into private property by native individuals.

126. In such of these institutions as yet remain, and in such of them as may be still recoverable to their original purposes, the point for our consideration will be the nature as well as the extent of the interference which it may be proper for Government to exercise, and the mode in which that interference should be applied for giving an improved direction to them.

127. With this view I beg leave to propose that the several plans which may be or have been suggested for the improvement of education in this country should be referred to the consideration of committees to be formed at the stations of Dacca, Patna, Moorshedabad, Benares, Bareilly and Furruckabad, of the principal civil officers residing there, and that their opinions be afterwards submitted to the deliberate revision of the most experienced servants in the judicial and revenue departments at the presidency.

128. In the meantime two experimental schools, one for Hindoos and one for Mahomedans, might be established at each zillah station under the superintendence of a committee, consisting of all the civil servants at the station, including the surgeons, together with any resident gentlemen not in the service who might be willing to lend their assistance; the expediency and the means of extending the plan beyond the sudder stations, will form a part of their deliberation of the provincial committees to be submitted to the control committee at the presidency.

129. The decay of religious endowments and public seminaries is noticed by several of the magistrates; and the decline of morality is stated to be a subject of reproach against us by all the natives whom birth or education has inspired with concern for the good order or well being of society.

130. If the operative effect of the British administration has been, however unintentionally, to do away with the restraint which before existed on the evil passions, while the increase of wealth, and more general diffusion of it, arising from the solid principles of equal justice, have afforded additional temptation to their indulgence, the reflecting part of the community may probably be impressed with an erroneous idea, that vice, if not encouraged, is not sufficiently discountenanced by the ruling power.

131. It certainly does not appear to have been ever the intention of the laws enacted by the British Government to lessen the obligation of religion, or to weaken the proper influence of the priesthood. But that such has been the result of the general system cannot be doubted. This result may be ascribed

partly to the omission of a positive enactment in support of the existing institutions of the country, partly to a too strict adherence in the judicial officers to the letter, without adhering to the general spirit of the laws, and partly perhaps to an expansive tendency in the human mind which in a state of freedom imperceptibly seeks progressive improvement with an impulse, which nothing but an injudicious attempt to introduce it too rapidly is capable of checking.

132. The immediate encouragement of the superior descriptions of science by any bounty to the existing native colleges, appears to me a project altogether delusive. I do not believe that in those retreats there remain any embers capable of being fanned into life. It is true, the form of tuition is kept up in them, but the ceremony is gone through by men who are (as far as I could learn) devoid of comprehension in the very branches which they profess to teach. I was particularly curious to assure myself of the state of learning in the university of Benares, the place where one should expect that ancient acquirements would be found in the best preservation. My incompetence to judge on the substance of the answers given by the young men examined before me, did not extend to the manner of their performance, which was such as inspired the notion that every thing they said was wholly by rote. On following up this suspicion I ascertained that I had guessed accurately. I remained satisfied that the students only got by heart certain formularies unexplained to them by professors incapable of expounding the spirit of the lessons. Of course, the instruction, unless where it chanced to fall on some mind uncommonly vigorous and acute, would have very limited effect in future application, and if it did happen to be bestowed on a genius able to unravel it, the rational calculation was, that it would only render him more dexterous in those crooked practices which the depraved habitudes of the community would offer to his imitation. I thence conceive that the revival of the liberal sciences among the natives can only be effected by the previous education (beginning with the rudiments) which shall gradually give to individuals the power of observing the relations of different branches of learning with each other, of comprehending the right use of science in the business of life, and of directing their enlargement of thought to the promotion of those moral observances in which rests the temporal convenience of society as well as the sublimer duty of man. Then, but not till then, such records, or such traces of ancient lore as remain in the universities may be useful. Consequently to this opinion, I must think that the sum set apart by the Honorable Court for the advancement of science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools, than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree.

133. It is satisfactory to find that there are many natives of birth and education who still feel an anxiety for the improvement of the general morals. For it is through their agency that such a measure is most likely to succeed. It is also pleasing to observe, from the accurate and lively picture which Mr. Fortescue has drawn of the public feeling, that while many solid and essential benefits are acknowledged in the security of person and property, in the advancement of agriculture and of commerce and in the free enjoyment of wealth, most

of the disadvantages enumerated, where they attach to the executive details of the laws are capable of easy correction, and where they spring from the habits and manners of the people themselves, may be expected to yield to the silent but entire operation of the measures now in contemplation.

134. In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice. "Not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse, though useful, virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows."

135. The lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society, which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life, will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name, that this beneficial revolution should arise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble: may we till it worthily!*

On the River Ganges,
The 2nd October, 1815. (Signed) MOIRA.

137. Extract of letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, promising to submit early the required information regarding the reform of the Calcutta Madrassa. (October 7, 1815).

Para. 64 to 72. Requiring information on the advantages derived from the proposed reform in the Hindu and Madrissa Colleges, prior to the extension of the plans projected by Lord Minto, and expressing doubts as to the expediency of cultivating the Persian and Arabic languages.

22. The Committee for superintending the Mahomedan College at Calcutta, were, in 1812, directed to suggest such measures as might appear to them to be necessary, with a view to the reform of the Madrissa, and they have now been furnished with the 72nd Paragraph of the letter from your Honorable Court, and instructed to report, generally, upon the present state of that institution, and to offer such suggestions as may appear best calculated to promote its efficiency and utility, or to correct any existing abuses or irregularities in it's internal arrangement. A copy of the Committee's report will, when received, be duly submitted, for the information of your Honorable Court, accompanied with such observations on the subject, as may appear necessary.†

*Sharp: *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 24.
†Letters to Court (Rev.), October 7, 1815.

138. Extract of Letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors re: the reform of the Benares Sanscrit College and the Calcutta Madrassa. (March 16, 1821).

Par. 153. Our attention having been called to the subject of the Hindoo College established by the late Mr. Duncan at Benares, and there being reason to apprehend that it had very imperfectly answered the purposes of its institution, we deemed it proper to call upon the Committee for a full Report on the present state of the College, it's past operations, and the degree in which it might have answered the purposes of it's establishment, or otherwise been useful.

154. In the event of it's having been of little use, or altogether useless, we desired the Committee to state the causes which might have contributed to its failure, and to report the means by which the Institution might be rendered more useful.

155. It had been suggested to us, that it might be expedient entirely to change the frame of the Institution, to throw open it's advantages to all classes of Hindoos, and no longer to confine the persons attached to it, to the study of Sanscrit Literature.

156. Adverting, however, to the peculiar circumstances of the College in question, we deemed it proper distinctly to inform the Committee, that it was our intention to reform the existing Institution, not to constitute a new one; that they were therefore to consider not what scheme of things might be best in itself; but how the College, as instituted by Mr. Duncan, may be rendered most useful, consistently with it's nature and objects as contemplated by that gentleman.

157. It was not, of course, our design altogether to abandon, the hope of ultimately uniting, to the study of Sanscrit Literature, some acquaintance with that of Europe: and should it be found that Mr. Duncan's plan was radically defective, we were of course prepared to consider the propriety of applying the funds appropriated to its support, to a college differently constituted.

158. Our present object was to guard against any unnecessary and offensive innovation.

159. In calling upon the Committee for the above Report, we deemed it proper to associate with them Mr. H. H. Wilson, who was then at Benares on public duty, and with whose merits as a Sanscrit scholar, your Honorable Court are fully aware.

160. Understanding also that Lieutenant Fell, who had distinguished himself as a Sanscrit scholar in the College of Fort William, and to whose eminent proficiency in the learned possession Dr. Carey bore the strongest testimony, was then at Benares, we desired the Committee to communicate with that officer in the performance of the duty then required of them.

161. On the Proceedings of the annexed date your Hon'ble Court will find recorded a Report from the Committee on the above subject, exhibiting a result of a particular Examination of the pupils now attached to the Institution, held by Mr. Wilson and Lieutenant Fell, and containing a full discussion of the several points referred to the Committee, with the suggestion of such measures as appeared to them necessary for the reform of the Institution.

Rev. Cons. 25 April, 1820, Nos. 28 to 32.

162. This Document appears to contain a very just and candid exposition of the state of the Benares College, and appears abundantly to evince, that whatever effect the establishment of the Institution may have in conciliating the attachment of the people, it has hitherto proved entirely useless as a seminary of learning, and it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone far to destroy the influence which the liberality of the Endowment would otherwise have had.

163. For a detail of the grounds on which this opinion was formed, we beg leave to refer your Honorable Court to our proceedings.

164. In like manner, we deem it sufficient in this place to notice only one of the measures proposed by the Committee, for the purpose of securing the better management of the College.

165. Your Honorable Court will observe, that the Committee strongly urge the necessity of affording to the Institution the superintendence of an European gentleman specially appointed to the purpose, and capable of fully appreciating the qualifications of the pundits and the progress of their pupils.

166. With the opinions expressed by the Committee on this head, our sentiments entirely concurred, and we accordingly resolved to appoint a Secretary to the Committee, on the principle lately followed in regard to the Madrissah at the Presidency.

167. In pursuance of this resolution, we appointed Lt. Fell to the above situation, with a salary of 400 Sicca Rupees per month, in addition to his military pay. It having subsequently appeared that the above allowance would barely equal the amount of staff allowances relinquished by Lieutenant Fell, we deemed proper to assign to that officer the additional sum of Rupees 50 per mensem.

168. The resolution passed by us on the Committee's Report will sufficiently apprize your Honorable Court of the leading principles of the arrangements which they recommended, and of which we authorized the adoption, and we beg to solicit your attention to that paper.

169. Your Honorable Court is aware, that for the support of the College the sum of Rupees 20,000 was assigned out of the surplus Revenue of Benares. We therefore considered the Institution fully entitled to credit for the difference between this sum and the amount actually disbursed. On this principle the Committee had already been authorized on the 17th October 1812, to draw the sum of Rupees 55,061-13-10, and to invest it in Government securities on behalf of the College. A further balance of Rupees 38,043-15-6 had accumulated on the 31st December 1820, which, with any subsequent arrears, we authorized the Committee similarly to invest in Government securities.

170. The total amount of the funds thus accumulated, including the Promissory Note already belonging to the Institution, may, we presume, be stated at Rupees 1,00,000, yielding, at 6 per cent., an income of 6,000 Rupees, and making the total annual Revenue of the College Rupees 26,000.

171. The permanent charges of the native establishment, as proposed by the Committee, with the addition of a Rector, or Head Pundit, which situation to deemed it expedient to maintain, amounts to Rs. 16,488 per annum ; making with the allowances assigned to the secretary, an annual charge of Rs. 21,888.

172. Various reductions were, you will perceive, proposed by the Committee, which appeared to us entirely judicious and proper. We considered it, however, to be on every account very desirable, that the arrangement should, as far as practicable, be effected without injury to the Incumbents, in the situations which it was proposed to discontinue. In addition, therefore, to the above permanent charge, a further charge will be incurred to the extent of Rs. 4,680 per annum ; but from a portion of this, the Committee will, doubtless, be able to relieve the College at an early period, and the whole will ultimately cease.

173. We may observe also, that some time may probably elapse before a fit person can be selected for the situation of Rector, and in the interval, the sum appropriated to that office will of course be saved to the Institution. In like manner, the funds will benefit by occasional vacancies, and though for a time the expenses of the College, including the Secretary's salary, may exceed, in an inconsiderable degree, the income of the Institution as above defined, yet we confidently trust, that it will ultimately prove sufficient to provide for every desirable object, and we are not indeed without hopes, that the arrangements of the Committee may be such as to render unnecessary even a temporary advance beyond it.

174. Were the matter one which called for a minute adjustment of account, it might be stated that the College is entitled strictly to claim the benefit of a greater saving than the statement of the Committee exhibits, since, had the balance annually accruing been invested in Government securities, as it became due, the amount standing to the credit of the Institution would have been considerably larger. But on this view of the subject we shall not insist: since we must frankly own, that if the past disbursements of the College have fallen within the limits prescribed by Mr. Duncan, yet the benefits derived from the Institution have still more failed to realize the expectations of that gentleman and of Government. And if, as we confidently hope, the College shall, by the proposed measures, be rendered an useful and respectable seminary of learning, it must be unnecessary to observe, how essentially economical the scheme may be considered, though involving some expense beyond that formerly incurred in support of an Institution, which, as far as concerned the instruction of the people, seems to have been utterly useless.

175. We shall of course not fail to submit to your Honorable Court the further Reports which we are periodically to receive from the Committee.

Rev. Cons. 25 Jan., 1820, Nos. 18 and 19. 21 July, 1820, Nos. 3 to 5. 27 Oct., 1820, Nos. 3 and 4.

176. With reference to the 230th and following paragraphs of our Letter from this Department, dated the 30th July 1819, relative to the Madrissah or Musulman College in Calcutta, we beg leave to bring to your notice the Proceedings noted in the margin, which contain our further correspondence with the Committee vested with the superintendence of that Establishment.

177. The Committee have, you will perceive, drawn up a set of Rules, with a view to the correction of some of the most prominent defects of the existing discipline and system of study in the College. These appear to us to be very judicious and proper, and though a considerable time must elapse before the full benefit of the arrangement can be experienced, for the case is peculiarly one in

which we should enjoin a cautious and gradual system of information, yet we confidently hope, from the continued attention of the Committee and the labours of their secretary, that the Madrissah will ere long attain a respectable rank as a seminary of learning.

178. A very sensible improvement has already, we understand, shewn itself, and we expect to receive at an early period a further Report from the Committee on the subject, which we shall of course bring to the notice of your Honorable Court.

179. The library of the Madrissah being singularly deficient, we readily authorized the Committee to appropriate to the purchase of Books the sum of Rs. 6,818-3-7, being the amount in which the disbursements of the Institution in the past year have fallen short of the allowed expenses.

180. We at the same time desired them to communicate with the Council of the College of Fort William, in order to ascertain how far there might be any and what works suited to the wants of the Madrissah in the Library of the College, of which copies could be spared for the use of the first mentioned Institution, without inconvenience to the latter.*

139. Extract of letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, in continuation of the above. (August 1, 1822).

Par. 169. In our dispatch dated the 16th March 1821 we informed your Honorable Court of the measures, which had been adopted for the reform and better management of the Hindoo College at Benares.

Rev. Cons. 16 Feb., 1821, Nos. 39 to 45. 4 May, 1821, Nos. 35 to 41.

170. The annexed proceedings contain our further correspondence with the Committee under whose superintendence that institution is placed. Your Honorable Court will doubtless be much gratified to learn that the improvement of the College in usefulness and reputation has exceeded our utmost expectations.

171. The superior estimation in which it is held is sufficiently proved by the number of students, who now resort to it for instruction, besides those that are admitted on the Establishment. They are so numerous that it has, you will perceive, been found necessary to employ certain of the scholars attached to the College as Assistants to the Pundits. Further we have much pleasure in reporting that the Raja of Benares and other respectable Native gentlemen residents in that city have testified their interest in the College by a liberal donation in aid of its funds.

172. The favorable results now stated are to be ascribed solely to the improved system of management, which the Committee have been enabled to introduce and maintain thro' the agency of their Secretary, Captain Fell. The interference of that Gentleman, and the close control which with his aid the Committee are now able to exercise, far from proving offensive to the people, has

*Letters to Court (Rev.), March 16, 1821.

we are assured been gratefully acknowledged as a proof of the care and favor of Government : and whatever reputation may have belonged to the liberality of the endowment is now secured in a wider range proportioned to the extended celebrity of the Institution, with the advantage that must necessarily attach to the application to a highly valued purpose, of funds heretofore almost wholly lost to the public.

173. We could not of course be understood as pronouncing any opinion on the real worth of the Sanscrit literature : nor, tho' the funds of the College were specifically appropriated to the support of a Hindoo College, would we desire to exclude from consideration the object of introducing at some future time more useful studies. It would now however, be premature to attempt any such plan at Benares.

174. But even tho' confined to Sanscrit learning, the superintendence of an European Gentleman is likely to give a better direction to study, and gradually to prepare the way for the reception of European science, by the educated classes of the Hindoos.

175. That in the present moral condition of the Natives no public seminary of learning is likely to prosper without the control of the European officers of Government we hold certain. It is equally in our judgment sure that no efficient control can be exercised excepting by or thro' the Agency of a person himself, conversant with the studies, which the institution may be designed to promote. A native superintendent must ever be too remote from the controlling authority to act as their confidential Agent. He will either entirely want the influence, which such an Agent should possess over the persons to be controlled, or, as is more likely, he will usurp and abuse the whole powers of the controlling authority.

176. It was apparently the hopelessness of being able efficiently to exercise the duties entrusted to them, that withheld the Committees, which were appointed in 1811 for the superintendence of the Colleges designed to be established at Nuddea, and in Tirhoot, from proceeding to execute their Commission. Such assuredly was the sentiment that restrained us from urging them to the attempt.

177. The same consideration has induced us readily to adopt a suggestion for appropriating the funds destined for the support of the two Colleges in question to the support of an analogous institution at the Presidency.

178. The suggestion was submitted to us by Mr. Wilson of whose character as an Oriental scholar we need offer no testimony, and to whom we are mainly indebted for the improvements effected in the Benares College.

Rev. Cons. 21 Aug., 1821, Nos. 14 to 27.

179. The report explanatory of the plan, your Honorable Court will find recorded on the annexed proceedings. These likewise contain the detailed orders passed by us on the occasion.

180. The report of the Committee, which we appointed as you will perceive to digest the details of the scheme and to whom it is our intention to entrust the superintendence of the Institution will be hereafter brought to your notice. In this College, we trust, it may be found practicable at no distant period to combine

with the Native studies some instruction in more useful knowledge. No Secretary has yet been appointed to the Committee.*

140. Note by Mr. Holt Mackenzie on public education in India. (July 17, 1823).

Government being desirous of pursuing a systematic course of proceeding in regard to public education, and having its attention especially directed to the objects specified in the act of the 53d of the late King, I beg leave to submit a few things that have occurred to me on the subject.

The first step is to settle the ultimate object to be aimed at: for otherwise we may debate about the means without end. It is not then I conceive the wish of Government that the people should be merely taught what is necessary to make them expert agents of the civil administration of the country as now administered. It is not desired to keep from them any species of knowledge that can enlighten their minds or improve their moral feelings. Caution indeed must be used in admitting the light to the morbid sense. But the darkness is not the less deplored: nor its ultimate removal the less sought. The probable effects, though distant, of the more general diffusion of knowledge are not blinked. But to keep the people weak and ignorant that they may be submissive is a policy which the Government decidedly rejects. Its aim is to raise the character, to strengthen the understanding, to purify the heart ; and whatever therefore can extend the knowledge of the people, whatever can give them a juster conception of the true relation of things, whatever can add to their power over the gifts of nature or better inform them of the rights and duties of their fellow men, whatever can excite invention and invigorate the judgment, whatever can enrich the imagination and sharpen the wit, whatever can rouse to steady exertion and bind to honest purposes ; whatever fits man to bear and improve his lot, to render his neighbour happy, and his country prosperous ; whatever in short tends to make men wiser and better and happier here and hereafter—all are desired to be given, in due season, to the people of India.

Nothing therefore can be more comprehensive than the design. Its different parts must indeed be filled up gradually and with well measured steps. Its completion we must leave to our children's children. But still if the ultimate object be as I have stated, it follows that the points to be considered in fashioning any scheme for its attainment are infinitely numerous and all very important ; that a good scheme can be the result only of much and anxious thought, earnestly employed with the resources of accurate and varied knowledge. It must at once be considered what the people possess and what they want, what we can give them and what they are capable of receiving profitably, what they are and what they may become, and what their probable participation in the several steps of the great change which a general diffusion of true knowledge will doubtless produce.

*Letters to Court (Rev.), August 1, 1822.

To embrace a field so extensive as that of which I have attempted to give a slight sketch, it will obviously be necessary that Government should, as it proposes, seek the aid of a Committee combining a variety of talent and acquirement. And if I have rightly stated the purposes of Government, it follows that the persons to be selected for the duty should be those, who are not only deeply impressed with the importance of the work, but are entirely free from any narrow views, that would lead them to withhold from the people the full measure of knowledge, which they are in the capacity to receive. It follows too, if there be truth and excellence in European science, that the introduction of it among the natives of India, must necessarily be one, and an early part of the general scheme and should authoritatively be indicated by Government as such.

As to the means of instruction, they are obviously very numerous. Different individuals will approve different plans. Some would encourage schools for the elements of learning. Some prefer colleges for the higher branches. Of these, some would encourage existing, others would establish new institutions. Some would instruct teachers only, some would merely provide books, some would teach English language, others would look to the introduction of English science through translations. Some would look to the learned classes, others to the wealthy, others to the general community.

In so wide a range, I cannot pretend to anything like a full conception of the subject. Indeed whatever may be my zeal for the cause (and as a Briton and a Christian it is impossible, I should regard it with indifference) I want the knowledge that would entitle me to decide with any confidence.

I shall be glad to see all the instruments, I have specified, with others that have escaped me, brought into action. But my present impression is, that Government should apply itself chiefly to the instruction of those who will themselves be teachers (including of course in the term many, who never appear as professed masters, and also translators from the European into the native languages) and to the translation, compilation and publication of useful works. These objects being provided for, the support and establishment of colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes seem to me to be more immediate objects of the care of Government than the support and establishment of the elementary schools ; though these in particular places may claim attention.

To provide for the education of the great body of the people seems to be impossible, at least, in the present state of things. For the ordinary purposes of life, the means of education are not, I imagine, ill supplied, though doubtless the native seminaries are susceptible of much improvement, and this at a cheap rate, by assisting them, both with books and masters. The great body of the people are, however, too poor and too anxious for service to allow their children to remain long under tuition. Moreover the value of the Parish Schools in England, whence we derive our notions of the advantages of general education, depends greatly on the religion of the country. Take from the peasant his Bible, and (if it be possible) the knowledge and sentiments that have flowed from that sacred source, and how worthless will be his lowly literature. The education

indeed of the great body of the people can never, I think, be expected to extend beyond what is necessary for the business of life ; and it is only therefore through religious exercises, which form a great part of the business of life, that the labourer will turn his thoughts on things above the common drudgery, by which he earns his subsistence. Hence it is under the Christian scheme alone, that I should expect to find the labouring classes really educated: and their station in the scale of instructed and humanized beings will, I imagine, be pretty closely proportioned to their piety. We have no such instrument, with which to work beneficially on the lower orders here. Further the natural course of things in all countries seems to be that knowledge introduced from abroad should descend from the higher or educated classes and gradually spread through their example. We surely cannot here, at least expect the servant to prize a learning, which his master despises or hates. The influence of Europeans, if they use not the influential classes of the native community, must necessarily be very confined. What is taught in our schools will only be thought of there. Our scholars, if of the common people when they enter the world, will find no sympathy among their fellows, and until the lessons of the master, or professor become the subject of habitual thought and conversation, they cannot touch the heart, they will little affect the understanding. The acquirement will be an act of memory, with little more of feeling or reflection than if nonsense verses were the theme.

Hence my notion is, that the limited classes, who are now instructed (with great labour certainly whatever may be the use) in the learning of the country, should be the first object of attention. This, of course, implies the association of oriental learning with European Science, and the gradual introduction of the latter, without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former. It implies too the support and patronage of existing institutions, so far at least as the furnishing them with Masters and supplying them with translations. And further, if our means suffice, it implies a more positive encouragement to learned Natives, and consists well with the resolution (supposing the funds for the first objects supplied), to establish new institutions for the instruction of natives in the learning of the East, and of the West together.

It will probably be thought sufficient to have two Sanscrit Colleges, for the encouragement of Hindoo literature, and for the instruction of Pundits for our Courts ; and, if the Madrissa be thought inadequate to the due diffusion of Mahommedan literature and law, one in the Western provinces would, I should imagine, amply supply the want.

But in fact I should doubt, whether any increase in the number of Government establishments is necessary for these purposes: and the first thing therefore is, I think, to improve those that exist by the introduction of European science.

I do not imagine there will be any difficulty in doing so, if a fit instructor is provided, and proper books supplied. Among the inhabitants of Calcutta at least there seems to be an eagerness for the boon.

The encouragement of Government will also, I believe, readily induce natives to acquire the English language so as to qualify themselves to become translators and teachers.

As to instruction in the English language, it is not easy to fix the limits, to which it should be attempted. Community of language seems to be the surest means, perhaps the only sure means, of creating community of ideas, and I confess that I am disposed to think the difficulties of the attempt are generally overrated. Persian, it should be recollected, is essentially a foreign language. It may be doubted whether what is recorded in that tongue is much better understood by the generality of the parties interested, than it would be if recorded in English.

To one party at least the record in English would be an essential gain, the European officer who has to decide the case.

Possibly in the Suburbs Court, a change might be expediently attempted. It would scarcely be consistent to make any effort at general instruction in English, unless the gradual introduction of it as the official language of the country were contemplated.

The question, however, like every one connected with the subject of education is one full of difficulty. I do not presume to offer anything except as hints, on which my own mind is quite unsettled. The necessity of appointing a general Committee of public instruction, who may prepare some well digested scheme, embracing all the different institutions supported, or encouraged by Government, and to whom the various suggestions submitted by individuals may be referred for consideration and report, has been recognized by Government.

It seems clear that in no other way can any comprehensive plan be framed, or systematically pursued: and the general price applicable to the purpose economically and efficiently appropriated. Various detached committees, ill informed of each other's projects, must necessarily waste much labour. They will also probably waste much money from the want of combination.

I have already stated generally the sentiments, with which it seems to me necessary that such a committee should undertake the duty. Government will have little difficulty in selecting individuals influenced by such sentiments and there are many, who add all other necessary qualifications. The selection should, I think, be made with reference to the individual, not (at least not solely) to the office.

On the appointment of a general Committee of Education, it will probably be thought right to modify in some degree the constitution of the Committees charged with the immediate management of the several institutions. They will all of course act, under the directions of the general committee, furnishing to them particular reports of their operations, and submitting through them any suggestions they may see fit to offer for the improvement or wider diffusion of education. For the seminaries at the Presidency indeed it may be unnecessary to maintain separate committees. They will perhaps best be managed by the general committee, either collectively or by certain members specially selected by them, for the management with separate secretaries for the Musulman and Hindoo colleges to superintend the details of their internal arrangement to control and guide the masters. Without neglecting the consideration due to particular endowments, the General Committee will of course regard all the funds devoted to purposes of

education as forming in a certain sense a common stock: more essentially in whatever regards the preparation or publication of useful works. In some of these even the Hindoos and Musulmans may eventually be found to have a common interest, though at first these must necessarily constitute two great divisions, requiring distinct consideration.

It will naturally belong to a committee of public instruction, to ascertain from the different local authorities what funds have been assigned by pious or philanthropic individuals, for the purpose of supporting seminaries of education: how far the objects of such endowments may have been fulfilled, what means should be taken for securing them, and what modifications in the plans originally contemplated by the founders may be legitimately adopted to meet the altered circumstances of present times.

They cannot of course exercise any authority over private schools, but their advice and encouragement to individuals, Native and European, who may be engaged in the management, or support of such establishments, will be very valuable and probably very highly valued.

Their direct interposition may, indeed, in some cases be sought by individuals, for the security and improvement of funds about to be devoted to purposes of public education.

In framing any rational scheme of public instruction, we must necessarily consider in a general way, at least, how far our other institutions are suited to the state of things, which the diffusion of knowledge may be expected ultimately to produce, and more immediately, how the acquirements of the students at the public seminaries can best be rendered subservient to the public service, and how the constitution of public offices and the distribution of employments can be made—the means of exerting to study and rewarding merit. To those points, therefore, the attention of the committee will be particularly directed: and I should, with some confidence, anticipate from their labours, a great accession, within a moderate time, to the number of persons, who can now be looked to as good instruments of civil government, of which the details must, I apprehend, though our service were multiplied tenfold, be left to the natives of the country.

The several suggestions of a general nature, embraced by the report recently received from the Madrissa Committee, will of course obtain early and particular notice. The plan of the new College which it is proposed to construct in Hastings' Place must be framed with advertence to any charge, or addition likely soon to be made in the scheme of instruction or discipline.

So also the Hindoo College, of which a plan and estimate prepared by Lieutenant Buxton is still with the Military Board (the orders in regard to it having been postponed, until the new square in the centre of the city should be cleared), must I imagine undergo some changes under the resolution of Government to introduce European science even though the general scheme of Sanscrit instruction, suggested by the Committee should still be approved: a point which may be considered open for discussion with the general Committee.

The decision of Government on the proposition of the local Agents at Agra relative to the appropriation of that portion of the produce of the late Gungadhur

Pundit's lands, which has been set aside for public purposes, has hitherto been postponed under the desire of combining any arrangements that might be adopted in pursuance of them with some general systematic scheme for the promotion of public instruction.

To the general Committee about to be appointed, the subject will of course be referred, and I will not anticipate their judgment by any remarks on the plan suggested by the local Agents.

It remains for me to state the immediate object of this note, which I should have explained at once and very briefly, had I not been unconsciously led into detail by the anxiety I feel for the success of a cause I am little able to promote.

To the efficiency of any committee such as it is proposed to establish, it appears to be very essential, that the person through whom their correspondence with Government is conducted should be one fully qualified to second their efforts ; with sufficient leisure, to devote a considerable portion of time to the important and difficult subject; and with the kind of knowledge that may qualify him to supply Government with minute and accurate information on the points submitted to its judgment.

I know not how the Madrissa and Hindoo Colleges got into the Revenue Department; excepting, what would justify the absorption of all other departments, that they thence drew the funds assigned for their support. Whilst however the Revenue was united to the Judicial Department, there was perhaps little to object, excepting the load of business that then fell on the secretary: for certainly nothing can be more nearly connected with the good administration of justice and the prevention of crime, than the public instruction of the people. Now, however, no such reason exists for continuing the colleges in the Territorial Department. The funds will not be the less safe, that their appropriation is controuled elsewhere. The habits, which the office necessarily induces, the constant occupation, official and demi-official, which its business gives are all adverse to those pursuits, which should belong to the Secretary, through whom the decisions of Government on questions of public education, should pass.

For myself, I feel very strongly, how little I am competent to the task, unless it were confined to the mere mechanical act of giving expression to specific directions. But independently of general qualification, I must plead the want of leisure from other work. The Record Committee, the Mint Committee, the Bank, the College Council, and the Sinking Fund Committee ; all together occupy a considerable portion of my time. It is too in the nature of a department which corresponds with four distinct Boards, to say nothing of Committees, and which touches so nearly the property of Individuals (Merchants, Public Creditors, and Landholders) to have many references, that are never formally brought for decision, and, on the whole, I can safely say I have very few hours of day-light to myself. Nay what with the Loan, and other things, the absence of my Assistant or his entire employment in Police duties, I am obliged to seek indulgence for not having kept pace with my works.

Similar considerations will probably prevail as objections to the transfer of the whole correspondence regarding public Education, to the Judicial or General

Deparments: although as I have already observed, the matter is one most intimately connected with the administration of Justice and Police.

On the other hand, the Persian Secretary to Government has comparatively much leisure. He necessarily possesses and cultivates the kind of knowledge that best fits him to judge correctly on plans, which have for their object the instruction of the natives and, what is not less important, he is immediately in the way of learning what their sentiments are on the measures, that may be suggested or adopted.

It is indeed a natural part of his duty to mark the origin and growth of every thing, that can affect their character and sentiments. On every ground, therefore, it seems to be expedient to transfer to the Persian Department the correspondence respecting the education of the people of India.

I need scarcely add that, soliciting the present relief purely from motives of public duty, I shall rejoice to afford my humble aid in any way, that it can be useful in promoting the important objects contemplated by Government. I pray only that my interference may not be such as to impede their attainment.

It is in this spirit that I now submit the above remarks though conscious how rude and meagre they may appear. I shall further observe, that though they are confined to the Musulman and Hindoo portion of our subjects; yet the object of educating properly the Christian youth of this city seems to me to be one, not less deserving the attention of Government.*

HOLT MACKENZIE.

141. Extract of further letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors re : the reform of the Benares Sanscrit College and the Calcutta Madrassa in continuation of their previous communications on the same. (July 30, 1823).

Par. 104. In our dispatches of the 16th March 1821 and 1st August[1] 1822 we brought to the notice of your Honorable Court the measures that had been taken to improve the Madrissah of Calcutta, and the Hindoo College at Benares.

[1]Par. 153 to 180.
,, 169 to 180.

105. We have much satisfaction in reporting to you that both Institutions continue to advance in reputation and usefulness. The Madrissah of Calcutta especially has derived the most important advantages from the superintendence of Dr. Lumsden, whom we have appointed Secretary to the Committee. For particular information we beg permission to refer you to the papers noted in the margin.

25 Jan., 1822. Nos. 28 and 29.
8 Aug., 1822. Nos. 8 to 13.
8 Nov., 1822. Nos. 35 and 36.
12 June, 1823. Nos. 13 to 16.
3 July, 1823. Nos. 14 to 19.
18 July, 1822. Nos. 30 and 31.
29 Mar., 1823. Nos. 59 to 63.

106. Much indeed still remains to be effected, both in affording to the people access to what is valuable in their own literature, freed from the lumber with which it is overlaid, and in gradually introducing them to the knowledge of Europe. The matter is one of deep interest and

*Rev. Cons. (T.D.), July 17, 1823, No. 1.

importance, and we need scarcely assure you of our Resolution to proceed with the most deliberate caution in the work of reform and improvement. The better to secure for ourselves the information requisite to a correct judgment on the various questions which every scheme of public education must embrace or touch upon, we have appointed a General Committee of Instruction consisting of the Gentlemen, named in the margin, charged with the duty of ascertaining the state of public education in this part of India, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character.

Mr. J. H. Harington.
,, J. P. Larkins.
,, W. B. Martin.
,, W. B. Bayley.
,, H. Shakespear.
,, Holt Mackenzie.
,, H. T. Prinsep.
,, A. Stirling.
,, J. C. C. Sutherland.
,, H. H. Wilson.

107. We have at the same time resolved to transfer the correspondence relative to all seminaries of instruction to the Persian Department, from which your Honorable Court will receive a detailed communication of the arrangements adopted by us. It may be sufficient in this place to state that we have resolved, subject of course to the approval of your Honorable Court, to appropriate to the object of public instruction the sum of one lac of Rupees per annum in addition to such assignments as were made by the British Government previously to the Act of the 53d of His late Majesty, and likewise of course exclusively of any endowments which may have been or may be made by individuals applicable to a like purpose.

17 July, 1823. Nos. 1 to 3.

108. Having for some time past contemplated the appointment of a Committee as above, we have deemed it advisable to postpone our final determination in regard to the constitution of the Hindoo College of Calcutta, which as stated in our dispatch of the 1st August 1822 it had been determined to establish in lieu of the projected Colleges of Nuddea and Bhour.

109. The report which we have received from the Committee then appointed is confined to the means of giving instruction in Hindoo literature alone. Now, altho' we fully recognize the expediency of avoiding any sudden change and of carrying along with us the educated and leading classes, who cannot of course be expected suddenly to relinquish what they have long prized highly, however intrinsically worthless, we conceive that the time is now come when in any seminary to be established at the Presidency, some provision should be made for the gradual introduction of European science. We are disposed therefore to think that some modification may be expediently introduced in the scheme suggested by the Committee, tho' fashioned by judges highly competent to the task they undertook, and limited as the funds available for the purpose are, when contrasted with the vast extent of the field, we must of course be very anxious to avoid the application of any portion of them to objects of inferior utility. The whole subject therefore will be referred to the General Committee of instruction. The delay of some years in a measure which embraces in its scope a remote futurity is of comparatively little importance,

if it shall have tended to secure us from error in the commencement of the undertaking.*

142. Address from Rammohun Roy to the Governor-General protesting against the establishment of the Calcutta Sanscrit College. (December 11, 1823).

Sir,

I beg leave to send you the accompanying address and shall feel obliged if you will have the goodness to lay it before the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

Calcutta
The 11th December 1823.

I have etc.,
RAMMOHUN ROY

To

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble William Pitt,
Lord Amherst.

My Lord,

Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances, as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

The establishment of a new Sangscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the Natives of India by Education,—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful; and every well wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. W were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful Sciences, which the Nations of Europe have

*Letters to Court (Rev.), July 30, 1823.

carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened of the Nations of the West with the glorious ambitions of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of modern Europe.

We now find that the Government are establishing a Sangscrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sangscrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of the valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sangscrit College; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sangscrit in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature, which are to be the object of the new Seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to those most eminent Professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakurun or Sangscrit Grammar. For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *Khad* signifying to eat, ***khaduti,*** he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word *khaduti* taken as a whole, convey the meaning *he, she,* or *it eats,* or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word? As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat,* how much in the *s*? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by those two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly?

Neither can such improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant:—In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity? What relation does it bear to the divine essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by he Vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, etc., have no actual entirety, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Veds, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of the Ved, etc.

Again the student of the Nyaya Shastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned it into how many ideal classes the objects in the Universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, etc.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon, with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sangscrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

In representing this subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.*

Calcutta, — I have etc.,

The 11th December 1823. — RAMMOHUN ROY.

*Sharp: *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 98.

143. Letter from Government to the General Committee of Public Instruction, forwarding the above letter of Rammohun Roy. (January 2, 1824).

To

J. H. Harington Esqr. President

J. P. Larkins
W. B. Bayley
W. B. Martin
H. Shakespear
H. Mackenzie
H. T. Prinsep
A. Stirling
J. C. C. Sutherland
H. H. Wilson
} Esquires

Members of the General Committee of Public Instruction.

Gentlemen,

I am directed to transmit to you for information, the accompanying copy of a representation addressed by Rammohun Roy to the Right Honble the Governor General, expressing disapprobation on the part of himself and his countrymen at the resolution of Government to establish a new Sanscrit College in Calcutta, instead of a Seminary designed to impart instruction exclusively in the arts sciences and philosophy of Europe.

2. In furnishing your committee with a copy of the above paper, His Lordship in Council, abstain remarking that it is obviously written under an imperfect, and erroneous conception of the plan of education and course of study which it is proposed to introduce into the new college that the defects and demerits of Sanscrit Literature and philosophy are therein represented in an exaggerated light ; and that the arguments in favor of encouraging native learning as well as the positive obligation to promote its revival and improvements imposed on the Government by the terms of the Act of Parliament direction the appropriation of certain funds to the object of public education have been wholly overlooked by the writer.

3. The letter of Ram Mohun Roy is not considered to call for any answer on the part of Government ; but it will of course be at the discretion of your committee to address any observations which you may deem the occasion to require, either to Rammohun Roy himself or to Government.*

Persian Office,
2d January 1824.

I have &ca.
(Sd.) A. Stirling,
Persn. Secy. to the Govt.

*Pol Procgs., June 5, 1829, No. 83.

144. Resolution of the General Committee of Public Instruction on the above. (January 14, 1824).

Read the following letter from the Secretary to Government in the Persian Department, forwarding a letter from Rammohun Roy.

37. 38.

Under the discretion vested in the Committee with respect to addressing any observations on the letter of Rammohun Roy either to himself or to Government the Committee resolve that it is unnecessary to offer any Remarks. The erroneous impressions entertained by the author of the letter are sufficiently adverted to in the letter from the Secretary to the Government ; but had the views taken in the letter been even less inaccurate the Committee would still conceive it entitled to no reply, as it has disingenuously assumed a character to which it has no pretensions. The application to Government against the cultivation of Hindu literature, and in favor of the substitution of European tuition, is made professedly on the part, and in the name of the natives of India. But it bears the signature of one individual alone, whose opinions are well known to be hostile to those entertained by almost all his countrymen. The letter of Rammohun Roy does not therefore express the opinion of any portion of the natives of India, and its assertion to that effect, is a dereliction of truth, which cancels the claim of its author to respectful consideration.*

(Sd.) J. H. HARINGTON.

145. Extract of letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, communicating their sentiments on the measures adopted for the improvement of the Benares Sanscrit College and Calcutta Madrassa, as well as on the establishment of the Calcutta Sanscrit College. (February 18, 1824).

Letter from, dated 30th July 1819, (230 to 238); also Letter 16th March 1821, paras. 153 to 180. State of the Madrissa, or Mahomedan College at Calcutta, and of the Hindoo College at Benares, with measures adopted for their improvement; and establishment of a Hindoo College at Calcutta, in lieu of the proposed Hindoo Colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot.

79. The ends proposed in the institution of the Hindoo College, and the same may be affirmed of the Mahomedan, were two ; the first, to make a favourable impression, by our encouragement of their literature, upon the minds of the natives ; and the second, to promote useful learning. You acknowledge that if the plan has had any effect of the former kind, it has had none of the latter ; and you add, that "it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone far to destroy the influence which the liberality of the endowment would otherwise have had".

80. We have from time to time been assured that these colleges, though they had not till then been useful, were, in consequence of proposed arrangements, just

*Procgs. of the General Committee of Public Instruction (1823-41), Vol. 5, pp. 45-48.

about to become so ; and we have received from you a similar prediction on the present occasion.

81. We are by no means sanguine in our expectation that the slight reforms which you have proposed to introduce will be followed by much improvement ; and we agree with you in certain doubts, whether a greater degree of activity, even if it were produced, on the part of the masters, would, in present circumstances, be attended with the most desirable results.

82. With respect to the sciences, it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages, what is desirable is, that they should be translated, and this, it is evident, will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry ; but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most effectual expedient for the attainment of the end.

83. In the mean time we wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us. But we apprehend that the plan of the institutions, to the improvement of which our attention is now directed, was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt, in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos, or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media*, or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed, and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted, while every thing which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain ; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing, under these reservations, a system of instruction, from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned.

84. We think that you have taken, upon the whole, a rational view of what is best to be done. In the institutions which exist on a particular footing alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and feelings will dictate ; at the same time that incessant endeavours should be used to supersede what is useless, or worse, in the present course of study, by what your better knowledge will recommend.

85. In the new college which is to be instituted, and which we think you have acted judiciously in placing at Calcutta instead of Nuddea and Tirhoot, as originally sanctioned, it will be much farther in your power, because not fettered by any preceding practice, to consult the principle of utility in the course of study which you may prescribe. Trusting that the proper degree of attention will be given to this important object, we desire that an account of the plan which

you approve may be transmitted to us, and that an opportunity of communicating to you our sentiments upon it may be given to us before any attempt to carry it into execution is made.

86. The pecuniary arrangements which you think necessary for the immediate purposes of these institutions are approved.*

146. Reply from the General Committee of Public Instruction to the above. (August 18, 1824).

To

The Right Hon'ble William Pitt, Lord Amherst,
Governor-General in Council, Fort William.

My Lord,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Persian Secretary to Government, dated the 16th ultimo, forwarding extracts of a despatch from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, under date the 18th February 1824, on the subject of the Education of the Natives of British India.

2. We are happy to find that the sentiments expressed in the letter from the Hon'ble Court are, upon the whole, in unison with those principles by which the Committee of Education have hitherto regulated their proceedings. The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they have proposed as the end of the measures adopted, or recommended by them ; at the same time they have kept in view that, "in the institutions which exist on a particular footing, alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a regard to existing interests and feeling will dictate"; and they are aware of the necessity of "employing Mohammadan and Hindu media, and of consulting the prejudices of the Mohammadans and Hindus", in any attempts to introduce improved methods or objects of study which are calculated to be attended with success.

3. Whilst the Hon'ble Court have thus recognised the principles under which the existing institutions should be carried on, they have been pleased to express it as their opinion, that the plans of the Hindu College at Benares and Mohammadan College at Calcutta, were "originally and fundamentally erroneous", and that in establishing Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or Mohammadan Literature, "the Government bound themselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned".

4. The remarks made on former institutions of the Government may not be thought to require any comment from us particularly, as it is admitted that it is necessary to proceed with caution in introducing any modification of their system. As applicable however, generally, and as connected with the Hon'ble Court's injunctions to respect native prejudices and feelings, we beg leave to offer some observations on the circumstances which have hitherto influenced, and which we

**Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 9, p. 488.

are of opinion, must continue for some time to regulate the constitution and conduct for Seminaries for the purpose of native education.

5. In the first place, without denying that the object of introducing European literature and science may have been somewhat too long overlooked, it may be questioned whether the Government could originally have founded any other seminaries, than those which it actually established ; viz., the Madrassa, to teach Mohammadan literature and law, and the Benares College, to teach Sanscrit literature and Hindu law. Those colleges were founded for Mohammadans and Hindus respectively, and would have been of little value to either, if they had proposed to teach what neither were disposed to learn. It may be added, what else had the Government to offer, on any extensive scale? What means existed to communicating anything but Mohammadan and Hindu literature either by teachers or books? It was therefore a case of necessity, and almost all that the Government in instituting a seminary for the higher classes could give, or the people would accept through such a channel, was oriental literature, Mohammadan or Hindu. Instruction in the English language and literature could have been attempted only on the most limited scale, and as they could not, we apprehend, have been at all introduced into seminaries designed for the general instruction of the educated and influential classes of the natives the success of the attempt may well be doubted.

6. We have no doubt that these points will be evident to the Honourable Court on further consideration, and we need not further dwell upon them, at least with reference to the past. The Honourable Court, however, seem to think that the same circumstances no longer impede the introduction of useful knowledge, and that in establishing a college in Calcutta, it should not have been restricted to the objects of Hindu learning ; on this point, we beg to observe, that the new Sanscrit College in Calcutta was substituted for two colleges proposed to be endowed at Tirhut and Nuddiya, the original object of which was declaredly the preservation and encouragement of Hindu learning. So far therefore, the Government may be considered pledged to the character of the institution, though the pledge does not of course extend to bar the cautious and gradual introduction of European science in combination with the learning which the people love. It is however of more importance to consider, that the Government had in this as well as in former instances, little or no choice, and that if they wished to confer an acceptable boon upon the most enlightened, or at least most influential class of the Hindu population (the learned and Brahmanical caste), they could do so only by placing the cultivation of Sanscrit within their reach ; any other offer would have been useless ; tuition, in European science, being neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of Government to bestow.

7. In proposing the improvement of men's mind, it is first necessary to secure their conviction, that such improvement is desirable. Now, however satisfied we may feel that the native subjects of this Government stand in need of improved instruction, yet every one in the habit of communicating with both the learned and unlearned classes, must be well aware, that generally speaking, they

continue to hold European literature and science in very slight estimation. A knowledge of English, for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, is, to a certain extent, a popular attainment, and a few of the natives employed by Europeans, accustomed to an intimate intercourse with their masters, may perceive that their countrymen have something in the way of practical science to learn. These impressions, however, are still very partial, and the Maulavi and Pundit, satisfied with their own learning, are little inquisitive as to any thing beyond it, and are not disposed to regard the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment. As long as this is the case, and we cannot anticipate the very near extinction of such prejudice, any attempt to enforce an acknowledgment of the superiority of intellectual produce amongst the Natives of the West could only create dissatisfaction, and would deter those whose improvement it is most important to promote as the best means of securing a more general amelioration, the members of the literary classes, from availing themselves of the beneficence of the Government, by placing themselves within the reach of instruction.

8. The actual state of public feeling is therefore, we conceive, still an impediment to any general introduction of Western literature or science, and although we believe the prejudices of the natives against European interference with their education in any shape, are considerably abated, yet they are by no means annihilated, and might very easily be roused by any abrupt and injudicious attempts at innovation, to the destruction of the present growing confidence from which, in the course of time, the most beneficial consequences may be expected. It is much, in our estimation, to have placed all the institutions maintained by Government under direct European superintendence, and from the continuance of that superintendence exercised with temper and discretion, we anticipate the means of winning the confidence of the officers and pupils of the several seminaries, to an extent that will pave the way for the unopposed introduction of such improvement as we may hereafter have the means of effecting.

9. But supposing that the disposition of the native mind was even as favourable as could be desired, we know not by what means we could at once introduce the improvements that we presume are meditated. The Honourable Court admit the necessity of employing Hindu and Mohammadan media, but where are such to be obtained for the introduction of foreign learning? We must teach the teachers and provide the books, and by whom are the business of tuition and task of translation to be accomplished? Until the means are provided, it would be premature to talk of their application, and we must be content to avail ourselves of the few and partial opportunities, that may occur for giving encouragement to the extension of a knowledge of the English language amongst those classes, whence future preceptors and translators may be reared. To do this with any good effect, however, we must qualify the same individuals highly in their own system as well as ours, in order that they may be as competent to refute errors as to impart truth, if we would wish them to exercise any influence upon the minds of their countrymen.

10. Under the present circumstances, therefore, the still vigorous prejudices of both Mohammadans and Hindus, and the want of available instruments for any

beneficial purpose of greater extent, we conceive that it is undoubtedly necessary to make it the business of Government institutions intended for those classes respectively, to teach (we hope not being exclusively) Mohammadan and Hindu literature and science.

11. Without wishing to enhance the value of Oriental studies beyond a fair and just standard, we must beg further permission to state that, in our judgment the Honourable Court has been let to form an estimate of their extent and merits not strictly accurate. The Honourable Court are pleased to observe that "it is worse than a waste of time" to employ persons either to teach or learn the sciences in the state in which they are found in Oriental books. This position is of so comprehensive a nature, that it obviously requires a considerable modification, and the different branches of science intended to be included in it must be particularised before a correct appreciation can be formed of their absolute and comparative value. The metaphysical sciences, as found in Sanscrit and Arabic writings, are, we believe, fully as worthy of being studied in those languages as in any other. The arithmetic and algebra of the Hindus lead to the same principles as those of Europe and in the Madressa, the elements of mathematical science, which are taught, are those of Euclid ; law, a principal object of study in all the institutions, is one of vital importance to the good Government of the country, and language is the ground work upon which all future improvements must materially depend. To diffuse a knowledge of these things, language and law especially, cannot, therefore, be considered a waste of time, and with unfeigned deference to the Honourable Court, we most respectfully bring to their more deliberate attention that, in the stated estimate of the value of the Oriental sciences, several important branches appear to have escaped their consideration.

12. With respect to general literature, also, we should submit that some points can scarcely have been sufficiently present to the minds of the Hon'ble Court when the orders in question were issued. The Honourable Court observe, that any historical documents which may be found in the original languages should be translated by competent Europeans. But without dwelling on the magnitude of the task, if Mohammadan history is to be comprehended, or questioning the utility of employing Europeans in this branch of literature, we beg leave to remark that there appears to be no good reason why the Natives of India should be debarred from cultivating a knowledge of their own historical records, or why the translations of the countries in which they have a natural interest, should not be deserving of their perusal.

13. Besides science and historical documents, the Honourable Court observe, "what remains in Oriental literature is poetry, but that it never has been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry". We are not aware that any colleges in India have been established with this view, although we believe few colleges exist in any country in which poetical works are not taught to a great extent, and it would be taking a very narrow view of the objects of education to exclude them. We do not know, indeed, how any language and literature can

be successfully studied if its poetical compositions are not cultivated with considerable attention ; as a part, therefore, and a very important part of Sanscrit and Arabic literature, as the source of national imagery, the expression of national feeling, and the depository of the most approved phraseology and style, the poetical writings of the Hindus and Mohammadans appear to be legitimately comprehended amongst the objects of literary seminaries, founded for Mohammadans and Hindus.

14. Under these considerations, and upon a deliberate view of the real circumstances of the case, we flatter ourselves that the Honourable Court will feel disposed to approve of the arrangements that have been adopted or are in progress with the sanction of your Lordship in Council, for the improved education of the natives of this country. We must for the present go with the tide of popular prejudice, and we have the less regret in doing so, as we trust we have said sufficient to show that the course is by no means unprofitable. At the same time we are fully aware of the value of those accessions which may be made from European science and literature, to the sum total of Asiatic knowledge, and shall endeavour, in pursuance of the sentiments and intentions of Government, to avail ourselves of every favourable opportunity for introducing them when it can be done without offending the feelings and forfeiting the confidence of those for whose advantage their introduction is designed.*

Calcutta,
The 18th August 1824.

We have, etc.

(Signed) J. H. Harington.
J. P. Larkins.
W. W. Martin.
J. C. C. Sutherland.
H. Shakespear.
Holt Mackenzie.
H. H. Wilson.
A. Stirling.
W. B. Bayley.

147. Memorial from Gurudas Mukerjee and others to the Governor-General in Council, soliciting them to allow Mr. Sandford Arnot to remain in Calcutta and superintend their school. (October 13, 1824).

Sir,

In behalf of myself and the other subscribers I beg leave to send you the accompanying memorial addressed to the Right Honorable the Governor General

*Sharp: *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 93.

in Council and solicit the favour of your forwarding it to His Lordship. I at the same time entreat that you will pardon the Liberty we have thus taken.*

Calcutta, I have &ca.

13th October, 1824. GOOROODOSS MOOKERJEA.

To The Right Honorable the Governor General in Council.

My Lord,

We the undermentioned Patrons and Friends of a seminary of education for the gratuitous instruction of Native youth, beg leave most respectfully to represent to your Lordship in Council, that this Institution having existed for nearly three years during which a portion of the pupils have made such a degree of proficiency as urgently requires increased ability in their teachers—a want which till lately we found it impossible to supply ; in the beginning of June last Mr. Sandford Arnot immediately on his arrival here from Bencoolen and while in expectation of being permitted to remain in the country, engaged, as a means of subsistence, to superintend the education of the pupils under our charge agreeably to the wish we had long entertained of procuring the assistance of a competent European teacher.

Under these circumstances we beg leave to request, with the greatest deference, that your Lordship in Council will be pleased to grant us permission to retain Mr. Arnot in his present situation until the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known should it be agreeable to the benevolent disposition of Government; we in the meantime being ready to become responsible and to produce the most satisfactory security for his conduct.

We are the more encouraged to hope for this indulgence as the British Government has been pleased very frequently to express a desire to promote the diffusion of knowledge among it's Indian subjects; and it will therefore, we feel confident embrace every favourable opportunity of enabling the Natives of India to avail themselves of such means as lie within their reach for the instructing their children and those of their poor countrymen. Whereas since few if any Europeans of education, come to this country, unless expressly destined to other pursuits, which it can seldom be in their power and their inclination to abandon, we have found it impossible to obtain any competent European teacher at a moderate salary ; on which account we have been endeavouring to procure a fit person from England. In regard therefore to the principal object of our Institution we have at present but faint hopes of success, unless through the indulgence of Government now solicited.

We have presumed to make this request under the general impression that from the liberal disposition of Government, it will be pleased with an opportunity

* Jud. Cons. (Cr.) October 28, 1824, No 43.

of conferring on us a favour of this nature; feeling confident that your Lordship in Council will excuse the liberty we have taken in presenting this address.*

We have the honor to be,
My Lord,
With the greatest respect,

your Lordship's most obedient and humble servants

GOOROODOSS MOOKERJEE
LALLAH KISSEN CHAND
HURROCHUNDER GHOSE
ROY KISSEN MOHUN MITTER
BISSONAUTH GHOSE
BECHARAM SEN
ROOPCHUND COONDO
RAMCHUNDER BISWAS

148. Reply from Government to the above. (October 28, 1824).

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th Instant with the memorial which accompanied it and to inform you in reply that upon a full consideration of the subject His Lordship in Council feels himself precluded from complying with the application contained in that memorial in favor of Mr. Arnot.†

Council Chamber,
the 28th October, 1824.

I am &ca.
(Sd.) W. B. BAYLEY,
Chief Secy. to Govt.

149. Editorial remarks of the "John Bull" in appreciation of the effect Rammohun Roy's testimony had on the undertaking by the General Assembly of Scotland of the education of the native Indian youths. (January 4, 1827).

Our readers will recollect, that we some time ago alluded to a measure brought before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by the Reverend Dr. Bryce of St. Andrew's Church at this Presidency, in regard to the highly important subject of diffusing religious and moral knowledge among the Natives of this country. The active and highly praiseworthy exertions of the Episcopal Church of India could not fail to stimulate her sister Establishment in the same race of benevolence ; but delay necessarily occurred from the distance at which the moving

*Ibid, No. 44.
†Ibid, No. 45.

authority in the Presbyterian Church is situated ; and it was necessary, that this authority should be put in possession of grounds, sufficient to warrant the national measure of an appeal on the part of the General Assembly to the People of Scotland. These grounds were at length furnished ; and it must be gratifying to the author of the *History of the Charitable Institutions of Calcutta* to see from the Letter to the People of Scotland that his able and interesting work had conduced most materially to the object, that is now in progress of execution. The testimony of a distinguished Hindu gentleman Ram Mohun Roy, that a field offering a fair prospect of success to the proposed measure opened itself among his countrymen, was also before the Venerable Assembly, and met, as it deserved, the highest attention ; nor can it fail to be gratifying to the mind of this individual to reflect, that he has been instrumental, in increasing the amount of benevolent and philanthropic exertion, brought to operate on the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of his countrymen. Coming before the Church of Scotland in a shape so satisfactory, we need scarcely say, that the measure experienced the warmest support from all parties. Its nature will be understood from the Report, which we have published in our paper of to-day—and which has already appeared in the columns of our contemporary, the *Bengal Chronicle*—and from the Letter of the Committee ; and we feel assured will recommend itself to the attention of every one desirous of the improvement of the natives of India, and to the strenuous support of every Scotchman in the East. The Committee of the General Assembly rely especially on the Members of the Church of Scotland resident in this country, aiding them in acquiring Funds, sufficient to accomplish the object in view ; and we are sure, that in this hope they will not be disappointed.*

150. Similar remarks of the "Oriental Observer" on the same. (February 25, 1827).

In our last paper we laid before our readers, the Pastoral Letter addressed by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church, to the people of Scotland, on the subject of diffusing religious and moral knowledge among the Natives of India. We are enabled to-day to lay before them the Memorial of the Reverend Dr. Bryce, which was the means of calling the attention of the Church of Scotland to this highly important subject. It is, we believe, generally known, as it has been more than once adverted to in the *John Bull*, that Ram Mohun Roy accompanied the Memorial with his testimony generally in favour of the views and suggestions, which it held forth. This learned and intelligent Native Gentleman did not regard the directly addressing his countrymen, from the pulpit of an Established place of Worship and under the sanction of Established Ecclesiastical authority, as so likely to produce all the good effects expected from it by Dr. Bryce ; and on looking to the Letter of the Assembly it will be seen that Venerable body must have adopted Ram Mohun's suggestion, as they have made Education the primary object in view —and look to the employment of the clergymen who may be sent out, in preaching

**John Bull*, January 4, 1827.

the truths of Christianity to Native audiences, as consequent to their labours as Teachers of Youth.*

151. An account of the examination of boys of Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu School. (January 10, 1828).

On Monday there was a public examination of Rammohun Roy's Anglo Hindoo School at the Hurkaru Public Rooms, when we had a proof of the strong interest felt in native improvement, afforded by the presence and continued attention to the proceedings, of several of the principal Merchants and Gentlemen of Calcutta, Messrs. Young, Bracken, Calder, Plowden, Tytler, &c. Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Thakoor, Radhaprasad Roy, and several other native gentlemen were also present.

The examination was conducted by Mr. Sinclair, the Head Teacher, assisted by Mr. Hare, the Manager of the School. The number of boys examined appeared to be about fifty, but the number, we understand, whose names are in the School Register is between 70 and 80.

This Institution is, we are informed, principally supported at the expense of Rammohun Roy with the aid of a few philanthropic individuals, both among his own countrymen and Europeans, who are friendly to the communication of liberal education to the Natives of this country ; and it must have afforded a very high degree of pleasure to that distinguished individual as well as to those who have aided him in his benevolent exertions, to observe the progress which several of the pupils have made in their studies. To the intelligent observer it must also have been an additional source of gratification to notice among the scholars several of the children of the native gentlemen who contribute to the support of the school, in no respect distinguished from those who receive their education gratuitously.

Besides three classes that were examined in Reading, Spelling, Grammar, and Translation, the first, or most advanced class, was also examined in Joyce's Scientific Dialogues on Mechanics and Astronomy, in the first sixteen propositions of the First Book of Euclid, and in translating into Bengallee a passage of Voltaire's History of Charles XII of Sweden, in all of which they acquitted themselves apparently very much to the satisfaction of the auditors. Although this Class appears to have made very little progress in Mathematics, yet they were perfect masters of all that they professed to know, and one boy in particular, Bissonauth Mittre, was distinguished for the great facility with which he demonstrated the propositions assigned to him, and the clear apprehension he had formed of their import and of the corrollaries deducible from them.

At the close of the Examination several prizes consisting of appropriate books were awarded to the most deserving boys. They had been presented for that purpose by Mr. Hare, Mr. Holcroft, and the gentlemen composing the Committee of the Unitarian Association. The boys thus singled out for proficiency in their

*_Oriental Observer_, February 25, 1827.

studies were Bissonauth Mittre, Dwarkanath Mittre, Ramgopaul Bose, Samachurn Sain Gopt, Goverdhon Doss ; Mothoornauth Takor ; Tarachand Bhose, Bholanauth Mittre, Debendranauth Takoor ; Nobin Maudhub Day, Bissumbhur Chunder, Doorgachurn Gongooly ; Muddunmohun Aush, Mooraleymohun Bose, Maudhub-chunder Sing. And those rewarded for the regularity of their attendance were Cooraram Mittre, Mothoornauth Takoor, Bennymaudhub Mookerjee, Ramapersaud Roy, and Nundcoomar Doss Nundy.

These last mentioned prizes were granted at the special recommendation of the Head Teacher in consequence of the great drawback on the utility of his labours which he experiences from the long continued and unnecessary absence of many of the pupils. One of the greatest obstacles perhaps to the thorough education of the natives in general knowledge is the want of a sufficient check to secure their constant and regular attendance ; although reasoning from general principles alone, we should be inclined to suspect that this evil is attributable in a certain extent at least to some defect in the system of education adopted or in the internal economy of the School. One instance has been mentioned to us of a boy who one day came to school and coolly took his place among the rest of the scholars, *after three years absence*!

We learn that there is to be a public Examination of the Students attending the Vidyaluyu or Hindoo College at the Government House on Saturday next at 10 o'clock, an Institution the objects of which are the same as those of the Anglo-Hindoo School we have been noticing, but which commands much more ample means for their attainment ; and its success, we are happy to learn, under its present able teachers and superintendents is proportionate.*

152. An account of a meeting for the formation of the Commercial and Patriotic Association in Calcutta. (February 4, 1828).

At a Public Meeting held at the Exchange Rooms, on Thursday morning, the 31st January, 1828.

On a motion made by Mr. Wale Byrn, and seconded by Mr. S. P. Singer, Mr. J. W. Ricketts was unanimously called to take the chair.

Mr. Ricketts rose to observe, that he felt the honor conferred upon him by their selection of him as a Chairman, on the interesting occasion of this respectable and numerous audience; and, after having read the public Notice in the Exchange Gazette Advertiser, by which this Meeting was convened, proceeded to state, at full length, the purport and nature of the Association contemplated to be formed on the present occasion.

After considerable discussion on different points connected with the subject, the following Resolutions were unanimously acceded to, and passed:—

1. That this Meeting, duly appreciating the force of the sacred claims which the East Indian branch of the rising generation have upon their sympathy and

Bengal Chronicle, January 10, 1828.

regard, deem it their duty to form themselves into an Association, to be called "The Commercial and Patriotic Association."

2. That, though the scheme of such an Association has emanated from an East Indian, (since it must emanate from some quarter or other,) and has consequently a special eye to the good of the East Indian community, it shall nevertheless be freely and fully open to the admission of all, whether Europeans or Natives, who may be found willing to join the Association.

3. That each and every individual contributing, at one payment, the sum of Sicca Rupees one thousand, as his personal share in the joint stock, shall be considered a Member of the Association, to all intents and purposes.

4. That the whole of the property, of whatever kind, thus originated shall constitute the joint stock of all the Members composing the Association, for their individual and mutual benefit, according to the extent of their own interest at stake.

5. That each and every Member of the Association shall be at liberty to take as many shares in the joint stock, whether for his own benefit or in behalf of others, as he may be able to pay for.

6. That the purchase of three shares in the joint stock, shall entitle such individual share-holder to an additional vote (beyond that which he possessed from the purchase of a single share,) in all matters connected with the Association; and that the purchase of six shares shall, in like manner, entitle him to the privilege of still another vote in those matters; but no individual shall be considered to enjoy more than three votes, under any circumstances, and whatever may be the amount of his shares in the joint stock.

7. That each and every share in the joint stock, shall be held transferable from one hand to another, at the option of the individual shareholder, according to such rules as may be framed hereafter for the guidance of the Association.

8. That no individual share-holder shall be permitted to withdraw, either on his own account or that of others, any share or shares from the joint stock of the Association.

9. That the primary and leading object of the Association shall be to engage, through the medium of proper instruments employed by them for that purpose, in the wide field of agriculture, trade, and general commerce, in order to promote the substantial interests of the undertaking.

10. That, should ultimate success attend their united operations for one common object, under the Divine blessing, the Association shall hold it to be a sacred and interesting part of their duty to watch over and promote, by every legitimate means in their power, the real welfare and interests of the East Indian branch of the rising generation around them, including all such youths of European descent as may be destined to be born, to live, and to die in this country.

11. That the Association shall, in the case above contemplated, equally hold it to be their highest duty to promote the work of sound and wholesome education among the native population, and to introduce a spirit of general improvement into all the available resources of the country around them, on such a scale as circumstances touching their financial prosperity may warrant.

12. That the affairs of the Association shall be conducted by a Committee of Management consistent of seven Members, including a Corresponding Member and Secretary, who are to be annually chosen, with the general consent and sanction of the Association, and any three of whom shall be deemed competent to form a *quorum* for the transaction of business.

13. That each and every Member of the Committee of Management, shall and must necessarily be a shareholder in the joint stock of the Association.

14. That the following gentlemen be chosen to act as a Committee of Management for the ensuing year ; viz. Messrs. W. DaCosta, J. Fountain, A. Imlach, R. Kerr, Baboo Rammohun Roy, J. W. Ricketts, and S. P. Singer.

15. That Mr. J. W. Ricketts be appointed Corresponding Member and Secretary to the Association.

16. That a general Code of Rules shall be prepared by the Committee of Management for the future guidance of the Association, and for the due consummation and accomplishment of all the practical purposes contemplated by them.

17. That no vacancies, whether in the Committee of Management, or in the Office of Corresponding Member and Secretary, shall be filled up without the general consent and sanction of the Association, or at least of a majority of votes, obtained either in writing by a Circular, or at a General Meeting specially convened for that purpose.

18. That an Annual General Meeting shall be held on the 31st January of every year, being the happy anniversary of the formation of the Association, (or on the 30th of that month, should the former happen to fall on a Sunday), at such time and place as may, in each instance, be determined upon, for the purpose of inspecting the accounts of the Association, and of ascertaining the real state of their affairs.

19. That Messrs. W. DaCosta and Baboo Rammohun Roy be appointed Joint Treasurers to the Association, for the purpose of receiving monies, and making disbursements on account of it, under such rules as may hereafter be framed for their guidance.

20. That a subscription book shall be immediately opened by each Member of the Committee of Management, for the reception of the names of all those who may be willing to become shareholders in the joint stock of the Association.

21. That the Resolutions now passed at this Meeting, shall be published in all the newspapers in Calcutta, for the general information of all classes of the community, in order that those who may feel so disposed, may have an opportunity of joining the Association.

Moved by Mr. Wale Byrn, with some prefatory observations on his part, and resolved unanimously,—

22. That the warm thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Ricketts, for his laudable exertions for the public good, and for his able conduct in the chair on this occasion.

Mr. Ricketts feelingly acknowledged this vote of thanks, with an assurance that he duly appreciated the motives from which it arose.

Moved by Mr. Ricketts, and resolved unanimously,—

23. That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to Messrs. Mackenzie, Lyall & Co. for their disinterested readiness in accomodating us with the use of the Exchange Rooms on this occasion.*

JOHN W. RICKETTS,
Chairman.

153. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" on the above. (February 7, 1828).

Whether the project of the Commercial and Patriotic Association shall eventually succeed or not, we are free to confess, that those who have taken so much trouble in endeavouring to give it practical shape and effect, appear to us to deserve well of the Community.

Difficulties may arise in the path of this Joint Stock Association, but at any rate it is some merit to attempt well in a good cause. It is even a great object gained when men evince a readiness to meet and consult together, and to frame public spirited plans. Formerly the complaint was, that the East Indians were apparently at a dead halt of apathy—that individual self was all in all ; and that there was no general feeling or sentiment of coalescing common interests. Within these two or three years much has been done to wipe away a reproach that to reiterate now would be most unjust. Rome was not built in a day—nor is the task of regenerating classes of men the work of a week. When, however, the earnest desire of improvement becomes a general principle, the spirit soon acquires an impetus that cannot fail in the long run to ensure success.

As the first step to amendment is a deep sense of error ; so is the first step in social and political advancement the general consciousness of being in a 'false position'. We are exceedingly thankful to the Duke of Wellington for the invention of a phrase which so correctly characterises the situation of the class we allude to.

To the operation of the improving spirit which has assuredly commenced its active and beneficent influence, we already owe the Parental Academic Institution ; and it is not speculating too much to suppose, that that Institution is daily calling into action energies and feelings that would otherwise slumber ;—so much does a desire to advance in the moral scale depend upon the lights of education, which form such a favorite subject for the derision of the scorner, and such a hateful one for the jealousy of the despot.

Conscious that their cause is just, and their objects laudable, we would therefore suggest to those who have been influential in forming the Commercial and Patriotic Association, to proceed perseveringly in their endeavours to ameliorate the condition of their fellow countrymen ; but not to be too hasty—and, although they may meet with unforeseen difficulties, not to despond ; since

**India Gazette*, February 4, 1828.

the materials upon which they have to work, are daily becoming more abundant and more capable of beneficial elaboration.*

154. Further editorial remarks of the same on the same. (April 7, 1828).

It gives us much pleasure to learn by the fifth Annual Report of the Parental Academic Institution, (which has just been published), that that meritorious Seminary for youth, continues to receive the support of the public.

The general rules of the School appear well calculated to promote the ends in view, and every attention is paid no less to the routine of education than to the religious and moral instruction of the pupils. Their comfort and health are also well looked to, and every department, in short, seems to be properly provided for.†

155. Another account of the examination of boys of Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu School. (February 28, 1829).

We have been favoured by a friend with a notice of the annual examination of Ram mohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu School, which took place yesterday at the Town Hall, in the presence of the Hon'ble Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Compton, Mr. Calder, Mr. Hare and a large company of Natives, which appeared to take great interest in the proofs that were given of the progress of education amongst their countrymen. We were sorry however to learn, that the benevolent founder and patron of the Institution was prevented by indisposition from attending.

A statement was put into the hands of the Examiners intimating that the pupils of the first class were competent to be examined in the First Book of Pope's Homer's Odyssey, in Goldsmith's History of England, in Joyce's Dialogue, in the First Book of Euclid's Elements, in Murray's English Grammar, in Goldsmith's Geography, in the solution of Problems on the Terrestrial Globe, in the Rules of Arithmetic as far as those which related to cases of compound proportion, and in the translation of passages from English to Bengalee and *vice versa*, and in those Books in which they were actually examined, they acquitted themselves to the high satisfaction of the Gentlemen present. The other classes were also examined according to their respective degrees of advancement and the whole was concluded by the recitation of a piece and by the presentation of the prizes consisting of several valuable and useful books provided by several gentlemen present for that purpose. The following are the names of the pupils who most distinguished

**Ibid*, February 7, 1828.
† *Ibid*, April 7, 1828.

themselves and who received the prizes both as rewards for proficiency and regularity of attendance:—

First Class—Gunganarain Bhose ; Bissonauth Mittre ; Dwarkanauth Mittre ; Mothoornauth Tagore ; Bunnymundub Day ; Corraram Mittre and Brijonauth Chunder.

Second Class—Bholanath Mittre ; Nobinmaudub Day and Modoosudun Dhurr.

Third Class—Rampersaud Roy and Debendranauth Tagore.

Fourth Class—Modoosoodun Chuckerburtty ; Raja Baboo ; Hurrimohun Ghose and Joyeschunder Ghose.*

156. Editorial remarks of the "Calcutta Gazette" in appreciation of the progress made by Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu School and of his efforts to ameliorate the intellectual condition of his countrymen. (February 28, 1829).

It may be thought that we have too frequently alluded to the subject of native Education of late ; but we must even at the risk of being considered tedious upon that head, revert it to once again.

We had yesterday the gratification of witnessing the examination of the Anglo Indian School at the Town Hall ; and although there were but few European Gentlemen present, we had the satisfaction of seeing Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Calder, Mr. Compton, Mr. Hare, Mr. Tytler, the Reverend W. Adam, and a tolerable number of natives. Sir Edward Ryan, who takes a most lively interest in the intellectual improvement of the Hindoos, kindly undertook the task of questioning the students himself. The junior classes were made to read, spell, explain words in Bengalee and English, and analyze the parts of speech ; while the first class afforded sufficient proof of their knowledge of Geometry, English History, Geography, and the Elements of Mechanics and Astronomy. From the information of a gentleman connected with this Institution, we learned that the senior boys are tolerably proficient in the principal rules of Arithmetic, and that they can translate from English into Bengalee, and *vice versa* with considerable ease. After the examination had concluded, Sir Edward Ryan presented the prizes to the successful candidates, and expressed himself satisfied with their general proficiency. The prizes we heard were provided by several gentlemen, whose endeavours to stimulate the native youth to great exertions, are particularly entitled to the thanks of the native community. We should wish to see this spirit of encouragement become more general ; and we know it could easily be rendered universal, but for the mistaken backwardness of individuals. People in general are too apt to suppose that their single exertions will be trifling and of little avail, forgetting at the same time, that the universe is composed of mere atoms, that parts are necessary to a whole, and that the feeble endeavours of individuals form, when combined, a useful and powerful aggregate. Let not our readers then be ashamed

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* February 28, 1829.

to contribute their assistance, whatever be its amount, to this valuable purpose ; we need not be ashamed of doing *good*, because we cannot do so much as others.

It becomes us to state here, that although the Anglo Indian School is partly assisted by public contribution, yet the greater portion of its expenses is paid by one of the most liberal and enlightened of native gentlemen—one whose name has been long before the world, whose talents are surpassed by his worth only, and whose efforts to ameliorate the intellectual condition of his countrymen, can never be too highly appreciated. As the founder of the Institution, he takes an active interest in its proceedings ; and we know that he is not more desirous of any thing than of its success, as a means of effecting the moral and intelllectual regeneration of the Hindoos. We were sorry to learn that indisposition prevented his witnessing that success yesterday ; but whatever may be his state, he must feel the satisfaction that every benevolent mind enjoys for having been useful to mankind,—and it must always be to him a pleasing prospect, that when millions yet unborn shall hail the return of knowledge to this country, they will associate that circumstance with the name of RAMMOHUN ROY.*

157. An account of a native literary society formed by the students of Rammohun Roy's school and others. (September 9, 1830).

Although we had heard that some class-fellows of the Anglo-Hindoo School in Simla, Calcutta, and several of the junior students of the Hindoo College in Putuldungah, and some scholars of similar age in the school established by Mr. David Hare in Putuldunga, had united to form the Anglo-Indian Hindoo Association, yet we refrained from mentioning it in the Cowmoody, as we were not possessed of sufficient information. We have now learned from many sources that these youths confine their discussions to literary subjects, and that all reference to religious topics is forbidden by their fundamental laws. They meet twice every month, on the second and fourth Wednesday evening of each month. When the President permits any youth to deliver his opinion, he looks at the paper (containing the question) and according to his ability addresses the meeting. Although we have not ourselves had an opportunity of being present at any of these meetings, we have not heard that any thing has ever been spoken by the young men except what was advantageous to the country. No one is allowed to attend the meetings, unless introduced by a member of the Society. If any one wishes to become a member of it he must make known his desire to the Secretary, who will communicate it to the Society, and receive their consent or refusal, and he cannot be elected except by a majority. The business of the Society is conducted in the house of Krishna Kanta Bussoja on the east side of Wellington Street. If these young men pursue their enquiries, it cannot be doubted that their progress will be abundantly manifest, and that by such discussions they will be rapidly perfected in literature. We shall not be backward in shewing partiality

**Calcutta Gazette*, February 28, 1829.

to the Society. No account of it has yet been addressed to us ; if it had, we should have published it with much commendation and pleasure.*

158. An Indian correspondent on the native improvement. (December 11, 1830).

The mention of any circumstances indicating the rapid progress which British literature and science are making among the native youth of Calcutta, cannot but be highly interesting to those who at all wish to see this country enlightened. Besides, there are many who have the cause of native improvement at heart, and lend their aid towards it, but who, from the nature of their situation and other reasons, seldom have the opportunities of knowing the state of it; and to them such information will afford great gratification. Not quite three years have past since an association was formed of the principal students of the Hindoo College, which met there once a fortnight for literary discussions. Notwithstanding the ability displayed by some members, and the propriety with which the proceedings were conducted, the institution was nipped in the bud, chiefly by the interference of the managers of the seminary, the nature of whose influence, from a recent exposure made in the *India Gazette* of a Regulation passed in reference to the lectures of Messrs. Hill and Duff, may not have been forgotten by the public. But this opposition has only served to give additional strength to what it had, from an ignorance of human nature, intended to overcome. The spirit of union has spread itself, and in the course of a short time a great number of literary societies have been formed in Calcutta, consisting principally of the former and present leading students of the Hindoo College, the School Society's English schools, and the seminary generally known by the name of Ram Mohun Roy's school. It has been ascertained upon enquiry that seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science ; and sometimes in politics ; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by the members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great talents, whose name has been for some time familiar to the public ear as the author of some interesting poems. Justice to the merits of this individual requires it to be said, that not content with a conscientious discharge of his studies as a teacher of the College, he devotes his care and his talents during a very considerable part of his time out of school, to the improvement not only of those immediately placed under his tuition, but of all such native young men as come within his reach. He is connected with one society only as president, but with most of the others as a member. In short, he lends a very able and active hand in

**Sambad Cowmoody,* quoted by *John Bull,* September 20, 1830.

raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency. He has lately commenced a course of evening lectures in Metaphysics in the rooms of the School Society's School at Putuldanga, which are attended by about 150 native young gentlemen. He was prevented from giving these lectures in the College rooms by the interference of misplaced authority. The example thus set in English has been imitated in Bengalee literature, and two or three associations have been formed principally of persons not connected with the schools above mentioned, for writing upon and verbally discussing various subjects exclusively in the Bengalee language. These combinations have been, and will, no doubt, continue to be, productive of very great advantages.

Another and no less interesting circumstance, connected with the subject under consideration, was noticed sometime ago in the papers of the presidency—the publication of a volume of poems by a College student, which, notwithstanding its faults, did much credit to the young poet, as the first attempt of a Hindoo in English metrical composition. The capacity of many of the native youths to write English prose may be judged from the specimens which were published in the first, and unfortunately the only, number of the much regretted *Parthenon*, and from the native correspondence which occasionally appears in the *India Gazette, the Bengal Hurkaru*, and the *Literary Gazette*.

What pleasure must an enlightened mind and a benevolent heart experience to learn that superstition is vanishing with far greater speed than was anticipated, before the rays of intellectual light. Hindoo parents and guardians begin to find themselves in a sad dilemma; on the one hand, they deplore and wish to prevent the effects of education in unshackling the minds of their sons and wards, whom on the other hand they are impelled by motives of interest and vanity to see well versed in English literature and science. But whatever steps they may be led to take hereafter, there is abundant reason to hope, under a continuance of the blessings of British Government in India, that the mind will continue to progress and never more be found to retrograde. It is chiefly desirable to multiply the means of spreading, upon a liberal system, the literature and science of Great Britain, in order to render the people of this country happy and flourishing.*

159. An account of the formation of another native literary society at Rammohun Roy's Anglo-Hindu school. (January 19, 1833).

A Society called the Surbututtwa-deepeeka Subha was formed at the Institution called Ràja Ram Mohun Roy's Hindoo School in Simla, about 1 p.m. on Sunday the 17th Pous of the year 1754.

When the individuals present had taken their seats, Sreejoot Joygopal Bushoo observed that "as no Society has been formed in Calcutta for the cultivation of the

**India Gazette*, quoted by *John Bull*, December 11, 1830.

Bengalee language, we have proposed to establish one for that purpose ; and we believe that the country will be greatly benefited by its influence." Baboo Devendranath Thakoor then observed that, "it was most proper to thank those who had purposed to form this Society and acknowledge their virtue ; for if it be permanently established the literature of our country will be fully developed. At present we see many Societies formed for the cultivation of the English language, and through their means many are acquiring proficiency in that language. You may therefore conclude, Gentlemen, that if this Society be formed for the cultivation of pure Bengalee, its members will become perfectly versed in it." Sreejoot Joygopal Bushoo then said, that if Baboo Devendranath Thakoor would undertake the office of Secretary to the society, the business would be successfully managed ; and in this all were unanimous. Sreejoot Nubeenmadhub De then said, that it would be well if Ruma-prusad Roy were President of this society for some time ; and in this all joyfully acquisced. Baboo Ruma-prusad Roy, and Baboo Devendranath Thakoor having taken their respective seats, observed to the company, that it was now necessary to settle the Laws of the society. Sreejoot Shamachurun Sen Goopta then said, "It seems proper to me that this Society be called the Surbututtwa-deepeeka", and no one dissented. Sreejoot Dwarkanath Mittra and Sreejoot Nubeen-madhub De then proposed that the members of this Society should meet every Sunday at 4 p.m. to which all assented. The President then said that no language must be used in this Subha but Bengalee ; and all agreed to this likewise. Sreejoot Nubeen-madhub De then said that the President should be changed every month ; for if any person eminently skilled in Bengalee were to be had, it could not be advisable to leave him aside, and have another for President. But if the Secretary instead of being inattentive to his duty, should shew diligent zeal in it, and be able to gratify the members, then he should continue fixed in his Secretaryship. Otherwise it will be necessary to appoint another Secretary. For the present month, however, Baboo Devendranath Thakoor is chosen to this office ; and whenever any one is appointed to an office there is to be change for one month. Shamachurun Goopta then said, that it was proper that religion should be discussed in this Society. On this subject there was some division, but ultimately all were perfectly agreed to it. Sreejoot Nubeen-madhub De then moved, that if the President or Secretary could not attend at the appointed hour from any necessary engagement, they must give previous notice to all the members, which was approved by all. Baboo Shamachurun Goopta having heard all these proposals thus spoke, "I cannot express the satisfaction arising in my mind in considering the qualifications and worthiness of the President and Secretary who have been elected to-day: but I imagine the like satisfaction is experienced by all present. We ought therefore to return them abundant thanks". The President remarked ; "This business of the meeting is now finished, and we must take our departure ; but let us pray God that through the permanence of this Society, many generations may be blessed". Thus praying to God, the gentlemen present departed to their homes about 4 p.m. The Prospectus of the Society is this: "We beg respectfully to

represent to our friends that we are anxious to form a Society for the perfect cultivation of the Bengalee language. Those gentlemen who are desirous of joining such a Society, will please to attend at the Hindoo School of Sreejoot Raja Ram Mohun Roy on Sunday the 17th Pous at 1 p.m. and make known their intention.*

JOYGOPAL BUSHOO.

160. Appreciative remarks of the "India Gazette" on the above. (February 12, 1833).

A Literary Society, under the designation of Survututwu Deepca Subha, or Society for the diffusion of all branches of knowledge, has been lately established in Simlah by some of the educated native youths of Calcutta. The principal object of this Association is the cultivation of the vernacular dialect of Bengal, and no doubt every friend to the country will wish success to this institution, aware as all must be of the necessity that there exists for a thorough improvement of the language, the present imperfections of which are too notorious to be commented upon. As long as the medium of our mutual communication remains in the state in which it now is, it is in vain to look for any general diffusion of knowledge among the natives, and without that diffusion of knowledge any material reform, in the manners of the people, are, in our belief quite impossible. We earnestly recommend the infant society to consider what are the best means of giving that polish and that energy to the language which it so much wants, and also of adding to its dictionary, in which it is so defective, and we need scarcely urge that the study of its genius must be a requisite step in this consideration.†

161. Appreciative remarks of the "Gyananweshun" on the same. (July, 1833).

On Sunday, the 17th of Pous, a Society was established, under the above name, at the school of Raja Ram mohun Roy. It is to meet and carry on discussions from 1 o'clock till three in the afternoon every Sunday. One of the resolutions passed is, that the proceedings are to take place in the vernacular tongue: and we think by acquiring a habit of speaking the *Gouriah Bhasa*, the native youth will derive much benefit by this institution. Baboo Ramprosaud Roy has been elected the president, and Baboo Debendranauth Takoor the secretary: Although the members are young they deserve great applause, having united together for so laudable a purpose.‡

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* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Samachar Durpun*, January 19, 1833.
† *India Gazette*, February 12, 1833.
‡ *Gyananweshan*, quoted by *Asiatic Journal*, July, 1833.

162. The Introduction of Rammohun Roy's Bengalee Grammar in the English Language. (June 12, 1826).

It is almost impossible for individuals residing in this Metropolis to remain unheedful of the persevering exertions of many European philanthropists in the noble attempt to ameliorate the moral condition of its inhabitants. Some of these gentlemen, with a view to facilitate intercourse between themselves and the natives, have undergone much labour in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the vernacular language of the country; while others are diligently seeking access to it, without any expectation of deriving useful information or rational entertainment from any work in the language. This tract, being composed with a view to convey the principal rules applicable to that tongue and a brief outline of the general principles of Grammar, is intended as a humble present for those worthy persons ; and should they find it of use by affording them aid in their own studies, or in directing those of others, I shall consider myself well rewarded for the expence and labour bestowed on its publication.

Calcutta,
12th June 1826.

163. An appreciative notice of the above work. (June 27, 1826).

A grammar of the Bengalee language has just been published by Rammohun Roy. It is a work that indicates much philological acuteness, and philosophical research, and is, so far as we can comprehend, every way highly creditable to the celebrated and worthy author.*

164. Baboo Kashiprasad Ghose on Bengali works and writers. (January 27, 1830).

Having given in my preceding article a cursory account of Bengallee Poetry and versification, I shall next proceed to detail the principal works in Bengallee which constitute the literature of the natives, and are generally used. But before treating the subject directly at once, a few words on Bengallee writing may not be unnecessary or unimportant.

Prose has been much more neglected than Poetry, which decidedly proves that the Bengallee language has not received a thorough refinement. Common letters or official documents were the only vehicles of prose-writing with the assistance of many Hindee and Persian words. In fact the vernacular tongue of Bengal although derived from the same source—the Sanscrit, is so divided that

Bengal Hurkaru, June 27, 1826

almost every district has its peculiarities of speech, which are hardly intelligible to one who is at a reasonable distance from it ; those of the Chittagong or the Moorshedabad districts for instance cannot be well understood here by a person who has never had any intercourse with the natives of those places. This difference in the Bengallee language may be considered as the principal cause of its slow advancement.

It is only within this thirty years that any work in Bengallee prose has made its appearance ; before this, however, the Serampore Missionaries had published prosaic translations from the Scriptures : but the Bengallee renderings were scarcely intelligible, being exactly of the English idiom. After the Missionaries, that is within thirty years Mrittunjaya Vidyalankara published a work called *Rajavali* fifty-six years before Christ, to the settlement of the British power in India the second edition of which is dated 1814 of the Christian era. It is an account of Kings from the time of Vikramaditya who is said to have reigned about during the administration of Lord Clive. To sum up the merits of this work at once, it fails very much to answer it's design, as it is a composition of a few picked-up matters distantly related, and a list of Monarchs with their reigns founded upon what authority, cannot be determined. The language too is not purely Bengallee. Notwithstanding, it contains a great many facts which would be worth the while of any Native to read and know, the historical affairs of his country. It is the only book in Bengallee on Indian History ; and though its language be deficient, and its design be not well supported, still it is important and useful, considering the total want of historical accounts in Bengallee at present.

Next to *Rajavali* appeared *Purushapariksha,* a work tending to illustrate certain points of morality and good manners by way of fables. It is a translation of a sanscrit work of the same title by Huraprasad Roy, published in 1815. To speak of the merits of this publication, the same observation which has been made upon *Rajavali* will be also applicable to it, with this difference, that its language is still worse than that of the former work.

The. first works correctly written in Bengallee prose, which are subsequent to those published by Mrittunjaya Vidyalankara and Haraprasad Roy, are the phamphlets published by Baboo Rammohun Roy, and his opponents in religion ; but as they bear the character of controversies on the different points of faith, and do not therefore come under the head of Literature, we shall pass over them in silence, and descend to F. Carey's translation of the Abridged History of England by Dr. Goldsmith. This is a voluminous publication dated 1820, Serampore, and the first thing of the kind. But the style is often very obscure, partly owing to the literal and consequently unmeaning or unintelligible Bengallee renderings of English phrases and terms ; and partly to the improper management of the translation. On the whole Mr. Carey chose a difficult task to perform with success ; or in other words, to translate a work in English History in a language in which, as it is manifest from his own book, he had no great pretensions. Although it is true that the Bengallee language is yet imperfect in its

style, and does not possess a great variety of terms and technicalities to have enabled him to perform his undertaking successfully, or to render the historical occurrences of a foreign country intelligible to a people whose minds generally are not prepared to understand them ; and although it is true that want of an adequate knowledge of the localities and characteristic peculiarities of the manners and customs of a people is a great impediment to the comprehension of the events in their history ; it is nevertheless true also that if the translation had been idiomatical, instead of being strictly and unmeaningly literal, it could not have failed to be intelligible even to those readers who have read the original in English. Mr. Carey's work has therefore been of no benefit either to the Bengallee or the English reader ; indeed it is made use of at Schools for the purpose of translating exercise, but the boys cannot translate it without frequent references to the original. In fact the language of all Bengallee Publications at Serampore is very defective, and called by the natives "Serampore Bengallee". However, a work which has lately been issued from the School Book Society's Press, and is a translation from Mr. Mill's History of British India, possesses great merits. As the subject relates to the affairs of India it can be easily understood by every native, and may be on that account, strongly recommended to the attentive reading of those Bengallese especially who are not conversant with the English language, and cannot consequently have a better opportunity to learn the history of their country. This work has been well managed in its style and idiom, and deserving of the first rank of prosaic works among the literature of the Bengallese. Besides, it is printed in excellent type and very neatly ; which are circumstances rarely met with in Bengallee works.*

165. Baboo Kishorychand Mitra on Rammohun Roy's contribution to Bengali language and literature. (December, 1845).

Rammohun Roy received the first elements of native education at home in accordance with the system, which universally obtains among the upper classes of native society, of initiating the children in the mysteries of *Subankar* under the paternal roof before sending them to a public school. The initiation takes place under the auspices of that model of an educator, a gurumahashay, who, instead of teaching "the young idea how to shoot", takes good care to cramp and check the development of all ideas except such as might be inspired by his example! It must not, however, be supposed, that the boys acquire any mastery over the Bengali language. Far from it. They only pick up a few rules of arithmetic and letter-writing. They acquire enough of Bengali to enable them to conduct the duties of a sheristadar and a peshkar, but not enough of it to express their thoughts with correctness or elegance. They acquire enough of it to write a long rubakari, but not enough of it to pen a short decent letter. At the age of eight or nine, they are now generally sent to an English School. It is therefore obvious

Calcutta Literary Gazette, quoted by *India Gazette*, January 27, 1830.

that the acquisition of the Bangali language—the language of their infancy—the language, in which their earliest associations are entwined, forms, properly speaking, no part of their education. Far different, however, was the case with Rammohun. Though he had received his elementary Bengali education from a gurumahashay, yet he not only attained, by dint of self-study, a knowledge of Bengali,—which, to say the least, was unrivalled by his contemporaries,—but afterwards brought the language itself to a very high state of improvement. We confess that it is, as yet, destitute of a literature ; that it may take generations, if not centuries, to bring it to the highest state of copiousness and refinement ; that, for elegance, flexibility and precision, it cannot be compared to the sanskrit, which has been cultivated by a Vyasa, a Valmiki and a Manu ;—yet it must be admitted that it is far more adapted to be a living *national* language. Sanskrit—so called, because of its being a *finished* language—the language of the Gods, the Mohorshis, and the Rishis,—can never be the medium of imparting instruction to the great mass of the Hindus ; as the complexity of its grammar, which Panini and Vopadeva delighted to mystify, renders its acquisition an herculean achievement. All this was known to Rammohun Roy. He therefore undertook to create a Literature in Bengali, and his exertions were crowned with a success that exceeded the most sanguine expectation. The Bengali has been so vastly improved by his careful cultivation, by his taste and genius, that it can be now successfully devoted to the communication of western knowledge to the children of this great country. He was evidently the first who consecrated, so to speak, the Bengali language by rendering it the medium of moral and religious instruction. But he experienced the greatest difficulties in embodying in it his elevated ideas on the nature and attributes of God. He found it totally inadequate to the expression of subtle metaphysical distinctions. He found here the same obstacles which Sir James Mackintosh says "stood in the way of Lucretius and Cicero when they began to translate the subtle philosophy of Greece into their narrow and barren tongue ; and are always felt by the philosopher when the struggles to express with the necessary discrimination his abstruse reasoning in words, which, though those of his own language, he must take from the mouths of persons to whom his distinctions would be without a meaning". But he obviated these difficulties by the introduction into it of expressive Sanskrit words. To his exertions, therefore, we are largely indebted for the improvement of the Bengali language. He was evidently one of the best, if not the best Bengali writer ever born. He was second to none, except it might be to Varut Chunder Roy,—who however prostituted his talents by enlisting them in the cause of libertinism. . . . . . Rammohun Roy's Bengali was truly classical. All his vernacular writings are pre-eminently characterized by a chastity of diction, a suavity of style and a felicity of illustration, not to be met with in the writings of older Bengali writers. They are free from that meretricious orientalism which characterizes so often vernacular productions. But it must not be supposed that the Bengali language, though thus considerably improved by Rammohun, is yet entirely fitted for the use of the metaphysician or the theologian. It is destitute of a scientific nomenclature, which must be either created or borrowed to enable us to transfuse European science

into it. We have no reason, however, to despair of the vernacularization of western knowledge. Since the time of Rammohun, the importance of this great work is fully recognized, and the establishment of the contemplated hundred and one vernacular schools in the Mofussil, with other collateral measures, will, we hope, tend to accelerate its accomplishment ; since the demand, which it will create for vernacular books, must inevitably bring in a rich supply.*

* *Calcutta Review* (1845), Vol. IV, p. 357

POLITICAL

166. Remarks of the "Calcutta Journal" on the utility of the Native Press on its inception. (December 22, 1821).

Low as we conceive the HURKARU and its chief prop and pillar C—to rank in public estimation, we cannot suffer its insinuations to pass by without at least entering our protest against the construction which that angry writer gives to our view of the Native Press. That the Natives of India, generally speaking, are ignorant and debased, no man is more thoroughly convinced than we are ; but this is only an additional reason why a Press in the hands of an intelligent and virtuous Individual, and they have no reason to suppose that *one* such cannot be found, ought to be useful to them ; and as beneficial to the interests of Government, as that valuable medium of the communication of thought and intelligence has been to every other country in which it has been allowed free scope. The professed principle of the British Government in India is the security of person and property to all who live under its sway, and its chief object is the happiness of those over whom its rule is extended. It is an insult of the grossest kind, but which nevertheless the enemies of the Press are continually offering by implication, to suppose that these professions are not most sincere. We have ever held and still hold them to be so ; and in that belief, we cannot imagine any thing more grateful to its Rulers than such symptoms among the subjects over whom they govern, as indicate their fullest confidence in the magnanimity and justice of their Superiors. Let any man, who has read the admirable Paper from the Friend of India, on the corruption and injustice that exists among the Native Officers of the Country, and who believes the picture to be true, say whether any check that could be given by publicity to the commission of such iniquity, must not be as valuable to the Government as to the community ; and whether an Administration like the present, peculiarly distinguished by its anxiety to do justice to all its Native subjects, must not be strengthened, benefitted, and honored by every auxiliary aid they can receive in the fulfilment of their benevolent designs.*

167. The editorial observations of the "Calcutta Monthly Journal" on the above. (December 24, 1821).

From the *Calcutta Journal* we have extracted the Prospectus of a Native Newspaper. It is specious enough, but we must confess that we cannot join with those who hail it as 'a light for the Gentiles'. Political discussion is not suited to the prejudices or the capacities of an *uneducated* people. We are as staunch admirers of true rational freedom as any, but must pause before we can give the vote of our approbation for a measure calculated to produce much evil, and the ultimate good of which is at least but speculative. Let us for a

* *Calcutta Journal*, December 22, 1821

moment consider the vast mass of population in Ireland and the highlands and islands of Scotland, who have not received the benefits of education and instruction ;—would it be prudent to put translations of the *Examiner* and *Sherwin's Register* into such hands? What pledge have we that the Bengalee paper may not become a firebrand like the last? If it shall be confined to mere local facts, and plain utility and instruction, without touching upon delicate questions of complicated policy, or idle tirades upon government,—then, and then only, can we with a safe conscience give it our hearty approval.*

168. A notice of the "Sambad Cowmoody". (December 24, 1821).

The Asiatic sheet contains a Notice of a New Weekly Paper, published in the Bengally language, and edited by a learned Hindoo. It is printed in a large and clear Bengally type, each Number containing eight pages, and appearing every Tuesday Morning, under the title of "Sungbaud Cowmuddy", or "The Moon of Intelligence". As the price is only Two Rupees per Month, we suppose that all who feel interested in the promotion of such an undertaking, will gladly assist it, by ordering a copy to be sent to them, for the purpose of countenancing and supporting the first endeavour of this kind among the Natives themselves. The Printing Office is, we understand, in the Coolootoollah, and the Editor is a person of known reputation as to character and ability. Applications for the Paper are directed to be addressed to Ram Mohun Ghose, at the Printing Office ; and we hear that this Novelty, the Third Weekly Number of which issued on Tuesday last from the Press, has already caused a great sensation, and that the First and Second Numbers, on the Liberty of the Native Press, and on Trial by Jury, written in pure Bengally, are already nearly out of print.†

[Here follow the Prospectus, Address to the Bengal Public and article on the Trial by Jury in India].

169. Further remarks of the "Calcutta Journal" in appreciation of the usefulness of the "Sambad Cowmoody", with translations of its contents. (January 31, 1822).

It is some time since we adverted to the existence of this Native Newspaper ; and we return to the subject now, merely to state, that after the publication of Nine Weekly Numbers, we still think as favorably of the undertaking as before. As long as it pursues the line of utility hitherto observed, we doubt not but that it will progressively increase in value, and be productive of much benefit, in introducing a taste for reading and information, which will spread wider and wider every succeeding year, and do as much towards the improvement of the Native character as any other mode that has yet been attempted of effecting this

* *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* December 24, 1821.
† *Ibid.*

great end. If knowledge is a blessing and Ignorance a curse, a well conducted Press that dispels the latter and promotes the former must be as deserving of our support as the Schools and other Public Institutions established for the same purpose, since they are only different branches of the same tree ; and, as the influence of the Press may be made to extend much wider than that of Seminaries, if each be equally well regulated, and directed to equally worthy ends, the former will be the more effectual engine of the two. The union of both is perhaps the greatest advantage that any nation can possess, and if it be true, as is constantly asserted, that the ignorance of the Natives is the greatest barrier to their political, civil, and religious happiness, every thing that hastens the removal of this obstacle must be deemed a benefit. To excite a taste for reading, and a spirit of enquiry among the community generally, and to gratify that taste by articles suited to their capacity, and having utility to recommend them, must therefore be a task of merit ; and as the Native Press, as far as we have yet seen of its labours, appears to us to have observed this line, we think sufficiently favorably of its efforts to give an outline of them from the First Number up to the Ninth ; the last issued from the Press*

CONTENTS OF
THE MOON OF INTELLIGENCE. (SAMBAD COWMOODY.)

No. I.

1. The Editor's Address to the Bengally community. 2. An Appeal to Government for the establishment of a Seminary, for the gratuitous instruction of the Children of poor though respectable Hindoos. 3. An account of a Miser Prince.

No. II.

1. A brief Address to the Natives, enumerating the advantages of reading Newspapers. 2. A Communication from a Correspondent, suggesting the propriety of raising a Fund by Subscription among the rich Natives, for the purpose of watering the Chitpore Road, from Loll-Bazar down to Baug-Bazar. 3. An account of implicit faith in the Spiritual Teacher, or Gooroo, and an extraordinary gift or donation. 4. A Letter from a Correspondent, pointing out the impolicy and evil consequences of the Hindoo Law, which entitles a youth of 15 years and 9 months to the succession of hereditary property,—and suggesting the expediency of abolishing it, and substituting the age of 22 in lieu of 15 and 9 months. 5. An interesting and satirical account of the Rich Natives, at whose death and mourning ceremonies, considerable sums of money are expended ; but, who, during their lives, give strict injunctions to the Door-keepers of their Mansions not to admit any one in, who might possibly want any thing. 6. A humble Address to Government, soliciting the extension of the boon of Trial by Jury to the Moffussul, Zillah, and Provincial Courts of Judicature.

No. III.

1. An Appeal to Government, to relieve the Hindoo community from the embarrassment and inconvenience which they daily experience, in consequence of there being no more than one Ghaut for the burning of the dead bodies of the Hindoos ; whereas an immense space of ground has been granted by them for the burial of Christians of all

* *Calcutta Journal*, January 31, 1822.

denominations. 2. A humble representation to Government, earnestly soliciting that they would be graciously pleased to direct the adoption of requisite measures for the prevention of the exportation of the greatest part of the produce of Rice from Bengal to Foreign Ports ; an act which would tend very much to the comfort and happiness of British Indian subjects, because it is the chief article of their food. 3. Another Appeal to Government, to take into their benevolent consideration, the serious privation under which the middle class of its Native subjects labor, from the want of proper Medical advice and treatment ; particularly Children and Women, who cannot with propriety resort to the Native Hospital, nor would their circumstances enable them to send for European Doctors ; and earnestly soliciting them to adopt some such measures as may enable people of the above description to avail themselves of the benefit of the treatment of European Physicians. 4. An appeal to the Magistrates of the Calcutta Police, to resort to rigorous measures for relieving the Hindoo Inhabitants of the Metropolis, from the serious grievance of Christian Gentlemen driving their Buggies amongst them, and cutting and lashing them with whips, without distinction of sex or age, whilst they quietly assemble in immense numbers to witness the images of their Deities pass in the Chitpore Road, when many of them, through terror and consternation caused by the lashing inflicted on the spectators, fall down into drains, while others are trampled under foot by the crowd.

No. IV.

1. An exhortation and recommendation to the Native Physicians to have their Children placed as practitioners under the superintendence of European Doctors, that they may, after acquiring a practical knowledge of the English mode of treating diseases, be competent to attend on Native Families, with credit to themselves and advantage to their patients. 2. An original Communication from a Correspondent, reprobating the criminal neglect of the Coolin Brahmins in the marriage of their Daughters ; and demonstrating such neglect to be the cause of disgrace and great unhappiness, by particularizing an instance of that nature which recently occurred. 3. Another Communication condemning the immense expenditure of money by the wealthy Natives, in unworthy pursuits, and reprobating their parsimony in the commendable cause of rational Education.

No. V.

1. Letter from a Correspondent, pointing out the immoral and evil tendency of the Dramas or Plays recently invented, and performed by a number of young men, and recommending their suppression. 2. A very entertaining account of a certain class of Baboos, who are known by the denomination of Captains ; and in illustration of the singularity of whose proceedings, it is stated, that they execute and grant Bonds for four times the amount that they actually receive: together with the substance of the conversation that generally takes place between them and their fathers, after their being released from confinement.

No. VI.

1. An account of the destruction of an Old Woman by Fire, which took place at Saumbazar, in Calcutta, on the night of Tuesday the 2nd January, 1822. 2. An account of the Nautch and sumptuous Entertainment given by Chunder Coomar Takore, at his Mansion at Paturghaut Street, on the evening of the 3rd instant in honor of the departure of the late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. 3. An account of the extraordinary proficiency made by a Hindoo youth of about 5 years of age, in the Bengally and English Languages. 4. An Original Essay on the inestimable value and innumerable advantages of the Cultivation of Learning. 5. A descriptive account of the beauty and grandeur of the Architecture of the Tauj Muhal at Agra. 6. Letter from a Christian Correspondent, pourtraying the deformity and odiousness of Falsehood and the beauty of Truth, concluded

by a strong recommendation and exhortation for a strict adherence to it. 7. Letter from a well-wisher of the Hindoos, who having perused an Appeal published in one of the preceding Nos. of the SUNGBAUD COUMUDDY, relating to the serious inconvenience under which the middle class of the Hindoo Community labor, from want of proper Medical Treatment in cases of serious indisposition, expresses himself to have derived great satisfaction from a discussion of such useful matters, and suggests, by way of remedy, the propriety of the Hindoo Physicians placing their Children as Practitioners under the direction of European Doctors, that they may thereby be enabled to acquire an accurate knowledge of the nature of Diseases incidental to this climate, a measure that the writer confidently trusts will hereafter be attended with incalculable advantage. 8. A Correspondent brings to the notice of the Public the serious evils which result from the present practice of the poor Hindoos throwing the bodies of their deceased relations into the River Ganges, from want of resources to burn them, and under a firm conviction of the unbounded liberality of the richer class of Hindoos, evinced by the expenditure of large sums of money in the celebration of the ceremonies of their Parents, and in other numerous charitable acts, strongly appeals to their humanity and benevolence to establish a Fund, by subscription, for the purpose of enabling the poor to defray the necessary expences of the burning their deceased relations. 9. An Appeal to the wealthy Hindoos of the Metropolis, to take into their benevolent consideration the intolerable misery and distress in which a number of Hindoo Widows are involved, in consequence of the destitute situation in which their deceased Husbands have left them, and to constitute a Society for their relief, as well as for the benefit of future Widows, under similar circumstances, upon the principles of the Civil and Military Widow's Fund, established by order of Government.

No. VII.

1. An account of an extraordinary Theft:—The wife of a Hindoo Confectioner, at Tuntunya Bazar, named Ramneedy, having been delivered of twins, expired on the 10th of January, instant. One of the Children died three days previous to the other being born, the death of which happened immediately after its birth, and was followed by that of its mother. Her corpse, as well as that of the child, was carried to the river side for the purpose of being burnt ; and while the husband and his relations were engaged in the preparation of the funeral pile, and the dead body of the child being wrapped up in a piece of cloth, a Thief supposing there might have been money and other valuable things in the bundle, stole it away. This circumstance was discovered soon after by the parent, who made a strict enquiry, but could neither trace the thief nor find the child. 2. A Correspondent, adverting to the account published in a preceding Number of the Coumuddy, of a certain class of Baboos, denominated *Captains*, brings to public notice an instance of the same kind, viz.:—A certain Baboo, the Son of a wealthy Hindoo, expressed his wish to become a *Captain* to some Brokers. They accordingly, having procured a Money Lender, caused grand preparations to be made at his residence for the reception of the Baboo, and apprized him of the same. He then proceeded along with the Brokers to the place appointed for his being invested with the Captainship. After benig entertained in a sumptuous manner, he was requested to state the extent of his wants ; when to the utter astonishment, confusion, and disappointment of the Lender and his guests, he mentioned the large sum of Sicca Rupees Thirty!!! Being questioned what he would do with this enormous sum: he stated, that he was indebted to a Moonshee for four months' wages ; likewise to a Confectioner for sweetmeats that he had eaten ; and likewise five annas of pice to a Monkey-dancer. Upon this statement of the expectant Captain, the Lender with rage and contempt declared, that this fellow never was a Captain, but a common Sailor, and accordingly ordered him to be turned out. 3. A Correspondent, with the view of preventing the frequent losses which originate from people's employing domestic Servants, without a thorough acquaintance with their previous conduct, suggests the expediency of granting Certificates of good behaviour to honest domestics, and of with-holding the same from such as may not be found deserving of this favor ; a practice which, says the Writer, would enable future Employers to distinguish good from evil-disposed Servants. 4. An

Appeal to Government to take into its favorable consideration the distress and hardships to which the Natives have of late been subjected, in consequence of the price of Fire Wood being enhanced to three times its former amount. In illustration of which fact, the Writer states, that 10 maunds of Wood could be had a few years since for 1 Rupee ; whereas it is impossible now to procure, more than 3½ maunds for that money. The Dealers in this Article on being questioned as to the cause of this unprecedented rise in its price, invariably declare that they have been induced by indispensible necessity to raise the price, owing to the additional expence incurred by Duties and other necessary charges incidental to Demurrage, occasioned by the multifarious forms established in the Custom House. 5. An Address to the Hindoo Community, demonstrating the necessity of having their Children instructed in the principles of the Grammar of their own language, previous to imposing upon them the Study of Foreign Languages, and ascribing the circumstance of their being found unsuccessful in the acquisition of those languages to the want of a grammatical knowledge of their own.

No. VIII.

1. The honorable acquittal of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, in the prosecution instituted against him by the Secretaries to Government for an alleged Libel. 2. Presentation of an Address to Sir Edward Hyde East, by the Native Gentlemen of Calcutta. 3. *Extraordinary News.*—The Wife of a Brahmin, named Sumbhoochunder Dhole, an Inhabitant of Calcutta in Aheerytollah, was delivered of Twins, a Boy and a Girl on the 1st instant. The Mother, having placed her Children the following day in the sunshine upon the verandah of her room, went to look after some domestic affairs, when one of the children was taken away by a large Bird. The Mother on her return to the place perceiving one that of the Children to have been taken away, made a great alarm through the House. In consequence of which, strict search was made after the child, which was then discovered by a neighbour lying near a Tank upon some miry ground, and a large Bird gently striking it with it's bill. The neighbour instantly rescued the child and brought it back to it's parent, apparently not much hurt ; but (the Twins) both died afterwards. 4. *Horrible Suicide.* On the 4th instant, at Nobabgunge near the Powder Works, a washerman named Surroop having severely wounded his youngest brother and one of his nephews, killed himself, the particulars of which are these: The said Surroop was constantly in the habit of remaining at Calcutta for the purpose of exercising his profession ; during his absence, a dispute arose between his wife and the wife of his youngest brother Ramdhun. The latter having taken the part of his own wife, maltreated his eldest brother Surroop's wife—Surroop, on his return home, was apprised by his wife of the maltreatment which she had experienced from Ramdhun ; and this being related to him with much exaggeration, caused a great quarrel between him and Ramdhun, in the midst of which Surroop declared that he would kill him and then destroy himself. The sincerity of this declaration he soon after proved, by giving his brother Ramdhun a violent blow with a hatchet on the head which brought him to the earth ; in that very instant, believing him to be murdered, he sought to kill himself and entered into a room for that purpose. One of his nephews perceiving this, cried out that his wounded uncle was not killed, nor did he think he would die, and therefore exhorted him not to destroy himself ; and to prevent his (Surroop's) putting an end to his life, he ran into the room, but receiving a severe cut on the head with a knife from his uncle Surroop, he ran for his life ; when Surroop being then left in the room by himself, bolted the door, and thrust the knife into his throat. Seeing that this did not cause death, he suspended himself by a piece of rope tied to the beams, and thus expired. 5. A descriptive account of a Drama newly invented, and of the characters personated in it. It is denominated the Colly Rajah's Juttra. It was stated in a former Number that when a full account of this Comedy was received, it should be laid before the Public. It is composed of various Actors who are well versed in the act of singing and dancing. The following is the order of their appearance on the stage. First, two Boistnubs ; second, the Colly Raj ; third, his Visier ; fourth, a preceptor ; fifth, a noble and well dressed Englishman just come from Chutlogram, with his lady ;

and sixth, the only man servant and maid servant of this young Gentleman. When all these are assembled, they begin to dance, sing with a voice as melodious as that of the Cuckoo, talk witty things, and thus excite the laughter of, and put in rapture, those rich Baboos who assemble there from different quarters, and some of whom, it is said, are very much interested in it. From it is concluded, that in process of time, this Comedy will become very popular. 6. A Philanthropist observing the misery and intolerable distress under which a great majority of Hindoos labor from prejudices of cast, which have so far infatuated them as to believe that were they to follow any useful branch of mechanics, it would bring disgrace upon the dignity of their cast, strongly impresses upon them the folly and perniciousness of such delusive notions, and recommend them to make themselves familiar with such Arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness, and independence ; and not to pass their lives solely in drudgery and servitude. 7. An account of the apprehension and execution of the famous Dacoit Mahurban Sing, at Behar. 8. Some account of the digging of an enormous Tank in the province of Ookroh. 9. Some account of a clever Boy at Jorasankoh, in Calcutta.

No. IX.

1. A description of the Ivory Model of the Tauj Mahul of Agrabad. 2. Address presented to Sir Edward Hyde East by the respectable and opulent Natives of Bengal on the occasion of his resigning the Office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and his departure for England. 3. Trial and Acquittal of the Editor of the CALCUTTA JOURNAL, for the publication of the alleged Libel on the Secretaries of Government, occupying more than five pages, being an abridgement of the Report of the proceedings published in that Paper.*

No. X.

1. The robbery of a bag of Letters from a Dawk Peon. 2. Civil Appointments. 3. The Marriage of Romanot Thacoor, the younger son of Rammoney Thacoor. 4. The Death of Debypersaud Ghose of Kattooray in Anorpoor. 5. The Death of Joynarain Ghosal at Cossy. 6. An Address to the Inhabitants of Cossy by the same person, previous to his dissolution. 7. An Address to the Hindoo Public, recommending them to give their Sons a liberal education. 8. Some account of two Brothers, who are Twins, and so like each other that there is no possibility of distinguishing the one from the other. 9. An answer to what had been said in the Paper of January 22, 1822, recommending the poor, though respectable Hindoos, to become Tradesmen, rather than mere Copyists or Sircars. 10. A Letter from a Correspondent who has travelled into many different countries, and has now fixed himself in Calcutta, giving a description of the six different seasons. 11. A Letter from a correspondent, pointing out the changes that the Hindoo manners and customs have suffered, from the time that this country had been subject to the Moosulmans to this present day that it is in the exclusive possession of the English, and recommending the Hindoo Public to adopt some measures for their reformation. 12. Another Letter from a Correspondent, desiring an answer to the following question:— "What is there in this world that can render mankind happy, or at least the greater part of them?"†

CONTENTS OF THE MOON OF INTELLIGENCE—MARCH 5, 1822.

2. Civil Appointments. 3. Loss of an accepted draught on the Commercial Bank, and a reward offered for its recovery. 4. Robbery in the district of Chondypota. 5. Complaint of a person struck with a whip (on the public streets) "Christians! If you consider all men equal in the eyes of God, and that mercy is due to the most humble ; why do you transgress

* *Ibid,* February 1, 1822.
† *Ibid,* February, 9, 1822.

the commands of the Almighty, why do you beat me?" 6. On deviation from established customs. 7. Letter pointing out the absurdity of the conduct of some Natives who ridicule their own manners and customs in order to gain the approbation of Europeans. 8. On the politeness of the Natives to persons while present, and their backbiting them the first moment of their absence. 9. Letter calling the attention of the rich Natives to the wretched condition of the poor for want of food and clothes. 10. A new-born infant picked up near the house of Deby Pursaud Ghose, in Auhery-tollah. 11. The marriage of one Upooeluh Naroyn Ghose, attended with this peculiarity that (like Jacob) after contracting with one, he was married with another. 12. The killing of a Tiger by fire in Chourmohul near Joynugur in Boddohurn to the Southeast of Calcutta. 13. An Essay on Idleness, and its evil consequences illustrated by an example. 14. Moral sentences by Cossynauth Turkapunchonon.*

No. XV.

1. Notice to Subscribers. 2. Judicial Sale. 3. Appointment of Major Huthwaite as Guardian of the offspring of Tippoo Sooltan. 4. Public Meeting for the Queen. 5. Remarks on the Number of Newspapers published in London. 6. Theft at Sobhabazar in a house of bad fame. 7. Fatal accident, on Thursday last, a man crushed under the wheels of a buggy, and two others mortally injured. 8. Government Order respecting the burning of Hindoo Widows. 9. Law Report from the Calcutta Journal. 10. Some remarks on the abuse poured out by the Missionaries, through the medium of the *Summochar Durpun,* on the Boistumbs or Worshippers of Vishnoo. 11. Letter from a Correspondent pointing out the advantage of establishing a proper gradation of rank and emolument among the Natives in the Service of the Honourable Company, and some proper mode of promotion. 12. Another, begging redress of the nuisance arising from the putrid carcases of men and other animals being thrown into the Ganges.†

No. XVI.

1. Reason for changing the day of publication from Tuesday to Saturday. 2. Remarks on the strictures of the Editor of the Summochar Chundrika on the Article on Concremation in the 14th No. of the Sungbaud Cowmuddy. 3 and 4. Judicial Sales. 5. Civil Appointments. 6. The Death of a Bearer and a Moosulman woman by the bite of a Bear. 7. A sudden Death. 8. Notice of a New Comedy published at Bhobanypoor, entitled the "Comroop Jatra." 9. Marriage of Horrischunder Mitter son of Ramonund Mitter, and inhabitant of Chourcobaree. 10. Marriage of the daughter of his Highness Nutchrut Jung of Dacca. 11. Letter addressed to the Rich Natives who have Ghauts, on behalf of the poor carried to the Banks of the Ganges.‡

No. XVII.

1. Reproaching the Editor of the Summochar Chundrica for his ingratitude towards Hurryhur Dutt in return for the many services he had done to the said Editor. 2. The repeal of town duty on fire wood. 3. Civil Appointments. 4. Of a letter from Mr. Jameson, Secretary to the Medical Board, to Dr. Lyke; the purport of which is that all such persons as are employed in the service of the Honorable Company, and their families shall receive medicines from the Honorable Company's Hospital gratis. 5. The two showers of fishes and butterflies in England. 6. The story of a Frenchman who acquired riches merely by giving out that he could impart life to all the persons buried in the church-yard of Lyons. 7. The trial and imprisonment of Blacow, a clergyman, for having spoken against the late Queen. 8. An account of a dreadful storm of wind, rain, and

* *Ibid,* March 6, 1822.
† *Ibid,* March 19, 1822.
‡ *Ibid,* March 22, 1822.

thunder at Burdwan on the 14th day of March. 9. Letter from a Correspondent, showing the necessity imposed on Sircars of cheating their masters, as the small salary allowed them is by no means sufficient to maintain their families, and begging of the Europeans to look upon the poor Sircars with an eye of kindness.*

No. XVIII.

1. Recrimination on the Editor of the Summochar Chundrika. 2. Sale of Lottery Tickets. 3. Departure for Calcutta of Mr. Harrington Member of Council. 4. Loss of a Boat on the river. 5. Account of killing the Rhinoceros. 6. Differences with the Chinese Authorities. 7. Trial for Perjury in the Supreme Court.†

No. XX.

1. Sale of ground in the Town Hall on the 16th instant. 2. Reconciliation with the Chinese. 3. Hindoostanee Paper, Jan-I Juhan Nooma. 4. Europe News. 5. Ditto. 6. Shipping Intelligence. 7. Sharks, a dead body &c. brought up in a fisherman's net on the Ganges. 8. Indigo Sowings in Jessore. 9. Old Story of the Lady putting the shopkeeper in the mad-house. 10. On the folly of the Natives in not mentioning the precise time in their cards of Invitation. 11. Tumult at the Queen's funeral.‡

No. XXI.

1. Of Lord Wellesley's desire of being appointed as Governor-General over the province of Bengal, in which situation he had been formerly. 2. Purron Chundro Mookhopodhya's running away with the sum of One Hundred and Ninety Thousand Rupees from the Treasury of Moorshedabad. 3. Civil appointments. 4. An account of a wonderful Boy, with two bodies and one head. 5. A great Fire which broke out in Mr. Laprimaudaye's workhouse. 6. Death of the Eldest Prince of Persia, within the distance of about three days' journey from the kingdom, attended with a great mourning throughout the whole country. 7. The prevalence of the pestilential disease of Cholera Morbus in Persia, till the last winter season, which had destroyed about eight thousand souls. 8. Of the Russian Emperor's hostile preparations against the Turks. 9. Mr. John Hayes's Trial in the Supreme Court.§

No. XXIII.

1. Advertisement for establishing a new Bazar or Market. 2. Letter from a Correspondent. 3. Company's Sale. 4. Twenty-seventh Calcutta Lottery. 5. A woman's having brought forth Twins for five years successively. 6. A woman in England of the name of Graham, who having lived for a hundred years, is now preserving her former vigour of mind and body, and has got new teeth in her gums. 7. Accusing the Editor of the Summochar Chundrika, of having published in his paper, a thing which rested on falsehood,—namely, That of Baboo Rajchunder Doss's wanting to employ a man who could cypher well, and write a fair hand. 8. A person's killing his wife for her infidelity to the marriage-bed, and his confession of the murder. 9. Mr. Barwell's punishing a Merchant and a Chowkeydar for some deficiency in his weights, and threatening other dealers with the same punishment. 10. Letter from a Correspondent, containing some strictures upon the Editor of the Sommochar Chundrika, for his having made certain observations on the suffering of cows in general. 11. Forgery before Mr. Chippendale. 12. Died on the 21st of April, at Khettru (*Juggernaut*) where she has resided for two

* *Ibid*, March 28, 1822.
† *Ibid*, April 5, 1822.
‡ *Ibid*, April 19, 1822.
§ *Ibid*, April 25, 1822.

years, the Mother of Dewan Ram Mohun Roy ; and her obsequies were to be performed on the 4th of May. 13. Of a woman being crushed to death by the falling of a wall.*

No. XXIV.

1. A Farewell Address to the readers of this Paper, by Hurrihur Dutt, the former Editor. 2. Address of Gobindchunder Kongar, the present Editor. 3. Appointment of Lord Wellesley as Governor over Ireland. 4. Mr. Canning expected to be appointed Governor-General in Bengal, at the latter end of December last. 5. Marquis of Hastings's application to the Court of Directors, to be allowed to resign. 6. Advertisement. 7. Ditto. 8. Death of a Moosulman of the name of Habil, by gun-powder. 9. A Chinese bit by a shark in the river Ganges. 10. A woman of 45 years of age married to a boy of only thirteen. 11. A robbery at Bansbarya near Hoogley. 12. A reply to the Editor of the Sammochar Chundrika, for publishing in his paper the death of the Cowmoody. 13. Of a person's poisoning himself. 14. Of Poranchundro Mookhopodhyee (who had some time before run away with a large sum of money from the treasury of Moorshedabad) being arrested and transmitted to the Collector of Moorshedabad. 15. A person fatally hurt by a fall from the terrace of a house. 16. Of Monohor Doss's Tank in Chowringhy. 17. The Editor of the Summochar Chundrika's having had the misfortune to lose the senses of sight and hearing.†

No. XXV.

1. Neither Mr. Canning nor Lord Melville to be appointed Governor-General in Bengal, as was sometime ago reported. 2, 3 and 4. Advertisements. 5. Dawk peons killed in the territory of Luknow. 6. Accidental death. 7. Robberies committed on persons on a pilgrimage to Juggernaut. 8. Of a kidnapper. 9. The Editor acknowledges his error as to the article on Pronchundo Mookhopodhuy's having been seized and transmitted to Moorshedabad, and hopes to meet with indulgence from his readers for the first mistake. 10. Burglary in the very gaol of Hoogly. 11. An excellent moral deduced from the striking of a clock. 12. Escape of nine of the twelve robbers that were bringing from the north of Allahabad to Calcutta for transportation, by leaping into the river. 12. Burlesque observations upon the Editor of the Summochar Chundrika.‡

No. XXVI.

1, 2 and 3. Advertisements. 4. Civil Appointment. 5. The King of Oudh's issuing an edict respecting the wearing of arms and a new coinage. 6. A robbery in Ajimabad. 7. Another in Khospoor. 8. An infant killed by a jackal owing to the negligence of its parents. 9. A violent storm of wind, rain, and thunder on the 15th of May. 10. A goldsmith bit by a shark at the Kooly Bazar Ghaut. 11. A Sepoy in Khidderpore, devoured by an alligator. 12. A shark caught in a net at the Custom-House Ghaut. 13. Account of a Rape. 14. A boat lost near Risera, on board of which were four Europeans, two Bearers and the boatmen. 15. Some humurous observations. 16. Story of a malicious person, and another pious man, together with the moral deduced from it. 17. A fire at Itchapoor with the loss of a great many souls. 18. Loss of eighteen boats with sixty-four men on board, near Moongare, on the 19th of May. 19. A farmer plundered of five hundred rupees, and beat almost to death in his way from Bonhooghely to Hatkhola to pay Pron Krishno Bissowas, the rent of his lands. 20. A smart answer made by a thief on being caught in the very act of stealing cocoanuts, in Bansbarya. 21. The

* *Ibid,* May 13, 1822.
† *Ibid,* May 14, 1822.
‡ *Ibid,* May 22, 1822.

Editor of the Sungbud Cowmoody bantering the Editor of the Summochar Chundrika, for his having ceased to write against him.*

No. XXVII.

1. Mr. Canning's Appointment as Governor-General of India. 2. Sir Thomas Jarvis appointed Chief Justice of Bengal. 3. Advertisement. 4. The price of fish to be reduced by the Magistrates of this country. 5. Lost an endorsed Note. 6. Smuggled Opium seized. 7. A Boat lost near Polta, and the lives of the persons that were on board of it, saved by an English gentleman. 8. An accidental death of a boy being drowned in the river Ganges. 9. An account of a person who cried out one night from a Thanah in Risera, upon enquiring into the cause of it, showed a wound, which he said, was inflicted upon him by some armed men who were passing by, upon his asking them who they were. 10. A poor Brahmin being unable to get married under three hundred rupees, has begged of the liberal public to plant a family of Brahmins, by marrying him to some woman. Also the Editor's remarks upon the practice of selling the female offspring. 11. A theft at Khordoho. 12. Letter from a correspondent describing the sufferings of the poor from the price of salt having been so much increased. 13. Account of a heavy shower and lightning in Comotee in Naugpoor, on the evening of the 3rd of May, attended with great damages. 14. Letter of a correspondent giving an account of an envious man, together with its moral. 15. Another letter from a correspondent, recommending the Editor of the *Summachar Chundrika,* owing to his having been deprived of the senses of seeing and hearing (and thus rendered incapable of writing any thing against his opponent) to the mercy of the Editor of the *Sungbud Cowmoody.*

No. XXVIII.

1. Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Paget, apponited Commander-in-Chief, and second Member of the Supreme Council. 2. Advertisement. 3. The families of those persons who were bound to work in the Honorable Company's Powder Mills in Ishapoor, and had lost their lives by fire, petitioning the Military Board, for the means of supporting them. 4. An earthen pot filled with silver coins, and a portion of gold being found near the place where the iron bridge is to be built. 5. Civil Appointments. 6. An instance of Concremation. 7. Of three prisoners in the jail of Moorshedabad, who had coined false money. 8. A person killed by a large branch of a Jam tree having fallen upon him. 9. A suicide in Bhobanypoor. 10. A robbery in Burdwan. 11. Two persons killed by a mad man, in the village of Bagondy in Twenty-four Pergunnahs. 12. Trial of those persons who had committed a theft in the house of Ponchee Auherene of Khordoho, before the Judge of Twenty-four Pergunnahs. 13. A girl of about eight years, drowned in a tank in Kone Nogor. 14. An Anecdote of a practice among the Canadians, of giving to a man such things as he tells him he had in a dream received from him. 15. Letter from a correspondent showing the unreasonableness of filling up the *Summachar Chundrika* with subjects about Zumindaries, Physicians, Concremation, and Postcremation.†

No. XXIX.

1 and 2. Advertisements. 3. Bankruptcy in the Burrah Bazar. 4. A gentleman thrown down by the violence of the wind while driving in a buggy through Balya Ghaut on last Saturday. 5. Two boys drowned in a tank in the village of Chingre Ghauta in the twenty-four pergunnahs. 6. An account of a kidnapper's murdering a girl of nine years in Bhobanypoor. 7. Destruction of the plantations of Indigo in Jessore. 8. Trial of the Daroga of Khidderpore for having raised some tax by force from the cow-sellers of Gohata. 9. A Tiger killed in the village of Mashend. 10. Death of an infant in Burdwan suffocated by its mother's right breast being laid upon its face while asleep.

* *Ibid,* June 1, 1822.
† *Ibid,* June 15, 1822.

11. Destructive pestilence in Batavia. 12. Two Moosulmanees crushed under a house at Emambog in Wellington Square. 13. Eleven boats lost on the way to Bryndabon a place of great sanctity. 14. An account of a prostitute being bit in the cheek by a desperate gallant. 15. A thief in England caught in a rat-trap. 16. A certain person's repentance for his sons. 17. Letter from a correspondent reproaching those who attempt to find fault with the Cowmoody. 18. Ridiculing the Editor of the Summachar Chundrika. 19. Treachery of a friend in Allahabad, to whose care an intimate friend of his had entrusted his wife when going to trade in Patna.*

170. Translations of contents of the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar". (April 20, 1822).

NO. I.

1. The Editor informs the Public that although so many Newspapers have been published in this city to gratify their readers, yet there is none in Persian for the information of those who are well versed in that language, and do not understand English, particularly the people of Upper Hindoostan, he has therefore undertaken to publish a Persian Newspaper every week. 2. Government Regulation respecting the period Company's Servants can be absent from their duty on account of their health. 3. Difference with China. 4. Trial of John Hayes, Esq. Judge of Tipperah. 5. Release of Prisoners on the 23d of April: King's Birth-day. 6. Shipping Intelligence. 7. Cause of Enmity between Russia and the Sublime Porte. 8. Exploits of Rungeet Singh. 9. Plentiful crop of corn this year in Hindoostan. 10. Pair of elephants for sale. 11. Price of Indigo and Opium. 12. Proposal sent to the inhabitants of Shajuhanabad, by an Officer of the Honourable Company, pointing out the advantages of having an English School instituted in that city, to which however the Natives paid no attention.†

NO. II.

Before speaking of the excellent principles of the British Constitution, to which I alluded in the Paper of last week, I insert in this place a few remarks, which are intimately connected with those principles. It is not concealed from rational men, that in order to preserve men's lives and properties from the attacks of their fellow-citizens, and to form friendly relations with neighbouring states, and resist the aggressions of nations who aim at aggrandising themselves on the ruin of others—it is absolutely necessary that every nation should have some kind of government; and accordingly, there are three species of government that may be deduced from reason: viz. First, every individual of a nation may have an actual share in the executive government; or Secondly, the reins of government may be committed to a single person; or Thirdly, the affairs of the nation may be entrusted to a portion of the higher class or of the lower class of the people.

But the evils which may arise from the first species of government, are so obvious, that they need not be explained; since a meeting of all the inhabitants of a country for the purpose of managing the public affairs, would be attended with great disadvantage to their private concerns: moreover, many of these individuals are totally ignorant of the rules and principles of government. Again, the great calamities which are the necessary consequence of the second form of government have been everyday witnessed, and are recorded in the annals of history. Heavens! How is it possible that the lives and properties of hundreds of thousands of the sons of Adam, should be made dependent on the will of one man, and ready to be sacrificed to the caprices of a single individual! It is equivalent to bringing upon themselves the nature and condition of brute animals. For the best of men are not supposed to be free from passion, and immoderate desires which very often overcome

* *Ibid*, June 22, 1822.
† *Ibid*, April 20, 1822.

the dictates of reason; or exempted from those errors and vices which belong to human nature. And, consequently, in the case of an absolute monarchy, from the wrath or mistake of a single individual may proceed the destruction of an extensive country and ruin of great nation.

Again, the unlimited influence of a great body of men out of a people, in the government of the country, produces discontent and degradation in the rest; and occasions disunion in the nation. Therefore, the third species of government, that is, Aristocracy, is calculated to introduce both the evils that may arise from absolute Monarchy and from Democracy. However, as it is absolutely necessary to have some form of government, the executive power should be committed to a single individual, on condition that he do not infringe the laws established by the nation; which has been experienced to be the best of all forms of government; since in this case the subjects have the power of watching the proceedings of the executive government; which is thus obliged to court the good will of its subjects.*

NO. IV.

1. A private contention between a Zemindar of Runjeet Singh's and his Collector. 2. The death of an unmarried woman, who lived almost secluded from the world. 3. The commission of robbery in the house of Chomur Mundal. 4. The murder of two men at Chowkpoor. 5. .A woman wounded by her gallant. 6. The stealing of some Images of the Hindoo Gods at Toolah Bazar. 7. The insults received by Mr. F. a carpenter in England, from some lewd women. 8. Some observations on Mr. Hayes's trial. 9. The appointment of Civil Servants. 10. The appointment of Military Officers.. 11. Price Current. 12. The despatch and arrival of Ships.†

NO. V.

1. Bhaugulpoor.—Of a great storm there, accompanied with a shower of hail on the 20th April last. 2. A letter from a respectable inhabitant of Lucknow, vindicating Mutomet Dowlah's Character, published by the Editor (as he was requested to do) and his own remarks upon the subject. 3. The making of Roads at Midnapore, Cawnpore, &c. 4. The repairing of a Canal, extending from Shuharanpoor to Rampoor, and beyond it. 5. An extraordinary instance of longevity in a Gentleman at London. 6. The construction of Bridges in the Interior in various places. 7. The account of a dreadful Fire at Surat. 8. Price Current.‡

NO. VI.

1. Appointment of a successor to the Governor General of India. 2. Apprehension of the Cashkeeper of the Collector at Moorshedabad. 3. An Old Woman getting a new set of Teeth. 4. A Robbery at Bansberia. 5. An account of some Europeans having taken Poison. 6. Atrocities committed in the South of Ireland. 7. Marriage of a Coolen's daughter at the age of Fifty with a boy of Twelve. 8. Murder committed by a man on his own wife. 9. Hostilities between the Turks and Persians. 10. Disaffection of the Soldiers of Scindhia. 11. Death of a man occasioned by a fall from the roof of a house. 12. Punishment of some people for selling Fire Wood with short weights. 13. Shipping Intelligence. 14. Price Current.

NO. VII.

1. Disturbance with a Zemindar at Jaunpore. 2. Pilgrimage of Rajah Ouditnarain to Bindrabun. 3. Escape of some Convicts on their way from Allahabad to Calcutta.

* *Ibid,* May 2, 1822.
† *Ibid,* May 13, 1822.
‡ *Ibid,* May 14, 1822.

4. Robbery committed at Nuddea. 5. An account of some thieves breaking through the walls of the Jail at Hooghly, and robbing the Havildar and his party. 6. Thunder-storm at Bankoorah. 7. Loss of several European Gentlemen, by a boat upsetting near Ishura. 8. Tremendous weather at Nagpur. 9. Prospects of a plentiful crop on the Indigo Plantations of Tyrhoot. 10. Tremendous Shower at Jessore. 11. Sacrilege committed on a Native Temple. 12. An Aligator taking away a China Man. 13. Encroachments of the River Kaeon. 14. Ravages of the Cholera Morbus. 15. Dreadful conflagration at Augurdeep. 16. Loss of a boat laden with Gunpowder. 17. Shipping Intelligence. 18. Price Current.

NO. VIII.

1. Article on the appointment of a new Governor General. 2. Appointment of the Chief Justice of Bengal. 3. Civil appointment. 4. Decree of the Nabob of Oude for the wearing of some peculiar Badge by which his subjects may be distinguished. 5. Explosion of a Powder Magazine at Nobab Gunge. 6. Robbery committed at Cossipore. 7. Trial of a Military Officer for Murder. 8. Observations on the British Constitution. 9. Robbery committed at Hathcullah. 10. Robbery committed on the Treasury. 11. Robbery committed at Azimabad. 12. Price Current. 13. Shipping Intelligence.

NO. IX.

1. War in Turkey. 2. Killing of a Tiger. 3. Another account. 4. An instance of Concremation. 5. A Man killed by a carriage passing over him. 6. Endeavours to construct a public Road through Ceylon. 7. Singular case of a Fox taking off a child. 8. Sharks in the River. 9. A Shark caught in the River. 10. Instances of Longevity. 11. An account of some Cows being worried by a Dog at Azimabad. 12. News from Malwa, stating the arrival of the British Troops there, and the refractory spirit of the Soldiers of Scindhia. 13. Accident near Hooghly. 14. Crops of Indigo. 15. Current Price of the Market. 16. Shipping Intelligence.

NO. X.

1. Of the difference in the Statements of the several Papers respecting the war between Russia and Turkey. 2. Dreadful Fire in Constantinople. 3. A woman assaulted and nearly killed by a Serpent in America. 4. An Alligator taking away a man at Pultha Ghaut. 5. Civil appointments. 6. A Suttee. 7. Loss of the Charles Mills. 8. Robbery committed in Burdwan. 9. A person being assasinated in Bencoolen. 10. Loss of a Boat near Azimabad. 11. Allowances to Teachers in the College. 12. Shipping Intelligence. 13. Prices in the Market.*

171. Editorial remarks of the "Calcutta Journal" on the Free Press in India, with a translation of the Prospectus of the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar". (April 24, 1822).

Mankind certainly owe infinite gratitude to the Author of all things, that human ingenuity has been able to devise an instrument whereby the strength and security of governments may be reconciled with the prosperity and happiness of the people. Philosophers, deducing their opinions from the experience of past ages, have agreed with surprising unanimity that the three species of government, monarchical, aristocratical, and republican, are each of them attended with some grand defect that leads to its corruption and overthrow ; and in fact, we find

* *Ibid*, June 22, 1822.

that none of them have been found to answer the purpose for which they were intended, that of making mankind happy for any great length of time. We may, therefore, justly conclude, since every form had been tried without effect to construct a good and durable system, that the fault was in the materials: that some essential ingredient was wanting. The Press appears to be that great desideratum ; and hopes may be justly entertained that from the time this powerful engine begins to be felt in the affairs of nations, their history will present a very different aspect ; that governments instead of becoming more and more corrupt will grow every day more perfect ; and that the evils which afflict nations will be checked in the bud, instead of being pampered into bloated magnitude and ending only with the exhaustion of the body that supports them. May we not adduce the history of England, of Spain, of Portugal, and even of France to prove that this glorious era has commenced ; and may we not hope that altho' sometimes the course of amelioration may seem to stop or even to retrograde, that these are but momentary oscillations, and will not be sensibly felt in the grand career of improvement?

The Press, freely exercised, with only those restraints necessarily imposed to prevent its abuse, is as necessary to the well being of the body politic as the faculty of vision is to a living animal. This is demonstrated by even despotic governments, which have been obliged to endeavour to supply it place by a system of espionage ; but this substitute can no more answer the purposes of a Free Press than the microscopic eye of an insect would serve a human body. Such governments are continually liable to be imposed upon by their deceitful organs, who will study to give agreeable intelligence rather than unwelcome truths ; and they, with all their treacherous arts, are themselves liable to be imposed upon by their informers ; in which cases their errors or wilful misrepresentations cannot be corrected like those of the Press which are put forth in open day and challenge all the world to refute them.

The Government of India would best shew itself worthy of the country from which it originates, and of the present age, by making a Free Press one of its instruments of rule. It would be one of the most effectual means of bringing the government acquainted with the true situation of those under its guardianship and control, and they would be thereby the better enabled to aid and protect them ; but besides this, the control of public scrutiny on the actions of government itself is not without its uses even to the most upright and best intentioned ; and this salutary check can only be had by allowing men to acquire the habit of speaking their honest sentiments. Since the Censorship has been removed the Government have in many instances, reaped some of the fruits of that wise measure ; and we sincerely hope that a far richer harvest awaits them, such as will equal their most sanguine expectations. The numerous publications that have lately been set on foot in the Native languages must have excited feelings of the liveliest satisfaction in all who take an interest in the moral and intellectual improvement of the Native population. The pleasure with which we regard the effusions of the Native Press, does not arise from the intrinsic value of these productions of its infancy ; but as an earnest of what it may produce when it has attained maturity. We therefore regard with pity those attempts that have been

made to treat it with contempt by supercilious remarks on the ideas of one and the puerile criticisms on the stile of another. The languages of the East are surely fit for nobler purposes than being conned over in schools and colleges and stored up in Lexicons ; and those who think they shew their superiority by flippant criticims on the first efforts of the Press among Eastern nations, should have liberality enough to recollect that the lispings of infancy are as sweet to the ear of the philanthropist, as the eloquence of manhood.

We have wandered from our subject, and said much more than we intended. Of all the Papers who have yet appeared, in the Native Languages, none has created a more favourable impression on our mind than the MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR ; and being confident that many of our readers will derive as much gratification from the Prospectus as we have done, we subjoin what we have good reason to believe is an accurate translation. The Editor, we are informed, is a Brahmin of high rank, a man of liberal sentiments, and by no means deficient in loyalty, well versed in the Persian language, and possessing a competent knowledge of English ; intelligent, with a considerable share of general information and an insatiable thirst after knowledge. The Paper is besides under the superintendence of a person, whose great experience and extensive acquaintance with the history, learning, and manners of both Europe and Asia, cannot fail to be of great utility to the Editor, and to secure him from those errors to which his inexperience in this new and arduous undertaking would naturally expose him. The first Number of this Paper commences as follows:—

PROSPECTUS.

(From the Mirat-ool-Ukhbar, No. I.)

Thanks be to God, that in these days the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoy under the Government of the English nation, that freedom and security which is considered by rational and social beings as the grand object of all civil and religious institutions. Numerous measures are adopted for the protection of persons and property: the rules for administering justice and awarding punishment which they have established in this city, agreeable to the Laws of England, have secured the full enjoyment of liberty and prevented licentiousness ; so that the lowest individual in demanding his rights, stands upon an equal footing with the great, nay, even with the high personage at the head of the Government. Every person is entitled to express his own sentiments, and to give an account of the conduct of others in such a manner as not to be injurious to them.

Under these circumstances some Gentlemen of this nation publish in the English language, the news of this and other countries, for the improvement of the Public at large; and those acquainted with that language profit generally by these Papers, receiving intelligence from all quarters, notwithstanding their particular local situations. But as the English language is not understood in all parts of India, those unacquainted with it must either have recourse to others in their enquiries after information, or remain totally uninformed. On this account, I, the humblest of the human race, am desirous of publishing a Weekly

Newspaper, written in the Persian language, which is understood by all the respectable part of the Native Community, and am ready to distribute it to all who may be so inclined.

I solemnly protest that it is not my object to make this Paper the channel of exagerated praise to the great, or to my own friends, that I may hereby meet with favor and promotion; nor is it my intention in this my Editorial capacity to permit unmerited blame or reproach to be cast upon others. On the contrary, I shall have a due regard for truth and for the rank of persons in authority, and in composing every sentence, keeping in view the saying of the Poet, that —"The wounds of the spear may be healed, but a wound inflicted by the tongue is incurable"—I shall guard against any expression that might tend to hurt the feelings of any individual.

In short, in taking upon myself to edit this Paper, my only object is, that I may lay before the Public such articles of Intelligence as may encrease their experience, and tend to their social improvement; and that to the extent of my abilities, I may communicate to the Rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects, and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their Rulers: that the Rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their Rulers.*

172. Translation of an editorial article of the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar". (May 14, 1822).

After hearing the evidence of the witnesses adduced on both sides, in this case, the Jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. It is not my intention to defend Mr. John Hayes, Judge of Tipperah, if accused of having violated the principles of Justice and the Regulations of Government by inflicting corporal punishment upon the deceased, without any regular judicial proceedings, or hearing evidence, or receiving his confession; but I beg of the liberal Public, that before they pronounce their judgment on this subject, they will enquire into the conduct of the late Purtaub Narayun towards his weaker neighbours, which in my opinion was sufficient to rouse the indignation of the Magistrate, who is made answerable before God, and to his fellow-creatures, for oppressions committed against helpless individuals, that are placed under his charge; and enough to excite the compassion of travellers, who happened to be witnesses of that Zumeendar's mode of treating his inferiors. The most the Public can say, after such enquiry, is, that Mr. Hayes acted rashly and under the influence of passion.

It is very difficult for the Executive Government to establish such Rules and Regulations for the Officers of Police, and the people under them, that the former cannot exceed the powers vested in them, nor the latter be deficient in perfect obedience. In case Government should not give any discretionary power to the Magistrate in some particular cases, it is probable that many who are restrained

* *Ibid*, April 24, 1822.

from tyranny only by the dread of the Magistrate, may be guilty of outrages, and above all, disobedience, and practise oppression upon others. On the contrary, in case Government should entrust their Police Officers with unlimited authority in certain cases when necessity requires, there is a chance of their sometimes deviating from the paths of Justice, from their not being able to distinguish actual necessity from cases where there is no such necessity; or from irritation of mind, or other considerations. In either case there is a probability of mischief, and of the objects of Government being defeated.

But as in the former case (i.e. of Magistrates not being vested with unlimited power in any circumstances) there would be great depredations, such as theft and robbery, and many other abuses, as well as sometimes the overthrow of Government itself; therefore, it is necessary that the local Magistrates should be vested with more efficient authority for carrying the orders of Government into execution, and likewise for preventing the powerful from tyrannising over the weak. But there is no remedy whatever for the abuse which is noticed in this case arising from their being invested with such powers, except Government should adopt such measures (after the example of some former just kings) as might enable it to become acquainted with the proceedings of its executive officers without the intervention of favour or partiality to screen them. It is probable that this superintendence of the Government would be a sufficient check upon the Police Officers, and put them upon their guard. Although the mode of establishing Courts of Appeal may be considered as in some degree a substitute for these restraints, yet it fails in some instances to produce the desired effect. For example, after any one has been punished with the rattan, and thrown into jail, and put in irons by order of a local Magistrate, he cannot recover from that disgrace (which to a person that has any pretension to respectability, is as bad as death itself,) although the sentence passed upon him by that local Magistrate should be reversed at a subsequent period. If the execution of the sentence passed by a local Magistrate for inflicting corporal punishment upon a person of respectability and putting him in irons were to be deferred, in case the person condemned appealed against the order of the local Magistrate and paid the regular fees, until the order of the Superior Court of Appeal be issued, this might be preventative of excesses on the part of the Police Officers, and might secure the subject from the injurious consequences arising from their passion or error.*

173. Translation of the Prospectus &c. of the "Sambad Cowmoody". (August, 1822).

In our observations on the case of Mr. Buckingham, we expressed very fully our sentiments on the general policy of permitting an unrestrained freedom of the press in India. We are obliged to recur to this topic, by a circumstance which has lately occurred, not indeed of much intrinsic moment, but still im-

* *Ibid*, May 14, 1822.

portant, from the consequences to which it may lead, and the mischievous remarks Mr. Buckingham has made upon it.

We extract from his Journal the following prospectus of a newspaper, conducted by natives, and an address by its editor to the Bengal public. The prospectus was contained in our last number.

Prospectus of a Bengallee Weekly Newspaper, to be conducted by Natives. Printed and circulated in Bengallee and English.

It having been particularly suggested and recommended to us, by the friends of knowledge, improvement, and literature, to establish an entertaining and instructive Bengallee Weekly Newspaper, we, in conformity with their very acceptable and meritorious suggestions, have gladly undertaken the duty of publishing the proposed Newspaper, to be denominated "Sungbaud Cowmuddy", or "The Moon of Intelligence", and respectfully beg leave to enumerate the subjects which will be treated of in the said publication, viz.

Religious, moral, and political matters ; domestic occurrences ; foreign as well as local intelligence, including original communications on various hitherto unpublished interesting local topics, &c., will be published in the Sungbaud Cowmuddy on every Tuesday morning.

To enable us to defray the expenses which will necessarily be attendant of an undertaking of this nature, we humbly solicit the support and patronage of all who feel themselves interested in the intellectual and moral improvement of our countrymen, and confidently hope that they will, with their usual liberality and munificence, condescend to gratify our most anxious wishes, by contributing to our paper a monthly subscription of two rupees, in acknowledgment of which act of their benignity and encouragement, we pledge ourselves to make use of our utmost efforts and exertions, to render our paper as useful, instructive, and entertaining as it can possibly be.

Address to the Bengal Public. (From No. 1, Dec. 4, 1821.)

For the information of the Literati, under the immediate province of Bengal, the conductors of the newly established Bengallee Newspaper, entitled Sungbaud Cowmuddee, or "The Moon of Intelligence", respectfully beg leave to state in a brief manner, that the object of that publication is the public good. The subjects to be discussed will therefore have that object for a *guiding-star,* and any essay bearing upon this primary object will always meet with ready attention. As to minor points, the Prospectus already published will afford every information that can be desired ; and as a newspaper conducted *exclusively* by natives, in the native languages, *is a novelty at least,* if not a *desideratum,* it will of course ever be the study of its conductors to render their labours as interesting as possible ; for which purpose they hereby solicit the hearty co-operation of the *Literati and well-wishers of the cause,* to contribute their aid in bringing this publication to the highest pitch of perfection which it is capable of attaining. Nothing need be apprehended on this subject, when the state of the press of India is considered: that it was *hitherto shackled,* and that, owing to the liberal

and comprehensive mind of our present enlightened and magnanimous ruler, the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, these shackles have been removed, and the press declared free ; and when it is further considered, that many celebrated publications (which are a continual source of delight and instruction to Europeans in this country) first appeared in the *humble* though *useful* channel of a periodical newspaper, we need not apprehend but that by due exertions we shall also be able to rescue our names from oblivion, and eventually be held up to future generations as examples for imitation, obtaining by such notice the meed of praise, to which all noble minds are ever alive, and which is never withheld from superior merit. It will readily occur from what has been just stated, that it is our intention hereafter to give further currency to the articles inserted in this paper, by translating the most interesting parts in the different languages of the East, particularly Persian and Hindoostanee ; but as this will entail considerable expense, the accomplishment of it will of course depend upon the encouragement which we may be able to obtain. The foregoing being, an outline of what we are desirous of performing, our countrymen will readily conclude, that although the paper in question be conducted by us, and may consequently be considered our property, yet *virtually* it is the "Paper of the Public", since in it they can at all times have inserted any thing that *tends to the public good,* and by a respectful expression of their grievances, be enabled to get them redressed, if our countrymen have not already been able to effect that desirable object by publishing them in English.*

174. Translations of articles &c. of the "Sambad Cowmoody". (October, 1822).

We have taken occasion to enumerate the heads of the subjects treated of in the *Moon of Intelligence,* from the first number up to the last that has issued from the press. The continued absence of news from Europe enables us to take a retrospective review of its contents, somewhat more in detail ; and as it will be satisfactory to many to see the general utility of the remarks and discussions which it contains, we hope no apology will be necessary for our occupying a few columns with this subject occasionally, so that such of our readers as may not see the paper itself, may at least have a tolerably accurate summary of its labours.†

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE SUNGBAUD COWMUDDY, OR MOON OF INTELLIGENCE.

Want of Seminaries.—From the time that this country has been in the possession of the Hon. Company, they have done everything in their power that could tend to the welfare of their humble subjects. From this I am led to suppose that the following subject needs, for its redress, but to reach their ears. The free-school has been instituted for the country-born orphans, wherein they are gratuitously fed, clothed and educated.

**Asiatic Journal,* August, 1822.
† *Calcutta Journal,* quoted by *Asiatic Journal,* October, 1822.

The Mudrussa has been established for the poor Moosulmanns, where they continue for years together, receiving every month, some fifteen and others eight rupees, for their food and clothing. After they have been well instructed in the Persian and Arabic languages, they are appointed either Deewans to Collectors, or to some such situations. The Hindoo Brahmuns, or other orders of people, have no such schools where they may be fed, clothed, and educated for a length of time ; for the poor in the country, as also those in the town, have not the means to enable them to defray the expenses attending such an education of their children ; who consequently remain ignorant, and become mere copyists. They then write a few lines, such as these : "Being informed that you are in want of an assistant into your office", &c., as a specimen of their hand-writing, and run about in the streets begging for employments, both in public and private offices ; just like those who cry out in the streets to know whether any one has happened to drop any thing into the wells, that they may go and get it out for a pice or two ; and, again, those Brahmuns who stand as candidates, repeat one or two blessings, which have not even the virtue of blessing in them. But those who do not know even how to write, are induced to commit horrible crimes, in order to satisfy the calls of nature. If the merciful rulers of this country should be graciously pleased to take the subject into their serious consideration, and establish a seminary of the nature above-mentioned, the poor of this country would be so much obliged to them, that their feelings of gratitude would be inexpressible.

Spiritual Teacher.—The late Brujmohun Gosshomy, of Gurrunhuttoh, in Calcutta, dying, left his son Pronkisson Gosshomy to pay the sum of twenty thousand rupees, with its interest, to a person of whom he had, a little before his death, borrowed the above-mentioned sum upon the pledge of his dwelling-house. This was a heavy task for him, as his father had not bequeathed to him any goods or landed property which might amount to a greater value than the house itself. The dffiiculties under which he laboured, from being assailed by his creditor, excited the compassion of Kissory Mohun Bysack, who paid the above sum with interest to its owner, from whom he took back the bond, lease, and pottah of his spiritual teacher, and laid them at his feet, prostrating himself before him. The joy that the Gooroo felt upon this occasion can be conceived, but not described. Another instance of a more exalted nature is to be traced in the life of Obhoy Churn Miter, who had given away fifty thousand rupees to his spiritual teacher, in order that he might remain satisfied. Both these persons have made themselves famous for their noble turn of mind.

Hereditary Property.—In the Doybhog and other Shastras, a youth of fifteen years and nine months is entitled to the succession of hereditary property. In pursuance of this law, at present, when a father dies, his son, when he arrives at this fixed age, takes from his father's attorney his whole property, and becomes the sole master of it. The boys of this country being, as it were, naturally inclined to laziness, feel indisposed to study, and consequently cannot expect to become learned afterwards. If you add to this the death of their father, and of their being the sole managers of their property, they necessarily look upon learning with indifference: they are then led by the advice of some wretches, who again are guided only by self-interest, and induced by them to commit a great many foolish and vicious actions, which tend soon to empty their stores, and at last oblige them to beg from door to door for the maintenance of their families; therefore, for the good of the youths of this country, I most respectfully beg that the wise and rich natives would consult among themselves, to present a petition to the merciful rulers of this land not to allow a youth, before he has arrived at the age of twenty-two to become master of his property, which would greatly tend to his happiness.

Treatment of the Learned.—It is impossible to describe how much the feelings of the learned have been hurt, from their not being treated every where with a due respect. A poor Brahmun having travelled into different countries wherever knowledge was to be bought, and undergone a great many fatigues, returned home laden with a knowledge of the Nayu, Shonkh, Potunjul, Ullunkor, Byakorun, Pooron, Meemongsa, and several other Shastras. He afterwards married by the consent of his parents, and when father

of two or three children, he left home for the acquisition of riches, and came to Calcutta, a city famous for its wealth and magnificence. Observing the splendour of the city in several respects : for instance, chariots, buggies, horses, palanquins, with armed men before them ; gardens beautifully laid out, &c., he was led to believe that it was in this place that learning and wealth displayed themselves in all their magnificence ; therefore this man deprived himself of his rest at night, and having extracted something out of some Shastras, the next morning, after his bathing and other daily ceremonies, he appeared before the gate of a magnificent building ; but upon endeavouring to enter it, the door-keeper, who was a Moosulman, cried out, "Too kown hy, bhaee, begor hookoom sai kanha jata hy?" These words stopt for awhile the mouth of the learned man, who, after many reflections, thought that he was not clever enough as yet to understand this eloquent discourse of the door-keeper, and could not conceive how high his master's style and learning must be. A little after he timidly made up to the door-keeper again, and in a low voice desired him to repeat that excellent speech which he never heard before. Upon this, the door-keeper was ready to insult him, when a good and wise man who was passing by seeing the simplicity of this country Brahmun, came up to him, and being made acquainted with all the particulars, informed him of the obstructions attending admittance into a rich person's house. After all this, the poor Brahmun, having breathed a sigh, repaired to the house of a Boishnub of moderate fortune ; and a few days after, when all that he brought from his own house was spent, he was obliged to beg a pice or two from those persons who had no door-keepers. At last some compassionate person, with whom he shortly after became acquainted, granted him a spot of ground in his own house, and appointed him to read to him the Pooron every day. Many persons who had been present to hear him upon such occasions, observed his skill, and were very much satisfied with his pleasing voice. They shortly after established a college, wherein he was appointed the head teacher ; and from his gratuitously feeding, clothing, and educating one or two pupils, he soon grew famous, and began to be invited to rich people's houses. Upon the death of some wealthy person he was present at his funeral rites, and seeing the grand assembly convened on the occasion, the immense number of valuable things intended for gifts, donations, and the fine dresses of old learned persons like himself, he could not help reflecting with regret why he had not come to this man, now dead, while living, whereby he might have become a rich man himself ; but when he, having received some gift, was coming out, seeing the door-keeper, it put him in mind of his former distressing adventure, and he said to himself, that he did not know before that there was so much difference between a man while living, and when he is dead.

Burning Dead Bodies.—The city of Calcutta being very populous, about sixty or seventy Hindus are dying every day. After they are dead, their relations take their corpses to Cossy Miter's Ghaut (the only one in this town), where they burn them, and perform other funeral rites. This Ghaut is about fifteen cubits broad and forty long, within which space three or at most four piles of wood only can be heaped ; therefore the inconvenience that is experienced in burning the dead bodies of the Hindoos will appear from the following description : when any person of a moderate fortune living at Jaun Bazar, and usually going about in a palanquin, has lost some of his relations, he experiences great difficulty in walking so far, in order to bring the body to Cossy Miter's Ghaut at Bagbazar. Again, when he has reached the ghaut, he finds three or four piles already burning, while five or seven others are ready to be burnt : some brought in the morning, others at noon, and this, that is just coming from Jaun Bazar, at about four in the evening. When those three or four have been burnt away, those that were brought in the morning begin to be burnt about sunset, and are completed between ten and eleven at night. At this time, the water being raised, or in other words, the flowing tide coming in, prevents those corpses which had been brought at noon from being burnt, and they that had brought them necessarily are obliged to wait the return of the ebb tide till six in the morning, when they begin their task, and leave those who have come from Jaun Bazar to burn their corpse about the noon, which they cannot finish before evening. This is the manner in which the Hindoo corpses are burnt. This is a

very bad practice, and costs a great deal of trouble. First, as it is inconsistent with the general opinion and also the Shasters, to stale the corpse; second, as our feelings are inexpressibly hurt, to wait at the burning ground with that object in our bosom for whose loss we lament; third, as those persons who take the dead body to the ghaut have been obliged, before the death of the patient, to attend upon him, and keep up whole nights without any food to themselves, and are now again obliged to do the same on the river Ganges; and, fourth, as, until these persons return home, no one there is allowed to eat any thing, but all must lie down lamenting. We therefore sincerely wish, that either a very wide Ghaut, where 25 or 30 dead bodies may be burned, or three or four more of the present kind be made, so that the corpses, immediately upon being taken to the Ghaut, be burned without any opposition or inconvenience. I presume that, when this circumstance is publicly known, the merciful rulers of this land, who are doing every thing to make their subjects happy, will adopt some such measures as may tend to the abolition of this evil practice. They have granted extensive pieces of ground to the Moosulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and many other nations for burying their dead, and they are more and more adding to those pieces of ground, for another corpse cannot be buried in the same place where one has already been interred: but such is not the case among the Hindoos, for they require only different piles of wood to burn their dead bodies, but not spots of ground. From this we presume to hope that the Hindoos will be able to meet with success from their generous and wise rulers.

Representation to Government.—We, the humble subjects of the province of Bengal, offer up heartfelt praise to the Governor General: as what is said, that "it is through the virtuous actions of the ruler of a country that it enjoys happiness", has been witnessed this year by every one; all the lands of this country affording abundant crops of excellent grain, and almost every article of food becoming cheap; people have been cheerfully attending their respective duties and spending their time contentedly, and the poor were happy to find rice and other things growing cheaper. But all this happiness is embittered by one very sad reflection, a fear lest the Europeans should buy up the Bengal rice, and send it to some distant country, as they had done in several by past years. Therefore the most constant wish of the British Indian subject is, that while the wise and merciful Governor (who has done every thing for their good) remains here, he would prevent the exportation of an immoderate quantity of rice from this country, by which he would conduce very much to the comfort and happiness of his subjects.

Medical Advice.—The people of this country have been relieved from a variety of distresses since it has been in the possession of the English nation; but one of a greater weight than all those troubles still remains to be removed; and if the following be kindly inserted in your papers, we doubt not but it will be attended with beneficial effects, as soon as it reaches the ears of the wise and gracious rulers of this land. The people of this country have a great many causes for being sickly, and among those the principal one is, that they eat whatever and whenever they like. After all this, it is very surprising that they do not oftener get sick, and when so, that they are cured; since they have neither any proper medicines, nor any skilful physicians. Therefore it is sincerely wished that some requisite measures be adopted for the redress of this evil. Seeing the proper medical treatment and the skill of the European physicians, we could wish that our patients were treated by them, that hey might be sooner and better restored to health. These doctors attend to rich families, but the poor cannot afford to send for them; and if any of them were to do so, through a fear of losing his life, he would, after being speedily recovered by the proper treatment of the doctor, find himself again in great pain to see his bill, and begin to call upon death; since the ten rupees which he earned every month would not be sufficient even to maintain his family and to pay the tax: how then could he give 500 rupees to the doctor, which his bill might amount to? We can by no means blame the physician; for by attending this man for about a month, and giving proper medicines to him, it has cost him a great deal. Therefore, as the poor women and children of the Hindoos cannot with propriety resort to the Native hospital, we earnestly beg that some requisite measures be adopted to relieve them from

the many great distresses which they now experience, from want of proper medical advice and treatment.

On the Natives studying Medicine.—It has been said in the last numebr, that when the people of this country fall sick they have very little reason to expect recovery, from having no skilful physicians. This is indeed true ; and the populace have generally not the means of calling in a European doctor ; and if any were to do so, he would afterward find himself unable to pay the expenses attending it. The writer has therefore solicited the Government to adopt some measures, whereby the poor might avail themselves of the medical treatment of European doctors. In this he may be successful ; however, let me express the wish of my heart. Were the Hindoo physicians to instruct their children in the knowledge of their own medical Shasters first, and then place them as practitioners under the superintendence of European physicians, it would prove infinitely advantageous to the Natives of this country. In the first place, by a person being acquainted with the English and Bengallee mode of treating diseases, he would be enabled to judge which was best, and could with greater certainty discover the exact nature of diseases, and administer proper medicines, or recommend proper regimen : secondly, by going to all places, and attending to poor as well as rich families, and to persons of every age and sex, he could render service to all: thirdly, he could without the least difficulty go to such places as were inaccessible to European doctors; and, lastly, this kind of medical knowledge, and the mode of treatment by passing from hand to hand, would be at length spread over the whole country.

The manners of Coolin Brahmins.—A respectable family of a certain village had a very beautiful daughter, who, from her very infancy, lived at her maternal uncle's. When she became marriageable, her father came to the place and said to her uncle, "O, Sir, we are the sons of Coolin, and as such we never marry our children at our own expense, but take our father-in-law's riches for ours : with this consideration, do as you think proper". Having spoken these words, he repaired to his own house. This man (his brother-in-law), being in intimate friendship with the Mundole of the place (for which he was very much respected by the villagers), asked his advice on the occasion. The Mundole said, "she is no longer a child now, but has attained the age of puberty ; therefore marry her as soon as you can, but beware of much expense". Afterwards the uncle, finding that he could not bestow her upon a young man of reputed family without incurring a great expense, an affair with which he knew the father of the bride would have no concern (as he had plainly intimated before), he pitched upon an old and decrepit fellow; and to him her compassionate father gave her away, with some few articles of dowry. This new son-in-law, having remained for a day or two at the house of his wife's maternal uncle, thought proper to go and dwell on the bank of the river Ganges, as his end was approaching ; and he did not long remain there, for after 29 days he breathed his last. This news very much distressed the minds of his new relations : they allowed the new married girl to remain in ignorance of this sad circumstance, and to conduct herself as if she had not become a widow ; and about a year after, informed her that her husband had run away. As she now despaired of seeing her husband, again, she began to pant after a lover; and shortly after she went to her father's house, and seeing there a number of pilgrims going to bathe in the Ganges, she, also, by her parent's consent, followed them. Instead of returning home, she remained concealed within the house of a Boistunby ; and the Thannadar of this place being acquainted with all the particulars, sent for the woman, and having reproved her for her present conduct, desired her to go back to her family. But it was in vain : for she returned to the house of the same Boistunby. At last a crafty Brahmin contrived to marry her to another Brahmin of high cast, on receiving 300 rupees from the latter. The day after, all these circumstances being discovered, her new husband's relations have at last resolved to divorce her : but to this the girl has not as yet agreed. The names and residence of the persons need not be mentioned, as the public may easily know them. The sequel will afterwards be published. The sole reason for publishing this now, is to put parents on their guard how they dispose of their female offspring in marriage. In the present case, the parents seem to possess

very hard hearts, in having given away a perfect beauty to age and ugliness on the point of death ; the consequence of which has been, that the daughter has acted as above described.

The useless profusion and illiberal parsimony of the Natives.—Among the inhabitants of the Coomorika Khund (one of the nine divisions of India), the Brahmuns, Khettry, Boisshyo,and Soodru, being devoid of learning, have now begun to act contrary to one another's manners, customs, laws and professions. All this cannot properly be attributed to poverty, since the poor as well as the rich act thus. The latter, instead of encouraging the arts and sciences, and spending their riches in other laudable pursuits, have been encouraging all sorts of vices, and spending their money foolishly ; and though they are often experiencing the evil consequences of their folly, yet they do not take the least trouble to reform themselves, as it is their duty to do.

Immoral tendency of certain Bengallee Plays.—Many of the rich of this country have spent their money profusely with great pleasure, on purpose to publish the comedies of Biddya Soonder, and Kotee Combeb, and to form several Shokerdulls,[1] and are still assisting them in every possible manner ; but were they to give themselves the trouble to reflect, they would discover their folly ; far from being advantageous to the boys and young men, whom they engage as actors in those loose plays, it exposes their folly to public inspection. If they in their youth, in which season the propensity of their mind is to play and amuse themselves, were kept under restraint by their elders, they might be less subject to such errors ; but if such a salutary check over them be neglected, they will necessarily follow the natural bent of their inclination.

Some Account of a clever Boy at Jorasonkoh.—A child of about five years of age, named Harrono Mookerja, the son of Bulloram Mookerja, an inhabitant of Calcutta, in Jorasonkoh, has made extraordinary progress in the Bangalee and English languages in proportion to his age ; and, what is strange to relate, he can converse in English with any gentleman without being in the least abashed. From the strangeness of the fact (at least in this country), it is obvious that the father of this boy must have taken, and is taking great pains to bring him up in this praiseworthy manner. The child is very sharp, and has not that unsteadiness which his schoolfellows are marked with ; and if he continue studious, we doubt not but he will turn out very clever in the course of a short time ; particularly as he is now in David Hare's school, who tries all in his power to contribute to the instruction of the pupils. Our sole purpose in publishing this is, that it may be a kind of incentive to other boys, who may thus be excited to emulation.

Letter on behalf of the poor Hindoos.—Permit me to address the rich and liberal Hindoos of Calcutta. My poor abilities are incapable of giving a full account of your generous actions; however I will endeavour to do it to the utmost of my power. The large sums of money you expend in the celebration of your parents' obsequies, the valuable presents you bestow on the pundits, and the charity you distribute among the poor of the neighbouring villages, on those occasions, and the houses you keep at a great expense, to receive and entertain those who perish of hunger, encourage me to appeal to your benevolence for the relief of all sorts of misery, and particularly of the following: There are numberless poor Hindoos in Calcutta, who have no other means of getting a livelihood but by their personal labour; and that little which they earn is scarcely sufficient to feed them; consequently when they die, their relations being unable to defray the expenses of burning their corpses, throw them into the Ganges. Some of those are cast by the waves upon the banks, and are greedily devoured by dogs, jackals, &c.; while others again, floating on the surface of the water, are borne down by the tides, and their noxious effluvia are very offensive to those who bathe in the stream. The evil consequences which result from this horrible practice are known to almost every one ; still let me enumerate some of the principal ones. First, if any one who is not a Hindoo, happens to see one of these corpses, he, without any hesitation, gives out that "the very person who was taken so much care of while alive,

[1]A number of men of pleasure, or rather rakes, form a party to sing and dance at the house of certain persons, without any recompense for their trouble.

is now left in such an ignominious condition after death, for no other reason but to save the expense of burning"; and he thus casts a stain upon the whole nation on this slight pretence, instead of ascribing this act to the indigence of the person deceased, and his relations; and he fails not to fix the censure upon his wealthy neighbour: Secondly, when one of those corpses, being swelled, follows the course of the stream, it excites horror and disgust in every body that sees it: Thirdly, the water being saturated with the particles, becomes very injurious to those that drink it: and, Fourthly, by not burning the dead bodies, the subsequent ceremonies, according to the Hindoo Shastras, are nugatory. As I am afraid of exciting the disgust of my readers by enumerating the other evils, which the wise are already aware of, I shall rest satisfied with what I have mentioned. I most earnestly beg of you to establish a fund by subscription, for the purpose of enabling the poor to defray the necessary expenses of the burning of their deceased relatives, and of their other funeral rites.

An Appeal to the Wealthy Hindoos of Calcutta.—There has been a fund established by the Laudable Society, called the Civil and Military Widows' Fund, for the purpose of supporting the children of the deceased both of the Civil and Military Service; but there is among the Hindus no provision for the maintenance of poor widows. If some generous Baboos were to establish such an Institution, the families of deceased poor persons would easily be supported. Many of the natives of this country employ themselves as writers, or Mohurrirs, for 25 or 30 rupees per month by which they are enabled, with the aid of great frugality, to defray the expenses of their family. Unfortunately, if any of these men die, the widow, finding no resource left for the subsistence of herself and her innocent orphans, accepts the office of a menial servant, that of dressing victuals in some rich family of her own *caste*, and there ends her life, in complete misery and unhappiness; and her children also, not being educated, become vicious and useless to society. To remedy this, if two or three respectable native gentlemen were to institute a Life Insurance, this would be most advantageous to people in narrow circumstances; for as many of them get 25 or 30 rupees a month, they could besides their necessary expenses, lay by four or five rupees for the future relief of their wives and children, should they die in destitute circumstances; being thus provided with the necessaries of life, the mothers would do all in their power to give their children a good education, and the latter might, probably, thus arrive at honourable manhood. Should some charitable persons be kind enough to establish such a society, and be desirous to know how to proceed in this affair, we shall, by their writing to the Sungbaud Cowmuddy Press, publish them, as may be found most convenient.

Letter from a Correspondent.—I have but lately come to Calcutta, and am much concerned to find a number of Mohurrirs, Assistants, and Copyists, being in want of employment, constantly attending the rich, and roving from one office to another, from eight o'clock in the morning till almost as many hours in the evening, to procure it. I saw a young man wait on a rich person, in the manner above-mentioned, for six months. Upon asking him what sort of employment he looked for, he replied, the situation of a Mohurrir or Assistant. "And how much do you expect to receive a month", said I, "if you succeed in procuring such an employment?" "Why six or eight rupees", returned he. On hearing this, I said, "The two sorts of offices you mentioned are sought after by a number of persons; if you follow some other profession, such as drawing, embroidering, &c. you will, no doubt, be able to get at least twice as much as you would in one of these offices". He no sooner heard this than he shut his ears with his hands, cried out in the name of God, and said that it would injure the dignity of his caste, consequently be would not act thus. At these words I was very much astonished; the more so, that I had been a little before made acquainted with his wretched condition. He ate only one meal a-day, at the house of one of his relations, for want of room in which, he slept at another's; he was dressed in rags, and being in every respect dependent, he roved from one house to another. This he did not think as by any means degrading to his character; but as to the former, it had taken deep root in his heart, that by following any useful branch of mechanics, which would be more lucrative, less laborious, and would enable him to live independent, the dignity of his character would be lowered. Being unable to trace the cause of such infatuation,

have sent this to be published in the *Moon of Intelligence*, and hope that when some wise person has made himself acquainted with the subject, he will adopt some measures to deliver those persons from such delusive notions, that they may make themselves acquainted with such arts as will tend to their comfort, happiness, and independence.

An extraordinary Account of the digging a Tank.—Tarachaund Chatterjee, of Muddhenpara, in the province of Ookhroh, caused a tank to be dug with uncommon labour, but found that no water sprung up. He then ordered it to be dug twice as deep as before, and was very much disappointed to find it still dry. On this he caused water to be conveyed by means of acqueducts from several adjoining tanks, and about dusk the work was completed, and water brought into the tank. This very much pleased him, and he slept soundly ; but, to his utter confusion and disappointment, he next morning found his tank restored to its former state of dryness. After much reflection and many schemes, he thought it would be proper to consecrate the tank in autumn, when he expected water; but in this he was also disappointed; for the instant the rain was over, he saw it dry, as if the earth had been, as it were, desirous of drinking up all the water of his tank, while the nearest hollows remained filled with water for ten or twelve days. Thus having expended, but in vain, such a large sum of money, and undergone so much trouble, his feelings were very much hurt. Soon after he called his wise neighbours together in some private place, to consult them whether he should consecrate his tank: to which some replied in the negative, and others in the affirmative; but nothing has yet been determined upon.

Anecdote of another clever Boy at Jorasankoh, in Calcutta.—Modhubchurun Dey, son of Hurrimohun Dey, of Jorasankoh, in Calcutta, aged only six years, has already made so great an improvement in Bengalee, that he is the first boy in his *potshola* (or school) ; and though he has not begun to read English, he has made a great progress in speaking it, by constantly conversing with his father. A few days ago, some of his friends took him to an assembly of English gentlemen, where he conversed pretty correctly with them in a low voice, on which he was rewarded with a gold watch-chain, a gold ring, and some other things, by way of encouragement. The object of publishing this is, that other boys, on reading it, may pay attention to their learning, in the hope of meeting with the same approbation as this boy has obtained.

The death of a virtuous Man.—The late Joynaroin Ghosaul, of Khidderpore, was born in the year of Shokoddittya[1] 1661, and on the Doorbustomy.[2] He believed in a Supreme Being, and sympathized in the distresses of his fellow-creatures ; he was well versed in different Shasturs, and received tokens of respect from several governors of this country ; and the first thing he did after he had acquired some wealth, was to build the temple of Bhoocoyloss, and to place in it the images of Shib, Doorga, Gonga, Colbhoyrub, and several others. He spent the greatest part of his life in pilgrimages to Benares and many other places of sanctity, and in the company of the learned and wise. In Benares (where he lived amidst his relations and offspring) he at last deified his spiritual teacher, and established the worship of the god of Curroononydhon. Here he was a friend to the poor, a patron to the Brahmins and ascetics, and one devoted to the good of all, and to constant prayer. Here he spent 80,000 rupees to build a college for the instruction of the poor, and 50,000 rupees to defray its expenses ; and not being satisfied with this only, he had hospitals established for the recovery of the poor afflicted with sickness, and was himself reckoned a most skilful physician. And, to sum up the whole, at this place he proved himself to be a complete model of virtue Twenty days before his death, which happened on the 7th November, 1821, he presented a short address to the inhabitants of Benares, taking a last farewell of them on his approaching death ; and departed this life on the above-mentioned day, about two p.m. on the *Poornymohtithy* (full moon), and sitting upon the *Jogashun* (or seat of prayer).

[1]A famous king from whose death the Hindus reckon their era. This date is 1740 A.D.

[2]The eighth day of the moon between August and September, which is kept holy by the Hindoo women.

The following is his address to the inhabitants of Benares. "I have lived in this world a long time, without being able to acquire any knowledge of the Supreme Being; and I have all the while met abundant reasons to convince me, to the very bottom of my heart, that an uninterrupted happiness can never be formed in this world. But as my soul seems shortly about to quit the body, I beg your forgiveness of my faults, and bid you my last farewell."

On the neglect of Education.—Learning is an inestimable treasure ; it is an object worth the pursuit of the young as well as the old. He who studies for several years during his infancy, and acquires a competent knowledge of a language, takes pleasure in acquiring it more perfectly as he advances in years. A person who had grown grey in study, was asked why he still took so much pains in learning, since he was now too old to learn: "you speak very strangely", replied he with a smile of disdain ; "it is proper and advisable to devote ourselves to the attainment of that which satisfies all our rational desires, and accompanies us even after death."[1] There are many boys in this country, who are very indolent, which probably proceeds from these three motives; viz. 1st. the indulgence they meet with from their parents; 2dly. from want of proper directions in their education, this owing either to the neglect of their schoolmaster, or that of their fathers ; and 3dly the early inclination they contract for indulgence in pleasures. Happy were it for this country if parents would take a proper care of the education of their children.

A brief account of Calcutta.—As it is impossible to give a complete account of Calcutta, which may be compared to a paradise with respect to its opulence and grandeur, we shall be satisfied with giving a very brief one. The English, who make up a part of the people, are polite and learned, in which last they may be compared to Brihuspotee (the Hindu God of learning); they are virtuous, generous, grave, hospitable, and impartial in distributing justice. They are also, like Indro (Jupiter), rules over the greater part of the world, and are well versed in their own language, as well as the languages of foreigners. The city of Calcutta is always crowded with people of many other nations, of different tongues, forms, complexions, costumes, and religions, some of whom are very rich, virtuous, polite, and possessed of many other good qualities. It is also adorned with public edifices and pleasure gardens, the beauty of which is still more heightened by the buzzing of the *Bhummor,* (black-beetle) on the lily-lotus in the tanks; the streets are crowded with horses, chariots, armed men, &c.; and in this metropolis are to be found most valuable merchandize, and luxurious and delicious articles of food of all sorts. So that no place has been able to excel, or even equal this in any of these respects.

Account of Twin Brothers.—In this famous town of Calcutta there are two twin brothers, Cossy and Crishno, at Simlah, who are so alike that no one can discover any difference between them except themselves. They are of the same colour, size, and height; wear the same kind of clothes, eat the same food, and sleep and rise together and at the same time. They love each other so tenderly, that they have not married yet, knowing that wives are generally the cause of separation between brothers; and as they are both the same, they think the wives would not be able to distinguish each other's husband, and preserve their chastity. One day a milkman was passing by their door with a pot of curds in his hand for sale, and these two brothers resolved to play a trick upon him. Cossy told him that he wished to buy some curds; the milkman presented him the pot, which contained about twelve seers of curds, and demanded the price. Cossy said that it was a very small quantity. "Do you think twelve seers a small quantity?" said the milkman, and told him that if he could eat that whole quantity of curds, he should get them for nothing. Cossy consented to it; and eating six seers, he went into his room, telling the milkman he would instantly return; and Crishno coming out, ate the remainder. The milkman being much confounded, returned home and told this circumstance to his family.

A Letter to the Editor.—Sir : You have published in your newspaper of the 22d of January 1822, that were those persons who constantly attend the rich and frequent the offices for no other motive than to be employed, as mere copyists, sircars, or mohurrirs, to follow

[1]This opinion is according to the Hindu Shasturs.

some mechanical profession, they would be able to live more honourably and independent. You have also inserted in it the reply that was made to this by them; when they were advised to follow some branch of mechanics, such as drawing, embroidering, &c. they shut their ears with their hands. The adviser, perceiving this, has taken them for fools, and expressed this great concern for them. The natives of this country would rather undergo the greatest of misery, than abandon the professions which are deemed peculiar to their respective castes; consequently I think his proposed reformation cannot take place among them. Let me endeavour to give a reply to what he has said: It is the business of the Moosulman tailor to embroider, of the painter to draw; and, in a word, it is the business of the low to follow mechanical professions, but that of respectable persons to acquire learning. Though the mechanical professions are the most lucrative, it does not become a man of high caste to follow them. Where is the respectable man that professes them? They are attended with diminution of respect, to which death is even preferable ; one ought not to forsake one's profession for the whole world. A striking instance of this is to be found in the Chottuck.[1] Whilst perched on a tree close to the shores of the Ganges, it was shot by an arrow, which made it fall into the water; being on the point of death for want of drink, it rather chose to die than to bend its head to drink of the water of the Ganges (though sensible that such an act would procure him a place in heaven), as this had never been done by any of its species.

A letter from a Correspondent, addressing the learned and generous Hindoos of Calcutta.—I have long been an observer of the manners, customs, &c. of the Hindoos, and found many deviations in them from their original state. During the Moosulmaun reign great alterations took place, and they are now imbibing some of the English manners also; some of which tend to their advantage, and others the contrary. One becomes laudable by following them, and another ridiculous. Were some wise persons to assemble together, and fix a standard for the conduct of their countrymen, many might be prevented from injuring the dignity of their nation. For my own part I would have a book published, in which the former and the present manners of the Hindoos should be written, with the opinions of the learned and the wise with respect to each. If there be any other remedy besides what I have just now said, the learned should lay it before the public ; as among all other nations, they who love their countrymen most, point out the best way for them to follow.

An account of an Impostor.—A few days ago an impostor, going up to a certain wealthy person expressed his great desire of becoming acquainted with him ; and, moreover, said that he was blessed with a divine gift, whereby he could oblige any man by accomplishing his intention. The Baboo, who was a very sensible man, could easily see through the cunning of this wretch, but merely for the sake of amusement wished to try him. The impostor said, "Bring me a black goat, and I shall cause it to die this very night, by merely once touching it, and through the force of my incantations." This request was immediately complied with, and he put his hand upon the goat and repeated certain incantations. It was then, in conformity to his order, kept in a retired place; and, that none might dare to go near the goat, the Baboo placed some centinels at the door, and gave them strict orders that the first man who should approach them to enter the door should be immediately seized and brought to him. Next morning, going to see the goat, he found it just in the same state as before, without even the loss of one hair from its body; and he desired the centinels, as soon as the villain should return, to inform him of it. These precautions had somehow reached the ears of the impostor, and he never more appeared before the Baboo, but went to some rich Tuntuboy (weaver of cloths), who was a very simple man, where he repeated his old story; and having contrived to kill a goat, he imposed upon his credulity so far that he began to speak out his mind, saying that if he could make him so fortunate as to be successful in a lawsuit he had pending in the court, he would with great pleasure give him any thing he wanted ; when the impostor replied, that if he would give him 2,000 rupees to offer up sacrifices to different deities, he could undoubtedly make him gain his cause. The weaver, having a firm belief in this wretch, put into his hands the desired sum, and added,

[1]A fabulous bird, which is supposed never to stoop its head to the ground, but to look up continually and live entirely upon rain water.

"I can by no means doubt the veracity of one who is the most pious of men, and hope you will not fail to exert your best endeavours to accomplish the business, for which I shall spare more money if required, and, in the end, will handsomely reward you". "It is very surprising", cries the villain, "that you should take me for a self-interested man, and endeavour to please *me* by your money; I have nothing more in view but the good of others in acting thus". The weaver rejoined, "Pardon me, sir; I am sensible of my fault, and shall take care for the future; however, do at present, help me to gain my cause". "This I shall do very soon", said the impostor, and then under the pretence of repairing to his lodging, he ran away with the money! When the Baboo came to know that the abovementioned goat had been killed by some of the colleagues of this treacherous wretch, and not by himself, he began to repent of his past folly. It is said of Joggotechunder Sen, of Jorobagan, that some time ago a like impostor persuaded him that he could turn copper into gold, and that he gave to him 10,000 rupees for that purpose.

Letter addressed to the Editor by a Correspondent desirous of having New Roads opened. —I have been lately in Calcutta, and being acquainted with a certain singular circumstance, I take the liberty to inform you of it. It was but the other day that I called upon an old English friend of mine, and after a long conversation, told him that I felt a secret satisfaction in seeing the English take so much pains to promote the happiness of their subjects, excepting in one point. He interrupted me with, "what is it?" This city of Calcutta, added I, is divided into two parts; the southern division, from its being chiefly inhabited by Europeans, is called *Ingrojtollah;* and the other, or northern division, *Bengalleetollah* (or the Bengalee quarter). In the former one there are several fine large roads intersecting one another, and constantly filled with chariots, horses, elephants, and palanquins, and various nations, differing almost in every respect. The sight of these things, with the free circulation of air which the inhabitants of that division enjoy, greatly tend to amuse and gratify their minds, and consequently render them less exposed to diseases. Of these comforts the occupiers of the latter division (Bengaleetollah) are unfortunately deprived; therefore, were the English to have three or four such roads made in the *Bengalleetollah*, the inhabitants thereof might be freed from the frequent diseases to which they are subject, and live happy under their wise Government. "This they have already begun upon", replied the gentleman, "but their progress is impeded through the malice of the people of this country. For the Lottery Committee, having undertaken at a great expense to open a new road for the improvement of the city of Calcutta, and the good of the citizens, have easily succeeded in leading it through the *Ingrojtollah;* since every gentleman in that quarter, whose house obstructed its passage, gave it up with great pleasure on receiving its due price, or somewhat less, having before him the agreeable prospect of such improvements. But we think it impossible to meet with equal success, or even succeed at all in the other division; for when the proprietor of a house which falls into the line of road is desired to accept of its just value, and give it up, in hope of enjoying a great many pleasures after the road shall have been completed, one says, that he would not give up his house, even although he were to receive three times the amount already offered; another, that he would consider of it or sell his house; and again, a third, seeing that the road is about to pass by his house or piece of ground, cherishes in his mind the idea of making the utmost profit by it, though a little before he was perhaps willing enough to dispose of it at a low price. And what is still more surprising is, that because for two or three *cottohs* of ground 150 or 200 rupees per *cottoh* are given (in consideration that small spots of ground can procure many purchasers), they also who have four or five *biggahs* over which the road is to pass, expect to be paid at the above rate. One, again, determined to have twice the real value, presents a petition, complaining that the superintendents of the roads are very unjust in not having given him the proper value of his house, and that he will therefore throw himself on the mercy of a Jury. The Members of the Lottery Committee thinking that if they were to have his house taking down by paying its due value, without referring it to the Jury (as desired by the petitioner), almost every individual, without the least hesitation, would charge the rulers of the country with injustice, it consequently behoved them (though not without the expense of 160 rupees) to appoint a Jury; and they then approve his petition,

and tell him that the price fixed by the Jury will be granted him by the Lottery Committee. Accordingly a day is appointed for the Jury to assemble, who, having made themselves acquainted with all the particulars, begin to judge of the affair with impartiality, and at last pronounce their verdict, since nothing else will satisfy the petitioner. Some remain contented with the small sum allowed by the Jury, though they were at first offered a larger one; others wish to enrich themselves by disposing of their small spots of ground at a high rate, since without them, they think the road must remain unfinished; while others again, without any consideration, accuse the Government of injustice and oppression, and are led to believe, that by their ground being thus taken from them, they are to be banished from this country. From this we cannot expect the completion of the new road, nor that of any other in the *Bengaleetollah*". I am quite astonished at this account of the gentleman; for how is it possible that one nation should meet with so many obstructions from those very persons for whose good they are labouring in every possible manner to open a new road. To remedy the evils arising from this practice, I most earnestly beg of you (the Editor of the *Moon of Intelligence*) to insert the above in your paper.

Impostors.—(*Letter to the Editor*). Sir: I have read an account of an impostor in your last number; I now communicate to you that of another, which I hope you will kindly insert in the *Moon of Intelligence*. One in the dress of a learned man coming to me the other day, addressed me thus: "I understand that you have no child, and are very sorry for it; I, however, am possessed of a divine gift, whereby I can render your barren wife fruitful." Upon this I asked him whether or not this would cost me anything, and the pious man told me that it would not be attended with any very great expense, only the *small* sum of two or three thousand rupees; and he at the same time mentioned the names of four or five rich persons, on whom he said he had bestowed sons by means of his long prayers. I requested him to show me something as a specimen of his great powers, before I should give him the money; upon which he said, "Get me every thing ready for my prayers, and 108 red flowers of the laurel tree; I shall, by worshipping the gods with them, turn the redness of these flowers into whiteness!" At these words my friends and relations readily provided him with every thing necessary for performing his devotion, and he then sat down to his prayers; and after a long time, with tears in his eyes, begged for a little fire to offer up his oblations; and soon after brought us all the flowers above-mentioned turned white. This circumstance astonished every body, and naturally drew from them the expression, "This man certainly is what he represents himself to be; that is, a saint". However, I could not help suspecting that this must certainly have been performed by a natural property of some substance, and at last finding that the flowers smelled of sulphur, I sent a man into the bazar to get me a piece. This alarmed the saint, and he immediately after went under some pretence to the outside of the house, with a pot of water in his hand; and never more returned. I afterwards made the experiment with the same success; viz. I turned myself a red flower into a white one; but all that I have to tell you is, that I have lost my waterpot into the bargain.

A Tiger caught in a snare.—In the month of January last, a tiger coming into the district of Bodcoollah, near Ooloh, killed a bull one night. Two or three days after, when darkness had covered the face of nature, as five or six persons were sitting close to a fire in the cow-house conversing together, while the cows were confined in an enclosure hard by, the very same tiger leapt into it, and seized a cow. This frightened away the other cows into different parts, and some of the people that were inside the cow-house went up on the beams of it, while the others lay by the fire-side, half dead with terror; but the tiger having remained there for an hour to eat up the cow he had killed, went away. The next morning all the people of the district prepared an enclosure of bamboos near a wood, and placed therein a strong cage with a goat in it. In the course of two or three days, the tiger having entered the enclosure, was unable to get out of it again, and the people seeing this the next morning, rejoiced very much, and brought other bamboos and ropes to strengthen the enclosure. The tiger seeing an immense crowd about him, broke the cage, but never

touched the goat, which the people contrived to get out of the enclosure. For this intrepid act the judge of Kisshon Nagor has given a reward of hundred rupees.[1]

The Hindoos and Mussulmans have of late entered into a warm controversy through the medium of the newspapers. Sometimes the Hindoos censure the Mussulmans and sometimes *vice versa*. This circumstance has reached the notice of all the respectable Hindus, but few Mussulmans of consideration are aware of it ; as some of the latter have expressed their total disapprobation of it. It is, therefore of course, a proof, that the respectable portion of the Mahomedan community are not disposed to take parts in such unreasonable contentions. Last week we received a letter on this subject in which the writer has expressed his desire to undertake the task of a mediator between these parties ; and instead of publishing it we then signified, that we would do with it, in the present week, what is judged proper. One, who gives himself out in such a character and would engage in the discharge of the duties of an arbitrator he ought to submit himself to some disadvantage, if necessary, for the purpose of quieting the disputants. Although the writer professes himself to be fit for such important purpose ; yet, as he seems to be partial to one of the suitors we are reluctant to publish his communication for which we trust he will excuse us. The source of this is the appointment of *Sudder a Sodoors* that is, they being chosen from amongst the Mahomedans. But in our opinion dissatisfaction on the part of the Hindus is quite unfounded, since the government has appointed such as have been nominated by the Judges and Commissioners. It is not the intention of Government, to exclude the Hindus from these offices ; for, had that been the case, Baboo Ojoodhya Prosaud Tewarree would not have been appointed the Principal Sudder Ameen at Patna.

Were jealousy to be thus entertained on account of public situations by disappointed candidates, then there would be no end to it, then if all the Sudder-a-Sodoorships were to be given to the Hindus exclusively ; there are crores of Hindus and the number of *Sudder a Sodoors* required is at the most a hundred: and should a hundred be distributed among crores many will have cause to complain. In such matters jealousy is highly ridiculous. The Serastadaries in the civil and criminal courts as well as in the office of the Collector in every Zillah, are open to both Hindus and Mahomedans, and both these classes at present hold those offices indiscriminately. Sometimes of course the number of one class and sometimes that of the other in the public service is greater ; but this circumstance was never known to have been a cause of jealousy. The places of *Karanies* have been invariably occupied by the Hindus: but the Mussulmans never shewed any thing like discontent for that. We will conclude with affirming only, that neither class has been right in calumniating the other.*

175. Reply of the "Calcutta Journal" to the remarks of the "Asiatic Journal" on the danger from the Native Press. (February 14, 1823).

Apprehensions For the Fate of India—From The Power Of the Native Press.

Nobody of course, at least in this country, looks into the ASIATIC JOURNAL for the purpose of obtaining correct ideas on the state of India ; but besides being an object of curiosity to some to see the old notions it entertains on subjects with which they possess a familiar acquaintance, it is a matter of general interest to observe the absurd opinions regarding us, that are circulated and expected to be swallowed by the credulous folks at Home. Towards the close of the year 1821, we published in the JOURNAL, the PROSPECTUS of the first

[1] How far the above translations are *free* or *literal*, it is for those who have perused the originals to determine.

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, May 1, 1832.

of the Four Native Newspapers which have been established within the last fifteen months, accompanied with such remarks as an event of this interesting nature, both morally and politically, was calculated to call forth. No one really desirous of promoting the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives of India, and aware of the huge mass of ignorance which exists, and the slender efficacy of any means yet tried by the benevolence of Europeans to dispel it, but rejoiced with us at the prospect of the Press being put in operation by the Natives themselves. Because it gave just ground to hope that by means of this powerful Engine for spreading light and civilisation, the strong holds of superstition would speedily be shaken, and the mists of prejudice dissipated. Wielded by the Natives themselves who were in possession of the readiest avenues to the understandings of their countrymen, we judged that it could not but be eminently effectual, and leave the pious labours of Missionaries, and the philanthropic exertions of the promoters of Education very far behind. Besides these, there were other advantages which we considered it likely to secure ; namely, making the Rulers more accurately acquainted with the real condition of their subjects (that they may be the better able to watch over and promote their happiness) and more completely opening the eyes of the latter to the inestimable advantages the country is capable of deriving from British sway. We have yet seen no cause to alter our opinion ; or relinquish the hopes then formed, and we still look forward with confidence to the future for their accomplishment.

The ASIATIC JOURNAL, stretching its pigmy optics to a country evidently far beyond its visual ken, views the thing in a very different light, as will be seen from the following extracts :—

"In our observations on the case of Mr. Buckingham, we expressed very fully our sentiments on the general policy of permitting an unrestrained freedom of the press in India. We are obliged to recur to this topic, by a circumstance which has lately occurred, not indeed of much intrinsic moment, but still important, from the consequences to which it may lead, and the mischievous remarks Mr. Buckingham has made upon it. We extract from his JOURNAL the following prospectus of a newspaper, conducted by natives, and an address by its editor to the Bengal public. The prospectus was contained in our last number."

[Here follows the Prospectus, which we need not repeat, it being given in the Journal for December 1821 at p. 519.]

"Though we consider some passages in this address very objectionable (probably because they are intentionally translated into objectionable language, not warranted by the original expressions), we should yet be disposed to hail with pleasure this indication of progressive knowledge, on the part of our Indian fellow-subjects, if the matter rested here: but, though far removed from the literary and political gossip of Calcutta, it is easy to collect from the manner in which this subject is introduced by Mr. Buckingham, what is to be the character of the proposed native newspaper; and we are anxious to draw the public attention to it at home, ere it is too late. *Obsta principiis*, is a maxim not less useful in political, than domestic economy.

"In the first place, we would ask whether the patronage and encouragement here extended, do not declare the dangerous objects of the parties by whom this newspaper is undertaken. Those who know Mr. Buckingham, and the CALCUTTA JOURNAL, (and who is unacquainted with them?) may easily predicate the character of his *protégé*. But he is, himself, by no means disposed to leave us in the dark: a more artful and dangerous prologue could not easily have been composed. It belongs to others to avert the danger: it shall be our part, as far as our brief limits will allow, to point it out. A Journal, published in the language of the natives, conducted by natives, designed for the perusal of the native

Indians, and of them almost exclusively, is set on foot, avowedly, if Mr. Buckingham is to be credited, for the purpose of fomenting their accidental discontents, of opening their eyes to the defects of their rulers, of encouraging and giving utterance, not to their complaints, but to their remonstrances."

In regard to the sage conjecture of the Editor, that the Native Newspaper in question, afterwards published under the title of the SUNGBAD COWMUDDY, was a protege of ours, we need only say that it enjoyed no more of our patronage and encouragement, than we should extend to any undertaking whatever which we considered equally calculated to promote the public good. But it is a vile perversion of our meaning to assert that, according to us, it was set on foot avowedly for the purpose of "FOMENTING DISCONTENTS" among the Natives, or "opening *their* eyes to the defects of their Rulers". If the Editor had said we expected it to open the eyes of the Rulers to *their own* defects, and make them acquainted with any discontents that might be *actually existing* among their subjects, he would have hit nearer the truth ; and had he charged us with this wish, we should have held ourselves prepared to defend it. But he ought to know that all men are sufficiently sharpsighted to the faults of others, and too blind to their own errors ; so that, while even a mote in a neighbour's eye cannot escape them, they are unable to perceive a beam in their own. Keeping this in view, he could never have charged us with the ridiculous wish, that a Paper should be established to enable the Natives to discover the defects of their Rulers. Whatever Europeans may think, we believe the inhabitants of India in this respect have no need of improving their eye-sight with the spectacles of Newspapers.

The Editor assigns some singular reasons for the Liberty of the Press not being allowed to exist in India,—the Natives being "less informed than the people of England, with passions less subdued, and acting on principles of a mild and self-denying religion". That is, because they are less informed, let us keep them so ! because they are restrained by he influence of a mild and *self-denying* religion, let us *deny* them the Freedom of the Press. The latter reason, extraordinary as it is, must have been intended to apply to the Hindoo population, and considering that as forming the great body of the Inhabitants of India, we deny that politically speaking, the people of this country have "passions less subdued" or more easily inflamed than our countrymen at home. It is a false assumption lugged in to prop up a weak argument and give a plausible colour to the whole.

Their peaceful disposition is well known ; but their facility of being pleased with the conduct of others less certain ; and if a spark of discontent should any where to be kindled, is it better that it be immediately discovered by means of a Free Press, and forthwith removed ; or that it should be kept smothered in silence until it secretly extend far and wide, and then suddenly burst into an unquenchable flame?

Our Editor concludes :—

"Let the peculiar situation of our Indian Government be considered; we are the rulers of a population very far exceeding the population of our own country, and in

the proportion of a thousand to one of those by whom the powers of government in India are exercised. Of course our authority depends not on physical force, but on intellectual superiority, and the judicious management of our power which that superiority has prompted. India has not a venerable constitution: India has not a system of jurisprudence adapted by long usage to her wants and capable of accommodating itself to casual and difficult emergencies: India has no party relation except that of the governor and the governed, no *antique* and loyal opposition, no liberal and generous party spirit, differing as to the means, but united as to the end, *the public good.* The native Indian has no domestic feeling, no permanent interest in common with the European resident, no community of affections, of religion, or of soil, with the stranger under whose sceptre he lives; and above all (if we may be pardoned the expression) he possesses no John Bullism of heart, that can protect him from the insidious approaches of nominal friends, but real enemies; no John Bullism of understanding, that can enable him to draw the line between the honest and open expression of opinion, and the badly disguised treason that lurks under the sulky remonstrance.

"Such, in general, are our apprehensions, and such is their foundation. Those who have removed the censorship from the Indian press have taken on themselves, we speak it boldly, a perilous responsibility; and it becomes them to watch the event with a proportionate anxiety. Not in our times perhaps may the evil happen, but happen when it will, it must be accelerated or retarded principally by the behaviour of our resident authorities; by the degree of vigilance with which they watch over the proceedings of such men as Mr. Buckingham in respect of the liberated press; by the patronage they withhold from, or extend to its productions; by their supineness or activity in enforcing the legal restrictions under which it is conducted: in a word, by the timidity, the indecision, the carelessness, or by the resolution, constancy, union and vigour with which they hereafter act on the subject."

On this tissue of false assumption and inconsequent reasoning we need make a few remarks ; as its flimsy texture must be apparent to all who will give themselves the trouble to consider it attentively. Is it true that "the Native Indian has no permanent interest in common with the European resident?" What reliance can be placed on a fabric resting on such a position, which, even if just, is so disgraceful to the British name that the Editor ought not to have allowed it to pass his lips. How often has our late Ruler declared the Benefit of the Governed to be the great object of our Rule, and striven to impress this philanthropic principle on the Servants of the Company, the depositaries of its power. Has the Native Indian no community of interest with us in the repulse and subjugation of those enemies who would make his country a field of devastation and plunder? in the extension of Commerce, the enricher of the world? in the diffusion of knowledge and of the useful arts and sciences to multiply his comforts and encrease his power? and lastly, in the formation, perfecting, and permanent establishment of such a system of Government, morals and religion, as while securing for ever the happiness of India may raise an eternal monument of glory to the British name? If all these objects are to be lost sight of, and we are to govern only for ourselves, without opening our hearts to any higher object than the collection of rupees and extension of territory, then we should act consistently in joining in the wishes of the Editor of the ASIATIC JOURNAL. "As the Natives have no permanent interest in common with us, perish a Free Press! They are "less informed" than we are, let us keep them ignorant! They are "restrained by a mild and self-denying religion", conducive to passive obedience, let us be wary of disturbing it! "Our authority depends on intellectual superiority," let us keep their minds in darkness, by withholding from them the Tree of Knowledge,

lest they become like one of us, knowing good and evil! These are the Machiavelian doctrines obscurely developed by this Oracle of Leaden Hall Street, which seems to have no nobler purpose in view than an account of Dr. and Cr. or the wrapper of a pound of Tea,—to be a mere article of Trade, whose reasonings have much the same object as those which usually pass over a Shopkeeper's Counter.

But as facts are worth a thousand arguments, we are happy to be able to add that the Natives really feel they have a permanent interest in the stability of our power; as is sufficiently proved by many unequivocal circumstances, in particular, the readiness with which they advance money to support the Government. The Paper which was considered so fraught with danger, and like to explode over all India like a spark thrown into a barrel of gunpowder, has long since fallen to the ground for want of support; chiefly we understand because it offended the Native community, by opposing some of their customs, and particularly the Burning of Hindoo widows. If the Editor now considers this a subject of exultation, we do not envy him either his feelings or his principles. The innocent SUNGBAD COWMUDDY, the object of so much unnecessary alarm, was originally established in the month of December 1821, and relinquished by the original Proprietor for want of encouragement in May 1822, after which it was kept alive by another Native till the September following, when, about the commencement of the Doorga Pooja Holidays, it first was suspended, and then fell to rise no more. The other three Native Newspapers, which started after the COWMUDDY, or about February 1822, are still kept afloat, but none of them, as far as we can understand, enjoys any great degree of support, ranging from considerably under a hundred to perhaps two hundred Subscribers. Their names are the MIRAT-OLL UKHBAR (or Mirror of Intelligence) in Persian ; the JAM-I JUHAN-NOOMA (or Representer of the World) in Persian, originally Persian and Hindoostanee ; and the SUMMOCHAR CHUNDRIKA, or "Moon of Intelligence" in Bengalee, the victorious Rival of the SUNGBAD COWMUDDY, whose name it imitated as the "NEW TIMES", of London did the "TIMES" and by this artifice succeeded in carrying off many of its Subscribers.

To show what reliance may be placed on the opinions of persons in England, who, like the Editor of the ASIATIC JOURNAL, enjoy no proper opportunities of obtaining accurate ideas regarding this country, we shall submit two Extracts from late English publications. The first is from the HAMPSHIRE TELEGRAPH, a very respectable Paper of its kind, relating immediately to the subject in hand:—

"*Bengallee Paper.*—Bombay Papers to the middle of February have been received. These papers contain a notice of a new weekly paper, published in the Bengalee language, the first attempt of the kind, and edited by a learned Hindoo. In the first and second numbers were articles on the liberty of the native press, and on the trial by jury, which had been purchased with so much avidity, that both were out of print!! It appears under the title of "SUNGBAD COWMUDDY"; or, the "MOON OF INTELLIGENCE".—*Hampshire Telegraph*, July 29.

The next is from a late Number of the PERCY ANECDOTES, a work with which many of our readers must be acquainted, got up with very great ability:—

"*Women of India.*—While Britons deplore the traffic in negroes, and have abolished the above trade, it is a fact that there are persons who actually import beautiful women to the

British settlements in India, in order to sell them to the rich Nabobs or Europeans who may give a good price for them; but what is worse, they are sometimes played for at a game of chance. The following advertisement on this subject appeared in Grimsby's Daily Advertiser, of the 3rd of September, 1818, a paper printed at Calcutta.

'*Females raffled for.*—Be it known, that six fair pretty young ladies, with two sweet and engaging children, lately imported from Europe, having the roses of health blooming on their cheeks, and joy sparkling in their eyes, possessing amiable tempers, and highly accomplished, whom the most indifferent cannot behold without expressions of rapture, are to be raffled for next door to the British Gallery. Scheme, twelve tickets, at twelve rupees each; the highest of the three throws doubtless takes the most fascinating'.

"What a specimen of Calcutta morals does this advertisement exhibit! Surely a more abominable outrage upon morality and virtue has never been heard of than this, which is openly practised in a settlement under British laws and British Government!"—*Percy Anecdotes*, No. 31.

What a specimen does this exhibit of the ignorance and mis-information that prevails in England even among the most intelligent classes, regarding the real state of this country! Is it not absolutely necessary that a Free Press should exist, if merely to convey accurate intelligence to the people at home, that they may not be deluded and imposed upon, as they are otherwise so liable to be, with regard to the true state and condition of a people over whose destinies they exercise such a controul? To keep the Natives in ignorance, and foster their debasing superstition, in which they have been so long sunk—abominable as it would be, is perhaps the least evil to be dreaded. The establishment of an unlimited power of hoodwinking and deluding the people of England by a Subservient and Lying Press would infallibly deliver over the country, bound hand and foot, without hope of redress in case of injury or prospect of political improvement. What opinion the Editor of the ASIATIC JOURNAL or persons of *his* mental calibre may form on this subject is of little importance. Indeed from the noise made in England about the Sale of a few Painted Dolls, as exhibited in the above extract, we need not be much surprised if his next speculation on the dangers of a Free Press in this country be founded on some surprising discovery in Baxter's or Wiltshire's Advertisements! The dreams of Opium Eaters, or Old Wives' Fables are really more worthy of regard than the lucubrations of such would-be Politicians dozing in their elbow chairs in London, and presumptuously pretending to instruct the world regarding the real state of British India, of which, *because* the Press is fettered, and dare not tell the Truth, but at the peril of the lives and fortunes of those who are bold enough to break these fetters, and assume their rights as Britons and as Men—they still remain in utter ignorance. A period is fast approaching, however, when the Veil will be removed.*

176. Observation of the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar" on the deportation by Government of Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the "Calcutta Journal". (March 1, 1823).

The eminently learned Dr. Bryce, the head minister of the new Scotch Church, having accepted the situation of Clerk of the Stationary

* *Calcutta Journal*, February 14, 1823.

belonging to the Honorable Company, Mr. Buckingham the Editor of the JOURNAL, remarked directly as well as indirectly, that it was unbecoming the character of the minister to accept a situation like this ; upon which, the Honorable the Governor General for the time being, in consideration of his disrespectful expression, passed an order, that Mr. Buckingham should leave India for England within the period of two months from the date of the receipt of this order, and that after the expiration of that period, he is not allowed to remain a single day in India. So I reflect upon the verse, which an elephant-keeper repeated on the banks of the Nile—

"If thou knowest the state of an ant under thy foot, thine own condition is such under the foot of an elephant!"*

177. A letter re: the native Memorial against the Press Regulation. (April 5, 1823).

To the Editor of the Journal.

Sir,

* * * * * * *

The Reviewer lastly speaks of the Native Memorial, and according to modern Tory cant, in which he is wonderfully expert for a Tory of such short standing—he fears the Subscribers to it, has been misled by "designing men"! The character of the Memorialists,—confessedly the most intelligent and respectable of the Natives of India—renders the application of this Tory catch-word to them absolutely ridiculous ; and the Memorial has internal marks, that it could not have been framed by any but the Natives themselves ; since no European could be acquainted with the facts it brings forward. "The great body of the Native population (by which the Reviewer means the ignorant multitude) seek no change, (says he) and lest of all, such change as the modern Reformers of India would give them." To this I fully assent ; those Hindoos who are plunged in the darkness of ages, desire neither the benefits of knowledge nor the blessings of true Religion. Further, the more enlightened portion of them, among whom the subscribers to the Memorial are, seek no change of their political condition ; they only pray in their Memorial to be allowed to continue in the enjoyment of those civil and religious privileges they always enjoyed since the establishment of the British Power among them. Instead of seeking change, they pray the Court to allow their condition to remain *unchanged* and undetiriorated. But there are some few among them who dislike the British Power ; because, the free diffusion of intelligence it has permitted among them, threatens to pull down the strongholds of ancient superstition and the absurdities of established custom. The Christian Reviewer chimes in with the wishes of this bigotted class, perhaps from clerical sympathy ; and is happy that several of them refused (as he alleges) to sign the Memorial presented to the Court! I have reason to believe, after some enquiry, that the Reviewer has been misinformed ; and am well assured

* *Mirat-ul-Ukhbar*, quoted by *Calcutta Journal*, March 1, 1823.

that had there been sufficient time, in a very few days even, almost every respectable Native in Calcutta would have signed the Memorial, notwithstanding the manœvures of a certain well known party to defeat its object.

While every Friend of India must rejoice at the Proofs of Native attachment to the British Rule, adduced in that Memorial, it cannot but be evident, that if the Natives had suffered one of the most valuable privileges ever conferred upon them to be taken away, without complaint or remonstrance, such shameful apathy would have proved, that they do not at all appreciate the blessings they enjoy. But on the contrary, when we see them thus clinging to their civil and religious rights, it is the strongest pledge of their attachment to the power from which they flow. I therefore should rejoice to see every Native of property and intelligence, coming forward in the same respectful manner to prove their loyalty ; and to show that they attach a just value to the civil and religious rights guaranteed to them by the British Nation, and which I humbly conceive no power in this country can justly take away.*

A FRIEND OF INDIA.

178. Observations of the "Calcutta Journal" on the operation of the Press Regulation on the suspension of publication of the "Mirat-ul-Ukhbar". (April 10, 1823).

It was a subject of well founded congratulation both in Europe and in Asia, that some of the Natives of India had begun to use the Press, as the means of enlightening their countrymen ; and when Newspapers started up in the Persian, Bengalee, and other languages, our Predecessor, ever eager to encourage the means adopted for the diffusion of information, employed a Translator for the purpose of re-publishing in the English language, the most useful portions of the intelligence they might contain. A person of this kind is still attached to the CALCUTTA JOURNAL establishment with this view ; but the article which follows, will show the Public that the hopes entertained of the Native Press may now be abandoned.

The great utility of the Native Press would have been, to make Government and the Public intimately acquainted with the real situation and sentiments of the whole population; but it is to be lamented that, apparently from the natural timidity of the Native character, it did not answer this purpose, even with the cheering indulgence of the Marquis of Hastings. A true picture is given of it in the Native Memorial, as follows : "Native Authors and Editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the Judicial Proceedings in the interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government". If such was the case at the time it was thought necessary to establish new Regulations for restraining the Press, it is not to be supposed that a Native Newspaper will now venture to publish any truth at all, if there is the most distant chance that it may be unpleasant either to

* *Calcutta Journal*, April 5, 1823.

Government, or to any of its servants. We regret that this should be the case for the reason expressed in the Memorial,—a conviction of the manifold advantages of Government being put in possession of an impartial account of what is passing in all parts of the country, that it may be acquainted with whatever requires its interference ; and also from a conviction of the salutary influence of Public Opinion, and that only the Press—not crippled in its exertions by fear, but cherished and free—can do anything towards dispelling the darkness which envelopes so many millions of our fellow subjects. The following is the translation we have alluded to, from the Persian Newspaper, stiled the MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR, established above twelve months ago, and now discontinued in consequence of the New Laws regarding the Press:

MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR.

Friday, April 4, 1823.—(Not included in the Regular Numbers.)

It was previously intimated, that a Rule and Ordinance was promulgated by His Excellency the Honourable the Governor General in Council, enacting, that a Daily, Weekly, or any Periodical Paper should not be published in this City, without an Affidavit being made by its Proprietor in the Police Office, and without a License being procured for such publication from the Chief Secretary to Government ; and that after such License being obtained, it is optional with the Governor General to recall the same, whenever His Excellency may be dissatisfied with any part of the Paper. Be it known, that on the 31st of March, the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, Judge of the Supreme Court, expressed his approbation of the Rule and Ordinance so passed. Under these circumstances, I, the least of all the human race, in consideration of several difficulties, have, with much regret and reluctance, relinquished the publication of this Paper (MIRAT-OOL-UKBAR). The difficulties are these:—

First—Although it is very easy for those European Gentlemen, who have the honour to be acquainted with the Chief Secretary to Government, to obtain a License according to the prescribed form ; yet to a humble individual like myself, it is very hard to make his way through the porters and attendants of a great Personage ; or to enter the doors of the Police Court, crowded with people of all classes, for the purpose of obtaining what is in fact, already in my own option. As it is written—

Abrooe kih bu-sud khoon i jigur dust dihud
Bu-oomed-i kurum-e, kha'juh, bu-durban mu-furosh.

The respect which is purchased with a hundred drops of heart's blood
Do not thou, in the hope of a favor, commit to the mercy of a porter.

Secondly—To make Affidavit voluntarily in an open Court, in presence of respectable Magistrates, is looked upon as very mean and censurable by those who watch the conduct of their neighbours. Besides the publication of a Newspaper is not incumbent upon every person, so that he must resort to the evasion

of establishing fictitious Proprietors, which is contrary to Law, and repugnant to Conscience.

Thirdly—After incurring the disrepute of solicitation and suffering the dishonour of making Affidavit, the constant apprehension of the License being recalled by Government which would digrace the person in the eyes of the world, must create such anxiety as entirely to destroy his peace of mind. Because a man by nature liable to err, in telling the real truth cannot help sometimes making use of words and selecting phrases that might be unpleasant to Government. I however, here prefer silence to speaking out:

Guda-e goshuh nusheenee to Khafiza mukhurosh
Roo mooz muslubul-i khesh khoos-rowan danund.

Thou O Hafiz, art a poor retired man, be silent:
Princes know the secrets of their own Policy.

I now entreat those kind and liberal gentlemen of Persia and Hindoostan, who have honoured the MIRAT-OOL-UKHBAR with their patronage, that in consideration of the reasons above stated, they will excuse the non-fulfilment of my promise to make them acquainted with passing events, as stated in the introductory remarks in the first Number ; and I earnestly hope from their liberality, that wherever and however I may be situated, they will always consider me, the humblest of the human race, as devoted to their service.*

179. A letter in vindication of the Freedom of the Press. (April 12, 1823).

Enjoying under the British Rule, a degree of security in every thing a man can hold dear which they never before experienced, the Native population seek no change, and least of all such change as the Modern Reformers of India would give them.—*Calcutta Review.*

To the Editor of the Journal.
Sir,

The passage selected by me as a motto, being the conclusion of an argument understood to be from the pen of a Clergyman, against the existence of a Free Press in this country, I am desirous of communicating to the people of England through the medium of your Asiatic Department, the sort of feeling evinced by one of the Preachers of the Gospel here, with regard to attempts, by the diffusion of knowledge, to improve the condition of the Natives of this country. The Reverend Gentleman mentions the Memorial some Natives had presented to the Court against the taking away of that Liberty of the Press they have enjoyed since the first establishment of the British Power; and after expressing his dissatisfaction at their conduct he proceeds to express his happiness that others had not acted in like manner, and concludes with the above cordial paragraph to all who wisely "seek no change".

* *Ibid,* April 10, 1823.

What is this condition with which the great body of the Native population are contented? Let the Reverend Gentleman look forth at the present time in the streets and roads in Calcutta, and its vicinity: he will see poor infatuated men burning and tearing their flesh in a manner too horrible to be contemplated, and thousands upon thousands looking on with religious enthusiasm applauding and rejoicing. These men which are but a sample of millions, I well believe, *seek no change ;* and should the Reverend Reviewer go forth and tell them to persevere steadily and uniformly in their horrid rites, he will certainly meet with their applause.*

Your's &c.
A FRIEND TO REFORM.

180. A letter condemning the censorious observations of the "Samachar Chundrika" against certain persons. (March 22, 1824).

To The Editor of the Sumbud Koumoody.

Sir,—By the perusal of the *Chundrika* Newspaper of the 26th of Falgoon, I find a letter against a certain Hindoo College Student, and another respecting the native inhabitants of this city, inserted in it. It has been a continual practice with the Editor of the Chundrika, ever since he has commenced the publication of this paper, to cast ridicule upon, and publish censorious observations against, all such as had treated him any time before with disregard, or from whom he could not gain his objects; nay, even on those to whom he owed a great many obligations, and whom he used to attend like a dependant. On his experiencing a slight disappointment from them, he showers down improper language even over such persons, as may not wish to take his paper, or who make a little delay in paying the sum subscribed, or discontinue to take it after sometime. By the perusal of two letters in the paper of the 26th Falgoon, it further appears that the Editor has begun, now, to revile all indiscriminately.

He has come almost to mention the names of some of those to whom he is opposed in his abusive columns : For, in one of the communications of that day, he observes that "formerly it was customary with the decent public in this country to respect the Brahmun Pundits ; performing the daily and usual ceremonies, persisting in their respective faiths : But now-a-days it is quite the contrary. Those whose forefathers were devout followers of Vishnoo, have addicted themselves daily to drinking and eating victuals not authorised, and have become disgusted with the practice laid down in the Veds ; vainly called themselves true believers of the Deity ; and such as were devoted to the mild and pure precepts of the Shasturs have adopted atheistical principles, who, far from bestowing gifts and using meditation, have even deserted their family duties. Such as were before in the middle state now boasting of profound learning, are greatly provoked even at the naming the adoration of the gods and use such

* *Ibid,* April 12, 1823.

improper language as the following: Foolish *nonsense*, the *Brahmins* may go to hell. The Editor has begun thus to revile all without discrimination, and in this and in the preceding letter has used foul language towards particular persons, also mentioning almost their very names. I now ask the Editor of the *Chundrika* whether it is proper for decent people to employ newspaper only to publish censures. He most probably will, without hesitation, say that there is no harm in being reviled, as the censures used directly against himself, in an advertisement[1] published on the 23d. of March 1822, have been in no way injurious to him ; for though he had in a manner acknowledged those accusations by remaining quiet, he still received from persons of high dignity employments that were so very honourable to him. But this would be a mistaken notion in the Editor : For a man whose falsehood and wickedness is thus published in an advertisement can never be rendered respectable before the intelligent public, by any employment under a great man. But such an undeserved promotion would rather tarnish the fame of persons of the first respectability.

If the Editor of the *Chundrika* says, that his object in thus censuring persons is to increase the number of his subscribers by means of threat, I would observe that this is a conduct suitable to the character of the Editor ; but how mean and foolish that person must be who will be frightened at his menaces, or who will consider his opprobrious sayings capable of injuring one's character?

As to what the Editor observes against persons, in the middle station of life, that they never conceal their thoughts ; this conduct must appear reproachful to him, for it is a constant practice with him, to use flattering terms and manifest humility to any person from whom he hopes for a favour. A disposition which necessarily renders truth and plainness opposite qualities to him.

The Editor moreover observes at the conclusion of that letter, that "if it be said 'Baboojee, how can you find fault with that, which your Pitripitamoho, (or fathers) constantly observed', he would answer 'Let the Pitripitamoho go to hell ; I do not believe them'; and he advances such an argument as this, that 'if a father or grand-father were to be a thief, is it to follow that the son also ought to be one?' "

In fact, the Editor of the *Chundrika* and his neighbourly assistant are the last persons that should set up to find fault with a person for not doing what his father did. Are they not aware of this? I put a question to the Editor of the *Chundrika*, whether he himself does or does not follow the example of his father? If he answers in the negative, it must be very daring in him thus without feeling any shame and uneasiness to blame the Baboos for the fault that he according to his public avowal is himself guilty of. (If it be any fault at all

[1] The Editor of the *Sungbad Coumudy* observing an Advertisement inserted in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 15th instant, by one Bhobanee Churn Bunnerjee, asserting that the first 13 Nos. of the *Coumuddy* were edited by him, deems it indispensably necessary to state, for publication, that this declaration is a wicked and malicious fabrication of falsehood, advanced through sinister motives; for he was no more than the real Editor's Assistant, and as such he was introduced to the notice of the gentlemen, under whose immediate and sole patronage and support the paper has been established.

HURREE HUR DUTT,

March 21, 1822. (Advertisement).

not to follow the actions of one's forefathers.) But if he answers in the affirmative, and says that he does the things that his father did, I shall in the next number of the *Koumoody* clearly point out his father's particular actions ; and put questions to him whether the Editor constantly follows these actions of his father or not? If he answer them in the affirmative, he may be reckoned among dutiful and good sons. It will then appear also that the Editor conscientiously reviles the Baboos for not following the example of the fathers.

If in thus particularizing his actions the Editor should think any assertion without foundation, he has full liberty to seek the usual mode of redress. The question at present is, whether or not the pretended Editor of the *Chundrika* performs the actions that his father did? I call him pretended Editor, because he himself is not able to write five lines of his own language, Bengalee, correctly ; but still having his paper written by others, on pay, he has the presumption to call himself the Acharjee or sacred author of the *Chundrika* in the dissertation on the birth day of that paper.

The thing which astonishes us much is, that he has begun to insert two or three lines of English in his papers. In the correspondence immediately in view, he has put in a line exactly as it is copied in this, which contains two so gross orthographical errors, and so incorrect an use of words, of which perhaps even children are not guilty.

It is perhaps imagined by the Editor that like Mr. Buckingham, he may have numerous subscribers to his paper, and increase in fame by publishing censorious communications; but how astonishing it is that he does not know, that he will not succeed by taking only the wrong side of that writer. Let those who are desirous of the freedom of the press, now consider how many evils are caused by these ignorant men, even now when they enjoy but half that liberty.*

A FRIEND OF THE HINDOO COLLEGE STUDENT.

181. Prospectus &c. of the "Bengal Herald". (May 7, 1829).

"Liberty consists in the power of doing that which is permitted by Justice."—*Cicero.*

This publication is intended as an Hebdomadal Record of the passing events in India, embracing the Political, Commercial and Literary Intelligence relative to the Eastern Hemisphere, and having a portion of its columns devoted to information on the same subjects, derived from the Western World.

The Asiatic Department of the *Herald* will be kept distinct, and arranged on a plan similar to the *Sphynx* or *Calcutta Journal*: the contents of the Diurnal Publications, General Orders, Price Currents, &c. &c. &c. being condensed, so as to form a useful Oriental paper for transmission to other countries, and altogether offering a vehicle of General Intelligence to the residents of the mofussil and sister Presidencies, which will doubtless prove a considerable saving of the postage incurred by a daily paper.

* *India Gazette*, March 22, 1824.

On the arrival of extraordinary News, in the intervals of Publication, supplements will be immediately issued.

Respecting the line of Politics to be pursued, it may be here sufficient to observe, that truth and impartiality will be the leading principles, and endeavouring to steer clear of Scylla and Charybdis, the columns of the *Herald* will be left open to all parties, though influenced by none.

A Native paper to be printed in the Bengalee, Persian and Nagree character, will be subjoined, but distinct, and under the superintendence of the most talented Hindoos ; translations from whose contributions will be occasionally made.

The English portion of the *Herald* will contain *sixteen pages,* royal quarto, and the *Native Eight,* which will admit of separate subscription, the former at the rate of *Two* rupees, and the latter *One* monthly.

To be Printed and Published every Saturday night, for the proprietors,

R. M. Martin,	Rammohun Roy,
Dwarkanauth Tagore,	Neel Rutten Holdar, and
Prusunno Comar Tagore,	Rajkissen Sing.

Orders and communications for the *Herald,* will be received at the Office, No. 7, Dacre's Lane near Government House, and it is requested, that subscribers will specify whether they require the *English* or *Native* paper.

Terms for both Papers

Three Rupees Monthly.

Agent for its disposal in England, James R. Richardson, 23, Cornhill, London.*

182. A statement of the aims and objects of the "Bengal Herald". (May 9, 1829).

In venturing on the arena of popular attention, the conductors of the *Bengal Herald* are deeply sensible of the claims, which call for a development of the principles, on which the columns of that Journal will be based ; and in appealing to the courtesy, they appeal also to the judgment of the Public, which, when *truth, moderation, deliberate and impartial discussion* are alluded to, as forming the undeviating characteristics by which the Periodical will be distinguished, it would be superfluous to express the anticipation, that a decision in their favor will be awarded. The ultimate designation of the *Herald,* being rather a recorder of events, than for the disquisition of party interests, a more full elucidation of individual opinion, might on the present occasion have been dispensed with, if the mental constitution however were such, as to admit of the consideration of political measures, without an inclination of decision to either side of the argument, and if the impulse of embodying warm and ardent thoughts, in strong and salient expressions, could be at all times resisted. The extension and freedom of the Press, which, one of Britain's greatest senators, pronounced to be, the surest bulwark of liberty, is from its frequent introduction as a matter

* *Bengal Herald,* May 7, 1829.

of comment, so well appreciated, that under the present enlightened administration it would be particularly inutile to expatiate on the subject.

We are the advocates of good Government, the uncompromising co-operators for the ends, of justice—opposed *equally* to anarchy, as to despotism. The spirit evinced in the residue of our columns, will sufficiently unfold the details of opinion.*

183. Another editorial of the same paper. (May 16, 1829).

Among the characteristics of the present age, is an affectation of freedom from the opinions of our forefathers, and a contempt of their slowly acquired, but profound wisdom. It is considered as a mark of talent and genius, to attack existing Institutions, and to endeavour to pull down to the low level of insignificance, those whom years and merit may have raised to exalted stations.

There are some, who, for pecuniary advantage, and others for an ephemeral popularity, search the English language for phrases vile enough to bestow, on those who act conscientiously for their country's welfare.

If such however be the road in the 19th Century to wealth and fame, and to the attainment of that so frequently misapplied epithet *"Liberal"*, it is a subject of serious regret.

A contemporary distinguished for his justness of observation, and freedom from superstitious dogmas, has no less astonished the understanding, than wounded the feelings of the Indian Public, by his unjust strictures on, and misrepresentation of, the line of policy, pursued by the present administration. In commenting on the proceedings of public measures, truth above all things should be religiously observed—assertions are cheaply made, they cost nothing, but their value is frequently estimated by the terms in which they are declared. *The "Statesmanlike view of the value of public opinion"*, which the present ruler has so practically evinced, would, we had imagined, have engaged the admiration and gratitude of every Englishman.†

184. A letter in condemnation of the alliance between the "Samachar Chundrika" and the "John Bull". (January 30, 1830).

To the Editor of the India Gazette.

Sir,—It has been observed with surprise, that the very people who are most eager for the restoration of the Pope, and who support the cause of the bigotted Miguel, were the loudest to express their horror at the consequences of even a Popish dog or cat getting near the King. A similar feeling of surprise came over me on reading in the *Bull* of 23d instant, a puff of the *Sumachar Chundrika,* a bigotted Bengalee newspaper, the Editor of which has done his best to keep the Suttee fires from being extinguished, and who labours to convince his countrymen that they will be ruined if Englishmen are permitted to buy land, which *they* may choose to sell.

* *Ibid,* May 9, 1829.
† *Ibid,* May 16, 1829.

There is another Bengalee paper, the *Shumachar Durpun,* which has contained many able and temperate articles against the immolation of widows, arguing against it from their own sacred books, and in opposition to the *Chundrika.* A plain man would have expected rather to see this journal lauded in an English newspaper, which is said to have a person educated for the Scotch Kirk for its Editor, and another eminent person of that persuasion for its *manager.* But it appears that a brotherhood of intolerance has made *lesser* distinction be overlooked. Since the taint of political liberalism has not yet affected the *Chundrika,* that is enough to recommend it; and the Editor with a gentle notice that its conductors are "great sticklers for the tenets of the Hindoo religion", and that "the cause espoused by them is made the most of, bad as it may", does his best to puff them into circulation. What does *he* care that they advocate all the corrupt and modern superstitions which have been engrafted on the Hindoo Religion, within the last few centuries? Or that they propagate zealously the idle and mischievous notion that the (Hindoo) *Church is in danger,* because the English Government have at last refused to sanction the murder of widows? Or that they fill the heads of their countrymen with silly alarms about the ruin they suffer from the Colonization of British indigo planters, and tailors and architects, and silversmiths? In the same paper I observed lately some sneering and abusive remarks on a sect of Hindoos, who have determined to erect a temple "for the worship of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being, who is the author and preserver of the universe", and in which no "graven image or picture" is to be admitted. Do those people prefer any sort of bigotry and superstition to such a creed as this? Surely it would have been a more charitable remark to observe, that these persons were not far from the Kingdom of Heaven!*

AN OBSERVER.

185. The "John Bull" in praise of the "Samachar Chundrika". (March 9, 1830).

We extract the following remarks from the *Chundrika*—a paper conducted with some spirit, and talent and rising, we are told, into considerable circulation. The sentiments, which the *Chundrika* informs us, the natives generally entertain towards the Government of the Honourable Company, are those, for which we have long given them credit—satisfied as we are, that they must have seen, and were honest enough to acknowledge, the very manifest advantages they have reaped under its rule. A mere handful of them, dignified with the name of *'liberal and enlightened'* have been puffed and pushed forward in the *radical* prints, and pompously paraded at public Meetings, to speak a somewhat different language from that of the *Chundrika.* We believe, these 'liberal and enlightened' Hindoos are beginning to be measured by the public in general, according to the standard of truth. The game, which they have been brought forward to play, has been somewhat overdone ; and the real and true state of native feeling, as regards the administration of India by the Honourable Company, and their

* *Bengal Chronicle,* January 30, 1830.

desire for or aversion to any change in this administration, will not certainly be sought from the *liberals* among them—men, who can one day draft a petition against the unrestricted introduction of foreigners into the country, and the next make speeches at Public Meetings in favour of the same measure, as eminently calculated to promote native interests! These certainly are not the men, that are either entitled to, or likely to find respect for their opinions : we shall rather look into the *Chundrika* for our knowledge, as to native feelings on the great questions of policy that concerns them, and we are glad to find these feelings so consonant to all, that embraces their own best interests. The following is the extract which will be read with pleasure by all, who really wish well alike to British and Native interests:—

"None of our countrymen feel a pleasure in hearing any thing to the disadvantage of the Honorable Company ; they always pray for the welfare of the Government. Hearing that the period of the Charter is about to expire, all say that the Honorable Company will certainly obtain a renewal of it, for by a large expenditure, and after much labor, they have succeeded in benefitting both the natives of the country and themselves. The proofs of this benefit are not unknown to intelligent men. It is the general opinion that in building bridges, constructing roads, erecting cities, bazars and houses of accomodation, digging canals, erecting buildings, and in keeping up a large establishment of troops to ward off the Mahrattas, who tormented the inhabitants of the country under the Moosoolman government they have expended large sums, and have also been exposed to a great outlay in their wars. This has occasioned the debts of the Honorable Company, and prevented their laying by any thing. The time for saving is now arrived, and we therefore conclude that they will certainly obtain a renewal of the Charter. Our own welfare is involved in the renewal of the Charter. We have been subject to no distress under the government of the Company ; it is only the abolition of Suttees which has given us disquietude : on this subject it is our intention to appeal to England ; and all hope that even this distress will be removed. If it were once known that Parliament desired to be informed by a petition, that the natives of this country were anxious that the Government of the country should remain as it is, and that we are happy under it and shall be so, we believe that every thing inhabitant in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, would agree to send such a representation to England".*

186. A Hindoo Correspondent on the Spirit of the Native Newspapers. (April 5, 1830).

The *Sumachar Chandrika* is considered by the natives as the first standard of prose writing, and the best paper which we at present have. But of this, we believe, our readers may doubt when they are made acquainted with its character. We cannot, however, blame the ignorant Hindoos for setting so high a value upon this paper ; since their passions are no where else flattered in so servile a manner. It is an odd characteristic of this paper to flatter, and slander in one breath.

* *Samachar Chundrika,* quoted by *John Bull,* March 9, 1830.

While on the one hand, it panders to the passions of the wealthy Hindoos to gain their favour ; it abuses on the other, men of the most profound learning and morality, merely because these men do not agree with it in some abstract points of religion. The Editor of this newspaper thinks that he writes according to the spirit of the Spectator ; but he may rest satisfied, that abuse was never the language of that inimitable paper. We may also inform him, that his slander against persons of the first character is, not construed by the intelligent into wit and satire ; on the contrary it raises the disgust and contempt of every man of liberal principles. We may excuse this in him ; but he must consider that he should suit the taste of his readers, many of whom are among the class of the enlightened. We therefore recommend him, now that India is advancing in civilization, to abandon the course he has hitherto pursued, as well as the supposition, that abuse is argument.

Of the periodical named the *"Teemeer Nausuek"* (the Destroyer of Darkness), we have very little to say. It is a servile imitation of the spirit of the *Chundrika*, and therefore contains things gross and absurd. What else can we expect from the disciple of such a master? It is said to be written in a neat style. We may observe that it has taken a very high name beneath which to shelter itself, but that it by no means deserves the designation it has adopted.

The *"Sumachar Durpun"* is an excellent paper. . . . . . (But its style of Bengallee criticised.) * * * * *

Of the *"Bungo Doot"*, we cannot but speak in high terms. The style in which it is written is correct, classical and elegant ; and it professes liberality of opinion. But the journal that principally attracts our attention, is the *"Sumbad Cowmoody";* a newspaper which we firmly believe may stand in competition with many of the English papers of the present day. The sentiments it inculcates, we are sure, will astonish many Europeans, who but twenty years ago, thought the minds of the Hindoos unsusceptible of improvement, or of cultivation. Like all earthly works, however, the *Sumbud Cowmoody* is not void of faults. While it rouses its countrymen from their lethargy to look upon their deplorable state, it is led sometimes from a spirit of controversy to defame the writers in the *Chundrika*. This is indeed below the dignity of the Editor of such a liberal paper ; it would be more becoming in him to convince his opponents by arguments, and if he fail, to remain silent.

It would be unpardonable in us not to take notice of a periodical that has been but lately published. We allude to the *Surbo-tutto-Dypica*. But as we think we have extended these observations to a considerable length, we shall postpone our notice of it to a future occasion.*

187. The "Samachar Chundrika" on the utility of the Press. (September 17, 1831).

Although there are many learned men in England distinguished for their regard to the welfare of our country, yet we have hitherto been but imperfectly

* *India Gazette*, April 5, 1830.

acquainted with them. And formerly there were no means of making known either the general happiness or distress. Since the establishment of newspapers, however, something has been brought to light : but as it was published in the Bengalee language, it could but in part reach the ears of the gentlemen above referred to. The Editors of the English papers translated some particulars, we believe ; and thus through their papers they reached the principal men in England. Now, the Sumachar Durpun is published both in Bengalee and English, and many subjects are inserted in it, so that information is communicated on a much greater number of topics than formerly. If any one should say ;—if there were a necessity for giving information in England concerning the distress of this country, could it not be done by sending a petition even though there were no newspaper? We reply that this is true ; but the people of our country had formerly no such idea. For the whole population of Bengal being a timid and quiet race were wont to conjecture :—If we send a petition the Company may be angry, and then it will be the worse for us ; or if our petition be rejected, then we shall suffer disgrace. But his Excellency Lord William Bentinck has uttterly destroyed these fears ; for when he published the Regulation abolishing Suttees, calamity fell at once upon all Hindoos, that is upon the whole population throughout the country, since it was a destruction of religion, than which nothing can be worse. Wherefore all the Hindoos petitioned the Governor General Bahadoor, for the preservation of that rite, and he advised an appeal to England. Thus, much has been attained by acquaintance with the resort to Appeal : and we are now assured that if we send a petition to England, it will be received. Henceforward therefore, if any evil befal us, we shall not sit down in silence, but weep so loud, that our cries may reach our Sovereign. And if we live in happiness we shall so tumultously make known our gladness, that the praises of our benefactors may sound through the whole world.*

188. A Christian observer on the general characteristics of the Native Newspapers. (October 18, 1832).

As Christian Observers, it is our intention to watch, and from time to time, report the prospects of heathenism, and the progress of moral and intellectual emancipation among the Hindoos. And as one distinct mode of tracing the channels in which the separate currents of enthralled and disenthralled minds may begin or continue to flow, it is our intention to give an occasional notice of the tone, temper, and scope, literary and religious, of the periodical publications of native growth. At present, by way of introduction, our notice will be confined to general characteristics.

For ages, in number so appalling as to confound the feeble intellects of these degenerate days, the sons of Hindoostan slumbered and slept, amply satisfied that their fore-fathers absorbed all judgment, all wisdom, all knowledge, and left them

* *Samachar Chundrika,* quoted by *Samachar Durpun,* September 7, 1831.

nothing to do but to confess their own inferiority, and admire ; lay prostrate their own reason, and adore. Out of these listless slumberings they have been awakened, not by the noise of the car of successive conquerors, however often it may have rolled over plains deluged with blood ; but by the noiseless operation of wide and diffusive benevolence, on the part of strangers situated at a distance equal to half the globe's circumference.

In the van of a thousand various preparations, the enlightened Editor of the Durpun stepped forth, and projected the bold experiment of a native newspaper. The experiment was tried and eventually succeeded ; and to its success must be attributed much of the quickening impulse lately communicated to this new and unwonted species of modern oriental literature. The Durpun occupies a sort of neutral position. Though edited by a Christian, it does not enforce on the attention of its readers either the doctrines or the claims of the Christian revelation : and being edited by a Christian, it ought not to admit, without editorial reprehension, expositions and defences of Hindooism, or open attacks and covert insinuations against Christianity. It abridges and condenses much European and Asiatic intelligence. It holds out a favourable medium for the expression of native sentiment on all topics, social, civil, and political. Its circulation is very extensive, and being published in both the Bengalee and the English languages, it is accessible to all classes of readers.

After a short time, sprung up the BARHMUNICAL MAGAZINE—foaming with impetuous ire, like one suddenly awakened out of a long and profound sleep, to defend his person and his property from the unexpected attack of some inveterate foe. Its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric. And both from want of solid substance and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded, and disappeared.

A long pause next ensued, when, at last, the field was entered by the redoubted Editor of the CHUNDRIKA the Goliath of the faithful votaries of idolatry, and the impassioned advocate of religious suicide. And being hailed, not merely as the champion of the posterity of a race whose genealogy boastfully ascends into the recesses of a past eternity, but as the self-elected representative of the sages, and demigods, and full-grown divinities that encircle with golden radiance the heights of Soomeroo—this renowned leader proudly stalks in front of his legions, treating with high disdain the claims and pretensions of a revolution which is but of yesterday, compared with the mighty roll of ages that has wafted down his own hoary chronicles, and eyeing with contemptuous scorn all the magnificent triumphs of modern philosophy. With him the recent rise and progress of Christianity seem to resemble the sudden growth of some russet weed, that springs up in a day beneath the protecting shelter of the monarch of the forest, and may be trampled under foot, or crushed beneath the wheels of the vehicle of every noble passenger ; and the whole vast mass of European literature and science seems but as a drop, one single drop, surreptitiously abstracted from the boundless ocean of *shaster* erudition. By him the present is viewed solely in the mirror of the past, and nothing in it is valuable that has not the stamp of an immeasurable antiquity. And being himself the chosen high priest of those ancient mysteries, which it

were profanation for the multitude to attempt to comprehend, and a still greater profanation not to believe and venerate, nothing can awaken a holier indignation than to presume to question his own infallibility as the dispenser of them : while the sacrilegious attempt to intrude upon the long and undisturbed reign of ignorance, and prejudice, and imposture, and abominable cruelty, is more than enough to excite his pious horror, and call forth his anathematic denunciations. Still, we find that under a full conviction of the unchangeableness of the horrid system which has made this fair country become "a proverb, a by-word, and a reproach", among the nations, he speedily rallies, and wholly recovers his placid self-complacency. With infinite satisfaction he mounts on the wings of tradition, and reaches some of those fantastic regions of the past, that exclude the view of things present, and even things terrestrial. And there, enlightened by another sun, encompassed by another atmosphere, surrounded by other fields, and associated with beings of another order, he enjoys, in reference to earth, a kind of oblivious absorption. And we might as well expect by the artillery of reason and argument and observation, and fact, to dislodge him out of this lofty citadel of complacent self-security, as expect that the planets could be moved out of their orbits, by the artillery of the clouds. And seeing that the attempt would be so profitless, it is much better to show him the unmolested enjoyment of present repose. Its duration cannot be of long continuance. For when those hitherto unscaled towers that afford a refuge and a hiding place are successively undermined by the very instruments which he now views with disdainful scorn, he may —rather he must—be awakened by the crash of descending ruins.

Next arose in self-defence the Cowmoodee. It is the avowed organ of those Hindoos, who, on account of their frequent intercourse with enlightened Europeans, do not hesitate speculatively to reject idolatry, but many of whom in practice hesitate as little to pay external homage to its rites and observances. Opposed, therefore, in theory to the Chundrika, it vigorously assailed the frivolities and misstatements, the bigotry, irrationality, and self-sufficiency of its senior and contemporary. On certain abstract subjects it succeeded in carrying the convictions of minds that were unwarped by prejudice and unbiassed by partiality. Inimical to Hindooism, as at present constituted, it assumed an appearance alike hostile to all other forms of faith. Accordingly, instead of proposing a substitute, it advocated the necessity of reform in the prevailing system—the necessity of sweeping away the mass of corruptions which have been accumulating in dead letter and living practices through a long succession of ages, and the consequent propriety of reverting to the purer and less abhorrent system of the Vedas. In this dialectic warfare each party denounced the other, as apostates from the Hindoo religion, and, by consequence, its bitterest foes. Professing to adore the Vedas, the Chundrika was equally resolute in adoring the Poorans, and upholding the burdensome ceremonial thereby inculcated : and it charged the Cowmoodee with the crime of relinquishing the larger moiety of the revelations vouchsafed by the supreme Bruhma. On the other hand, high as the Chundrika boasted of having soared, the Cowmoodee professed to have soared still higher, even to the very summit of the mountain of truth, where enraptured by the alleged

beauty and sublimity of the monotheism, or rather, pantheism of the Vedant philosophy, it looked down upon its opponent, grovelling at the base, tumbling and tossing alternately in the mud and mire of impurity, and for ever enveloped amid the chill damps and noxious vapours of a loathsome superstition.

In the hands of the present editor, who combines in his character the gentleman and the scholar, the Cowmoodee is eminently mild, temperate, and conciliatory in its tone ; and is characterized not less by the classical elegance of a style founded on the best Sanscrit models, than by the weight and shrewdness of its remarks on topics of general interest.

About a year and a half ago, a raging mania for newspaper writing—a certain *scribendi cacœthes*—seemed to seize the native mind. A thick crop of ephemeral publications immediately appeared. They sprang up with the rapidity of mushrooms, and were as short-lived. Distinguishing general principles the most of them had none. Conjecture one could in most cases supply the clew to their real intent and purpose. The sheer novelty of the thing, suggested the concoction of some ; the vanity of dictating from an editorial chair give existence to others. Some were indebted to the bitter spirit of retaliation for their being: others owed their parentage to the eager calculations of filthy lucre. But multiplied as were the causes of their origin, in their after-results they appeared fatally to harmonize. By these results the idea was irresistibly suggested that instead of being laboratories for the manipulation of some sentiment, they had become scape-valves for the dis × of the super abounding fumes of rancour and hatred, and × — and these fumes being emitted in continuous × valves naturally closed, leaving the remaining feculence to subside in each foul repository.

Amidst the general agitation, only three appeared, which rose superior to the rest, in ability, matter, and execution ; and there have survived the wreck and ruin of their less fortunate contemporaries.

The *Reformer*, published exclusively in the English language, excited, on its first appearance, an unbounded curiosity, chiefly from the circumstance of its being the *first* English newspaper conducted by Natives. But curiosity was soon gratified and gave way to disappointment, when it was credibly reported, that though nominally edited by a Native of rank, it was in reality the production of an East Indian, whose services were hired for the management of the editorial department. And disappointment have way to sorrow on the part of many, when it was found, that in politics it assumed a tone of rancorous and undiscriminating violence towards the British Government: that it was unskilful and injudicious enough to attempt the erection of towers and palaces out of the surrounding rubbish, by beginning at the top of the intended edifice—forcing a poor, blinded, ignorant, superstition-ridden race to listen to weekly orations on their rights and privileges as members of a great polity, before they were capacitated to comprehend one jot or tittle of their rights as men: and that in religious matters it became at once the echo and the auxiliary of the *Cowmoodee* as to sentiment, while utterly devoid of the praiseworthy moderation now manifested by the latter. In its advocation of the Vedant system, it advanced the most baseless and extravagant assertions instead of sober evidence ; while it loaded with

reproaches and abuse the poorest, the holiest, and the sublimest truths that ever shone in the spiritual firmament of a benighted world. "How could this blind and tenacious cleaving to error, and this contemptuous rejection of the truth, ever prove helpful in reforming a nation corrupt to the very core?"—was the natural exclamation of every true friend of India. And how could one refrain from applying the apposite and pointed language of the poet?—

Formless themselves, reforming do pretend,
As if confusion could disorder mend.

It is, however, but just to add, that of late the general tone of this Paper has greatly moderated. There seem now to be certain unequivocal symptoms of an improved spirit, especially in the discussion of religious matters. Every such symptom we hail with unmingled satisfaction. Verily we live in a strange age. What would have been a wonder and an astonishment a few years ago, has now become a matter of every day occurrence. Well may we exclaim with the Roman poet. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.* And amid changes so rapid and so vast, why should it be deemed too visionary to expect, that even this resolute upholder of a motley inefficacious metaphysico-religionism may yet become the Defender of that Revelation, which alone can enlighten beclouded humanity, emancipate it from the galling fetters of sin, and raise it to the participation of those joys and pleasures that endure for ever?

Soon afterwards appeared the *Inquirer* and the *Gyaneneshun,* the former in English and the latter in Bengalee, and both conducted, *bona fide,* by Natives. These are the organs of that small party of educated Hindoos, who have made the highest attainments in English literature and the highest advances in liberality of sentiment ;—who, alive to the inefficacy of half-measures, and scorning the hypocrisy of double dealing, have at once renounced, both in theory and practice, the whole system of Hindooism, pure and impure, ancient and modern, Vedantic and Pouranic ; and who, being thus left in a region of vacancy as regards religion, have announced themselves to the world as free inquirers after truth.

The *Gyananeshun,* from the circumstance of its being written in the Bengalee language, is but little known—and certainly not half so well appreciated as it deserves. Its attacks on the monstrous system of Hindooism generally, and on the all absorbing selfishness and pride of the Brahmunical order in particular, are bold, unsparing, and destructive. Its ridicule is in general well pointed, its sarcasm most cutting, its arguments aptly chosen to convince the understanding of an ignorant Native, its allusions appropriate and just, and its illustrations extremely felicitous. One circumstance is greatly to be lamented, that while from the stores of English literature, the editor endeavours to supply a reasonable substitute for the literary fables of the Shasters, he is not yet prepared to recommend and supply a worthy substitute in place of the religious system which he labours unceasingly to demolish.*

* * * * * *

D.

* *Calcutta Christian Observer,* quoted by *John Bull,* October 18, 1832.

JUDICIAL

189. Article on Trial by Jury in India in the "Sambad Cowmoody" (December 11, 1821).

During the Mussulman Government in this Country, the Natives were much afflicted, in consequence of the acts of injustice, cruelty, and oppression of these Rulers, which is well known to every body, who is in the least acquainted with the annals of Hindoostan. It is, therefore, better for subjects to prefer death to being placed under the controul of such an unjust and despotic Government. In cases of life and death, the Administration of Justice during the Mogul Empire in Bengal, was intrusted to One Individual, denominated Cazee, according to whose sole will and pleasure, cases of such vital importance to the subject and to the state were adjudged. If a man ever so just, virtuous, and learned, and in the integrity of whose decision no one could find any fault, were to err through misconception and want of proper judgment, (and no human being is exempt from error, nor is it in the power of any to prevent it), injustice would be the natural consequence. How great, therefore, must have been the misery and suffering of the subjects of this country, when the Cazees, the Administrators of Criminal and Civil Justice, were systematically rendering injustice, and wilfully corrupting the Law. From such intolerable hardship and oppression, we have, by the mercy and blessing of the Almighty God, been relieved, by being placed under the mild and equitable sway of the Rule of England, since the establishment of which Government in this country, we have been enjoying every happiness without the least obstruction, having the protection of our persons and property perfectly secured to us.

Among all the meritorious Institutions of the British Constitution, that of the adjudication of Criminal cases by Twelve disinterested, honest and intelligent men, or in other words "TRIAL BY JURY", is a source of infinite satisfaction to those who have the good fortune to reside in the Metropolis of India. In addition to this, there is another source of equal or perhaps greater happiness, which has been established by our present Ruler, The Most Noble Francis Marquess of Hastings, the glorious removal of the Restrictions with which the Press had been heretofore fettered. Although it is impossible for us to do sufficient justice to this great and admirable measure of His Lordship, yet to convey, in some faint degree, the glory and magnanimity of the act, we will venture to compare it with the state of the Dumb, who notwithstanding all his exertions and efforts, is not able to give utterance to his Speech, which ascends to the palate, and there faulters,—but when the impediment in the Organ of his Speech is removed, by the Treatment of some skilful Physician, he becomes overjoyed beyond expression. We have, in like manner, been gratified at having this Boon (the Freedom of the Press), granted to us by the Noble Marquis, to bestow adequate praise on which is impossible; for all the languages of the Earth could not sufficiently laud the act which will immortalize His Lordship's name throughout the Eastern Regions.

We have felt the highest gratification in being apprized by some English Gentlemen, of the circumstance of the Natives of Ceylon being now permitted to sit as Juries on the Trial of their Countrymen; and we feel encouraged therefore, most respectfully and earnestly to solicit (confidently trusting that the boldness of such solicitation may be forgiven), that our present merciful Governor (whose constant endeavour has been to promote the comfort and happiness of his Indian subjects) may be graciously pleased to extend to us the same benefit, in the Mofussul, Provincial, and Zillah Courts of Judicature; a Boon that would very much tend to the augmentation of our happiness.*

190. An account of measures adopted by Sir Alexander Johnston for introduction of Trial by Jury, &c. in Ceylon, and of circumstances connected with the New Indian Jury Act of 1826. (May 26, 1825).

Contains an Account of the measures adopted by Sir Alexander Johnston for the introduction of Trial by Jury, and the Abolition of Domestic Slavery on the Island of Ceylon, of the moral and political effects produced by those measures upon the natives of that Island, and of the circumstances connected with the Act of 1826, which, in consequnce of the success of the similar measure on Ceylon, extended the right of sitting upon juries to all natives of India living within the local limits of the Supreme Courts of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.

As our Indian administration, especially the judicial branch of it, is becoming, from peculiar circumstances, a subject of increasing interest, a statement, from authentic sources, of the important experiments which have been successfully made at Ceylon, accompanied by an exposition of the principles upon which they were adopted, and the advantages which they have already been attended with, cannot but be gratifying.

Sir Alexander Johnston, the then Chief Justice and first member of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon, after a very long residence on that island, a very attentive examination of all the different religious and moral codes of the various descriptions of people who inhabit Asia, a constant intercourse for many years, as well literary as official, with natives of all the different castes and religious persuasions which prevail in India, and a most careful consideration of every thing which related to the subject, recorded it as his official opinion, in 1808, that the most certain and the most safe method of improving the British Government in India, of raising the intellectual and moral character of the natives, of giving them a real interest in the British Government, and of insuring the continuance of their attachment to the British empire, was to render the system of administering justice amongst them really independent, efficient and popular ; and that the wisest method of gradually attaining these objects, was by granting to the natives of the country themselves, under the superintendence of European judges, a direct and a considerable share in the administration of that system.

As a very general opinion prevailed, both in India and in England, that the natives of India, from their division into castes, from their want of intellect, from their want of education, and from their want of veracity and integrity, were in-

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Calcutta Journal*, December 20, 1821.

capable of exercising any political or any judicial authority, either with credit to themselves or with advantage to their countrymen, it was, for many reasons, deemed prudent by Sir Alexander Johnston that the experiment of allowing natives of India to exercise the same rights and privileges in the administration of justice in India as are exercised by Englishmen in Great Britain should be first tried on the island of Ceylon.

The intellectual and moral character of the inhabitants of Asia is formed, in a great degree, if not altogether, by the different systems of religion, and the different codes of morals which prevail amongst them, and which may be ranked (viewing them not according to the purity and truth of their doctrines, but according to the number of persons who are subject to their influence,) in the following order :—

1st. The Hindoo religion and code.
2d. The Buddhist religion and code.
3d. The Mahomedan religion and code. And
4th. The Christian religion and its system of morals.

Considering them, therefore, with a view to the peculiarities of their intellectual and moral character, the inhabitants of Asia may be divided into the four following great divisions, each division practically exhibiting, in the character and conduct of the different classes of people who belong to it, the intellectual and moral effect of their respective religious and moral codes.

1st. Those who profess the pure Hindoo religion, or some of its modifications.
2d. Those who profess the Buddhist religion, or some of its modifications.
3d. Those who profess the Mahomedan religion, or some of its modifications. And
4th. Those who profess the Christian religion, whether according to the doctrines of the reformed or of the Catholic Church.

The population of Ceylon consists of a considerable number of inhabitants of each of the four following descriptions of people; viz., 1st, of about half a million who derive their descent from the inhabitants of the opposite peninsula of India, who profess the same modification of the Hindoo religion, who speak the same language, have the same customs and laws, and the same division of castes, as those inhabitants ; 2dly, of about half a million other inhabitants who claim their descent from the people of Ava and Siam, who have the same religious and moral code, and who profess the same modification and the same customs of the Buddho religion as the inhabitants of those two countries; 3dly, between 50,000 and 60,000 Mahomedan inhabitants, who are partly of Arab and partly of Mogul descent, who have the same customs and laws, and who profess the same modifications of the Mahomedan religion as prevail amongst the different classes of Mahomedans who inhabit the peninsula of India ; and, 4thly, of a very considerable number of what in the rest of India are called half-castes, descended partly from Portuguese, partly from Dutch, and partly from English Europeans, some of them professing the Catholic, some the reformed religion, and all of them resembling in character and disposition the half-castes in the rest of India. As it was therefore

obvious that the population of Ceylon was composed of a great number of each of the four great divisions of people of which the population of the rest of India was composed, Sir Alexander Johnston conceived that, should the experiment of extending the rights and privileges of Englishmen, in as far as they relate to the administration of justice, to all the different descriptions of half-castes and other natives on the island of Ceylon, be attended with success, it might therefore be acted upon with great moral and political advantage in legislating for the different descriptions of half-castes and other natives on the continent of India.

From the year 1802, the date of the first royal charter of justice, to the year 1811, justice had been administered in the courts on that island according to what is called, in Holland, the Dutch-Roman law, both in civil and in criminal cases, without a jury of any description whatever, by two European judges, who were judges both of law and fact, as well in a civil as in criminal cases. In 1809, it was determined by His Majesty's Ministers, on the suggestion of Sir Alexander Johnston, that the two European judges of the Supreme Court on Ceylon should for future, in criminal cases, be judges only of law, and that juries, composed of the natives of the island themselves, should be judges of the fact in all cases in which native prisoners were concerned; and, in November 1811, a new charter of justice under the Great Seal of England was published on Ceylon, by which, amongst other things, it was in substance enacted, that every native of the island who was tried for a criminal offence before the Supreme Court should be tried by a jury of his own countrymen, and that the right of sitting upon juries in all such cases should be extended, subject to certain qualifications, to every half-caste, and to every other native of the island, whatever his caste or religious persuasion.

This experiment of extending the rights and privileges of Englishmen having, after 16 years' experience, been found to be productive of the greatest security to Government, and of the greatest benefit to the people of the country, it has become a subject of serious consideration both in India and in England whether the same rights and the same privileges as, since the year 1811, have been exercised with the most beneficial effect by the natives of the island of Ceylon, may not also be exercised with the same good effect by all the natives of the East India Company's dominions in India; and Sir Alexander Johnston, at the request of the President of the Board of Control, wrote to him, in the year 1825, the letter, of which the following is a copy, explaining to him the reasons which originally induced Sir Alexander to propose the introduction of trial by jury amongst the natives of Ceylon, the mode in which his plan was carried into effect, and the consequences with which its adoption has been attended.

"26th May 1825.

"Dear Sir,

"I have the pleasure, at your request, to give you an account of the plan I adopted while Chief Justice and first member of his Majesty's Council on Ceylon, for introducing trial by jury into that island, and for extending the right of sitting upon juries to every half-caste native, as well as to every other native of the country, to whatever caste or religious persuasion he might belong. I shall explain

to you the reasons which induced me to propose this plan, the mode in which it was carried into effect, and the consequences with which its adoption has been attended. The complaints against the former system for administering justice on Ceylon were, that it was dilatory, expensive and unpopular. The defects of that system arose from the little value which the natives of the country attached to a character for veracity, from the total want of interest which they manifested for a system, in the administration of which they themselves had no share, from the difficulty which European judges, who were not only judges of law, but also judges of fact, experienced in ascertaining the degree of credit which they ought to give to native testimony, and finally from the delay in the proceedings of the court, which were productive of great inconvenience to the witnesses who attended the sessions, and great expense to the Government which defrayed their costs. The obvious way of remedying these evils in the system of administering justice was, first, to give the natives a direct interest in that system, by imparting to them a considerable share in its administration ; secondly, to give them a proper value for a character for veracity, by making such a character the condition upon which they were to look for respect from their countrymen, and that from which they were to hope for promotion in the service of their government; thirdly, to make the natives themselves, who, from their knowledge of their countrymen, can decide at once upon the degree of credit which ought to be given to native testimony, judges of fact, and thereby shorten the duration of trials, relieve witnesses from a protracted attendance on the courts, and materially diminish the expense of the government. The introduction of trial by jury into Ceylon, and the extension of the right of sitting upon juries to every native of the island, under certain modifications, seemed to me the most advisable method of attaining these objects. Having consulted the chief priests of the Budhoo religion, in as far as the Cingalese in the southern part of the island, and the Brahmins of Remissuram, Madura and Jafna, in as far as the Hindoos of the northern part of the island were concerned, I submitted my plan for the introduction of trial by jury into Ceylon to the Governor and Council of that island. Sir T. Maitland, the then Governor of Ceylon, and the other members of the Council, thinking the object of my plan an object of great importance to the prosperity of the island, and fearing lest objections might be urged against it in England, from the novelty of the measure, (no such rights as those which I proposed to grant to the natives of Ceylon ever having been granted to any native of India), sent me officially, as first member of Council, to England, with full authority to urge, in the strongest manner, the adoption of the measure, under such modifications as his Majesty's Ministers might, on my representations, deem expedient. After the question had been maturely considered in England, a charter passed the Great Seal, extending the right of sitting upon juries, in criminal cases, to every native of Ceylon, in the manner in which I had proposed, and on my return to Ceylon with this charter in November 1811, its provisions were immediately carried into effect by me.

"In order to enable you to form some idea of the manner in which the jury trial is introduced amongst the natives and half-castes of Ceylon, I shall explain to you; 1st, what qualifies a native of Ceylon to be a juryman; 2dly, how the jurymen are summoned at each session; 3dly, how they are chosen at each trial; and, 4thly,

how they receive the evidence and deliver their verdict. Every native of Ceylon, provided he be a freeman, has attained the age of 21, and is a permanent resident in the island, is qualified to sit on juries. The fiscal, or sheriff of the province, as soon as a criminal session is fixed for his province, summons a considerable number of jurymen of each caste, taking particular care that no juryman is summoned out of his turn, or so as to interfere with any agricultural or manufacturing pursuits in which he may be occupied, or with any religious ceremony at which his caste may require his attendance. On the first day of the session the names of all the jurymen who are summoned are called over, and the jurymen, as well as all the magistrates and police officers, attend in court, and hear the charge delivered by the judge. The prisoners are then arraigned; every prisoner has a right to be tried by 13 jurymen of his own caste, unless some reason why the prisoner should not be tried by jurymen of his own caste can be urged to the satisfaction of the court by the Advocate Fiscal, who on Ceylon holds an office very nearly similar to that held in Scotland by the Lord Advocate, or unless the prisoner himself, from believing people of his own caste to be prejudiced against him, should apply to be tried either by 13 jurymen of another caste, or by a jury composed of half-castes, or Europeans. As soon as it is decided of what caste the jury is to be composed, the registrar of the court puts into an urn, which stands in a conspicuous part of the court, a very considerable number of the names of jurymen of that caste out of which the jury is to be formed; he continues to draw the names out of the urn (the prisoner having a right to object to five peremptorily, and to any number, for cause), until he has drawn the names of 13 jurymen who have not been objected to: these 13 jurymen are then sworn, according to the form of their respective religions, to decide upon the case according to the evidence, and without partiality. The Advocate Fiscal then opens the case for the prosecution (through an interpreter if necessary) to the judge, and proceeds to call all the witnesses for the prosecution, whose evidence is taken down (through an interpreter if necessary), in the hearing of the jury, by the judge; the jury having a right to examine, and the prisoner to cross-examine any of the above witnesses. When the case for the prosecution is closed, the prisoner states what he has to urge in his defence, and calls his witnesses, the jury having a right to examine, and the prosecutor to cross-examine them, their evidence being taken down by the judge: the prosecutor is seldom or never, except in very particular cases, allowed to reply or call any witnesses in reply. The case for the prosecution and for the prisoner being closed, the judge (through an interpreter when necessary) recapitulates the evidence to the jury from his notes, adding such observations from himself as may occur to him on the occasion; the jury, after deliberating upon the case, either in the jury box, or, if they wish to retire, in a room close to the court, deliver their verdict through their foreman in open court, that verdict being the opinion of the majority of them; the most scrupulous care being taken that the jury never separate, nor communicate with any person whatever, from the moment they are sworn, till their verdict, having been delivered as aforesaid, has been publicly recorded by the registrar. The number of native jurymen of every caste on Ceylon is so great, and a knowledge before-hand what persons are to compose a jury in any particular case is so

uncertain, that it is almost impossible for any person, whatever may be his influence in the country, either to bias or to corrupt a jury. The number of jurymen that are returned by the fiscal or sheriff to serve at each session, the impartial manner in which the names of the jurymen are drawn, the right which the prisoner and prosecutor may exercise of objecting to each juryman as his name is drawn, the strictness which is observed by the court in preventing all communication between the jurymen when they are once sworn, and every other person, till they have delivered their verdict, give great weight to their decision. The native jurymen being now judges of fact, and the European judges only judges of law, one European Judge only is now necessary, where formerly, when they were judges both of law and fact, two, or sometimes three were necessary. The native jurymen, from knowing the different degrees of weight which may safely be given to the testimony of their countrymen, decide upon questions of fact with so much more promptitude than Europeans could do, that since the introduction of trial by jury, no trial lasts above a day, and no session above a week or 10 days at furthest ; whereas before the introduction of trial by jury, a single trial used sometimes to last six weeks or two months and a single session not unfrequently for three months. All the natives who attend the courts as jurymen obtain so much information during their attendance, relative to the modes of proceeding and the rules of evidence, that since the establishment of jury trial Government have been enabled to find amongst the half-castes and native jurymen some of the most efficient and respectable native magistrates in the country, who, under the control of the Supreme Court, at little or no expense to Government, administer justice in inferior offences to the native inhabitants. The introduction of the trial by native juries, at the same time that it has increased the efficiency and despatch of the courts, and has relieved both prisoners and witnesses from the hardships which they incurred from the protracted delay of the criminal sessions, has, independent of the savings it enabled the Ceylon government to make immediately on its introduction, since afforded that government an opportunity of carrying into effect, in the judicial department of the island, a plan for a permanent saving of 10,000£ a year, as appears by my Report, quoted in p. 8 of the printed collection of papers herewith sent. No man whose character for honesty or veracity is impeached can be enrolled on the list of jurymen; the circumstance of a man's name being upon the jury roll is a proof of his being a man of unexceptionable character, and is that to which he appeals in case his character be attacked in a court of justice, or in case he solicits his government for promotion in their service. As the rolls of jurymen are revised by the Supreme Court at every session, they operate as a most powerful engine in making the people of the country more attentive than they used to be in their adherence to truth: the right of sitting upon juries has given the natives of Ceylon a value for character, which they never felt before, and has raised in a very remarkable manner the standard of their moral feelings. All the natives of Ceylon who are enrolled as jurymen conceive themselves to be as much a part, as the European judges themselves are of the government of their country, and therefore feel, since they have possessed the right of sitting upon juries, an interest which they never felt before in upholding the British Government of Ceylon. The beneficial

consequence of this feeling is strongly exemplified in the difference between the conduct which the native inhabitants of the British settlements on Ceylon observed in the Kandian war of 1803, and that which they observed in the Kandian war of 1816. In the war between the British and Kandian Government in 1803, which was before the introduction of trial by jury, the native inhabitants of the British settlements were, for the most part, in a state of rebellion ; in the war between the same governments in 1816, which was five years after the introduction of trial by jury, the inhabitants of the British settlements, so far from sharing the smallest symptom of dissatisfaction, took, during the very heat of the war, the opportunity of my return to England, to express their gratitude through me to the British Government for the valuable right of sitting upon juries, which had been conferred upon them by his present Majesty, as appears by the addresses contained from page 16 to page 50, in the printed papers herewith sent. The charge delivered by my successor, the present Chief Justice of the island, in 1820, contains the strongest additional testimony which could be afforded of the beneficial effects which were experienced by the British Government from the introduction of trial by jury amongst the natives of the island. (*See* that charge in pages 289 and 290 of vol. X of the Asiatic Journal). As every native juryman, whatever his caste or religion may be, or in whatever part of the country he may reside, appears before the Supreme Court once at least every two years, and as the judge who presides delivers a charge at the opening of each session to all the jurymen who are in attendance on the court, a useful opportunity is afforded to the natives of the country, by the introduction of trial by jury, not only of participating themselves in the administration of justice, but also of hearing any observations which the judges, in delivering their charge, may think proper to make to them with respect to any subject which is connected either with the administration of justice, or with the state of society or morals in any part of the country. The difference between the conduct which was observed by all the proprietors of slaves on Ceylon in 1806, which was before the introduction of trial by jury, and that which was observed by them in 1816, which was five years after the introduction of trial by jury, is a strong proof of the change which may be brought about in public opinion, by the judges availing themselves of the opportunity which their charging the jury on the first day of session affords them, of circulating amongst the natives of the country such opinions as may promote the welfare of any particular class of society. As the right of every proprietor of slaves to continue to hold slaves on Ceylon was guaranteed to him by the capitulation under which the Dutch possessions had been surrendered to the British arms in 1795, the British Government of Ceylon conceived that, however desirable the measure might be, they had not a right to abolish slavery on Ceylon by any legislative act. A proposition was however made on the part of Government by me to the proprietors of slaves in 1806, before trial by jury was introduced, urging them to adopt some plan of their own accord for the gradual abolition of slavery; this proposition they at that time unanimously rejected. The right of sitting upon juries was granted to the inhabitants of Ceylon in 1811. From that period I availed myself of the opportunities which were afforded to me, when I delivered my charge at the commencement of each session to the jurymen,

most of whom were considerable proprietors of slaves, of informing them of what was doing in England upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, and of pointing out to them the difficulties which they themselves must frequently experience, in executing with impartiality their duties as jurymen, in all cases in which slaves were concerned; a change of opinion upon the subject of slavery was gradually perceptible amongst them, and in the year 1816, the proprietors of slaves of all castes and religious persuasions in Ceylon sent me their unanimous resolutions, to be publicly recorded in court, declaring free all children born of their slaves after the 12th of August 1816, which in the course of a very few years must put an end to the state of slavery which had subsisted on Ceylon for more than three centuries."

Sir Alexander Johnston was fully aware, when he first introduced trial by jury into Ceylon, that the degree of confidence which the people of the country might be expected to repose in that institution would be proportionate to the conviction which they entertained, that they themselves would be always consulted as to the character and qualifications of those persons whose names were to be enrolled in the list of men qualified to act as jurors, and that neither the local government nor the Supreme Court would ever attempt to exert any undue influence, either in the original formation of that list, or in the subsequent selection from it, of such jurors as might from time to time be required to serve at any criminal session which might be held by the Supreme Court in any part of the island. The great object, therefore, which Sir Alexander Johnston had in view in all the regulations which he made upon this subject, was not only to render it extremely difficult, but to convince the people of the country themselves that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, either for the local government or the court to exert any undue influence as to the jurors, without their attempt to do so becoming directly a matter of public notoriety and public animadversion.

It appeared to Sir A. Johnston that the surest method of attaining this object was to limit, as far as he could by public regulations, the power of the court and that of its officers ; and to place them in every point which was in any way connected with the jury under the constant inspection and control of the people of the country. He accordingly, after much consultation with some of the most enlightened natives of the island, published a regulation, declaring that every man on the island, whatever might be his caste or religious persuasion, had a positive right to act as a juryman, provided he was a man of unexceptionable character, a free man, a permanent resident on the island, and had attained the age of twenty-one. Also declaring that the people of the country themselves should be the judges whether a man had or had not those qualifications which by this regulation gave him that positive right. Sir A. Johnston at the same time published another regulation, directing the fiscal or sheriff of each province on the island publicly to make and return to the Supreme Court a correct list of all persons in his province who were qualified as required by the former regulation to act as jurymen. To prevent the possibility of abuse on the part of the fiscal of any province, the following mode of proceeding was observed by the court : as soon as the fiscal of a province had made out and

returned to the court a list of all the persons in his province who were duly qualified to serve as jurymen, this list was, by order of the court, published and circulated through every part of the province, for the specific purpose of enabling every inhabitant of the province to make such remarks on it as might occur to him, and to prefer, when necessary, an immediate and public complaint to the court against the fiscal, if it should appear that the fiscal either had omitted out of the list the name of any person whose name he ought to have inserted in it, or had inserted in the list the name of any person which name he ought to have omitted. After the list had undergone this public scrutiny, it was publicly ordered by the court to be considered by the fiscal as the list of all persons who were duly qualified to act as jurors in his province, and that out of which he was bound to return by rotation all persons who were required to serve as jurors at the criminal sessions held by the Supreme Court in his province. Independent of these precautions against any abuse on the part of the fiscal, every person in a province in which the court was about to hold a criminal session had public notice given him, long before the session was held, that the list in question was always liable to be publicly revised by the court at the commencement of the session, upon any complaint which might be publicly made to the court by an inhabitant of the province, either against the fiscal for any impropriety of conduct in making out the list, or against any individual on the list for any impropriety of conduct in getting his name inserted in that list. Although, therefore, the Supreme Court and its officers, the fiscals, are allowed, for convenience sake, to be the instruments through which the list of persons on the island qualified to act as jurymen is obtained, it is hardly possible, considering the manner in which all their proceedings in this point are watched and controlled by the people of the country, that either the court itself or its officers can exert any undue influence in the selection of jurors without such conduct being immediately known, and becoming a subject of public and general animadversion.

One of the most important of the effects which the introduction of trial by jury produced on Ceylon was to place the European judges and the native jurymen in constant communication in court upon various subjects connected with the administration of justice, and thereby remove from the minds of all classes of the natives the suspicion and jealousy with which they had previously viewed all inquiries made by Europeans into the state of their religion, of their usages, their morals and their education. As an illustration of this, we insert the following copy of the answer given by Sir A. Johnston to the address presented to him on his departure from Ceylon in 1818, by the chiefs and all the subordinate priests of Buddho, on behalf of themselves and of all the natives of Ceylon professing the Buddho religion. This address was one of the addresses to which Sir Alexander alludes in his letter to Mr. Wynn.

"I feel highly gratified by the respect and esteem which you have shown for me, in coming, notwithstanding the very advanced period of your lives, for so great a distance as you have done, to take leave of me and my family, and to present to me, in your own name, and in that of all the priests of your order, and

all the Buddhists within your jurisdiction, an address that cannot be otherwise than gratifying to my feelings.

"The number of the priests of Buddho, and the influence which they exercise over the minds of their followers, from being the ministers of their religion and instructors of their youth, have, for many years, made their religion, their books, their laws, and their institutions, a subject of my serious inquiry. In arranging the code of laws which, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, I have compiled for the use of the native inhabitants of Ceylon, it became my duty to compare such of the codes as are the most approved in Europe and Asia, with such of the usages and customs as are the best authenticated on this island ; and to adopt such parts only of those codes as are clearly applicable to the state of the country, and as may, therefore, be expected to attain the ends of justice, without militating against the habits and prejudices of the people.

"In performing this duty, I have had frequent communications with you and with the other learned men of your order, and it is with pleasure I take the present opportunity to return to you and them my pubilc thanks for the alacrity with which you have at all times afforded me the information required, and for the unlimited freedom with which you have permitted me to consult the books in your temples, to which I have had occasion to refer ; the translations into English which you have enabled me to procure of the three most celebrated histories of your country and your religion, the Mahawanscie, Ragawalle, and the Rajaratnakarre, and the numerous extracts which you have made for me from all your other Sanscrit, Palee, and Cingalese books, together with the different works I have since obtained from the Brahmins of Jaffna, and those of the southern peninsula of India, form a most valuable collection of materials for any person who may have the desire and the leisure to write a general history of your country, and to explain at length the origin and peculiarities of the several castes, customs and usages which prevail amongst you, and which are so intimately connected with your prosperity and comfort, as to render an accurate knowledge of them not only desirable as a matter of literary curiosity, but absolutely necessary as a matter of duty to every one who may be intrusted with the administration of justice among you, or with the superintendence of the government of your country.

"The rules which the intended code contains are so short and so clear, that the inhabitants will have little or no difficulty either in understanding or applying them. I have, as you know, spared neither pains nor expense for the last sixteen years of my life, in acquiring the most intimate knowledge of the wants and interests of every class of people in Ceylon ; it was solely with a view of ascertaining, in a way more satisfactory than I otherwise could have done, the degree of caution and impartiality with which the natives of the island, if admitted to the right of sitting upon juries, would discharge the duties of jurymen, in cases in which their own countrymen are concerned, that I advised the Colonial Government in 1806 to refer to certain description of cases for trial to that committee of priests at Matura, of which you were the principal members. The very judicious manner in which that committee investigated those cases, and the soundness of the principles on which the members of it relied in framing their decisions, satisfied me not only as to the policy but as to the

perfect safety of intrusting the natives of Ceylon with the right of sitting upon juries. After this experiment had been tried with success, but not before, I felt myself authorized to proceed to England, and to propose to His Majesty's Government the unlimited introduction of trial by jury into Ceylon, and the formation of a simple code of laws for the use of its inhabitants. The care and attention with which all the worshippers of Buddho, as well as all the natives of other religious persuasions have discharged the duties of jurymen, show that they not only understand the nature of that mode of trial, but also that they are fully competent to enjoy the privileges which it gives them, with credit to themselves and with advantage to their countrymen. The experience which you have had for seven years of the practical effects of that establishment, and the information you have derived from the Supreme Court, as well as from the book upon trial by jury, which I have caused to be translated into Cingalese and Tamul, have naturally impressed you with the highest respect for that simple and much admired mode of trial. My observations, aided by that of some persons who are the best qualified to form an opinion upon the subject, have suggested to my mind several improvements in the present system of administering justice amongst the natives of Ceylon. Should His Majesty's Government, while I am in England, be pleased to command me to submit to them my opinion upon the subject, I shall be happy to point out for their consideration such alterations as I am aware, from my communications with you, are desired by the inhabitants and will be highly beneficial to the interest of the island.

"The ultimate effect which any system of laws is calculated to produce in a country depends, in a great degree, upon the state of society, and upon the system of religion and morals which prevail in that country. As it has always been my wish to see the same effect produced in this country as is produced invariably in England by an independent and well administered system of justice, it has been my endeavour always to approximate, as much as circumstances would permit, the state of society and the systems of religion and morals which prevail in Ceylon to those which prevail in England. With a view to the state of society in Ceylon, I have, since 1806, left no means untried to encourage the proprietors of domestic slaves to adopt such a resolution as they, at my suggestion, unanimously adopted in July 1816; and it is a subject of sincere congratulation to all friends of humanity in Ceylon, whether they profess the faith of Buddho, or that of Mahomet or Brahma, that the unanimity with which that resolution was passed was so great as to leave no doubt of its being the sense of the people on this island, that the system of domestic slavery is equally destructive to the morals of the slave, as it is to those of the master and his children. With a view to the different systems of religion and morals in Ceylon, I, twelve years ago, after much consultation upon the subject with some of the most enlightened of the Buddhists, caused the summary of the evidences of Christianity, which was drawn up by one of the ablest of our divines, the late Bishop of London, to be translated into Cingalese, in order that you yourself might have a fair opportunity of comparing the evidence upon which we form our belief in Christianity with that upon which you form your belief in Buddhism. The conversation which many of you have frequently had with me upon those points, as well as upon the beneficial effects which may finally be expected from the general extension of Christianity, both upon

the present and the rising generation of the people, have afforded me an ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the liberal sentiments which you entertain, when properly treated, upon all questions of religion; and I reflect with satisfaction on the ready assistance which I received from many of the most rigid of the worshippers of Buddho in the translation to which I have alluded. The zeal with which the two priests of Dodanduwae have insisted upon accompanying me to England, under circumstances which to most men would have been discouraging, is at once a mark of the confidence which your body repose in me, and of the spirit of inquiry and of the desire of information which has arisen amongst them. These young men will, no doubt, from the knowledge which they possess of your literature and religion, and the variety of their other acquirements, be of considerable use to me in translating into Cingalese the code which I am about to submit to His Majesty's Government in England, and will have the best opportunity that could have occurred to them of becoming acquainted with the real effect which the principles of our religion unquestionably have had in enlightening the understanding, and improving the morals of the inhabitants of that most celebrated country.*

"I have the honour to be, &c.
"ALEXANDER JOHNSTON".

191. An Act to regulate the appointment of Juries in the East Indies. (May 5, 1826).

Whereas by an Act passed in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe,* it is among other Thing enacted, that all offences and Misdemeanors which shall be laid, tried, and inquired of in the Supreme Court of Judicature at *Fort William* in *Bengal,* shall be tried by a Jury of *British* Subjects resident in the Town of *Calcutta,* and not otherwise: And whereas it is expedient that the Right and Duty of serving on Juries within the Limits of the local jurisdiction of the several Supreme Courts at *Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay,* should be further extended: May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted ; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That all good and sufficient Persons resident within the Limits of the several Towns of *Calcutta, Madras* and *Bombay,* and not being the Subjects of any Foreign State, shall, according to such Rules, and subject to such Qualifications as shall be fixed in manner herein-after mentioned, be deemed capable of serving as Jurors on Grand or Petit Juries, and upon all other Inquests, and shall be liable to be summoned accordingly ; any thing in the said Act, or in any other Act, Charter, or Usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. And be it further enacted, That the respective Courts of Judicature at *Calcutta, Madras,* and *Bombay,* shall have Power from Time to Time to make

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 12, p. 151.

and establish such Rules with respect to the Qualification, Appointment, Form of summoning, challenging, and Service of such Jurors and such other Regulations relating thereto, as they may respectively deem expedient and proper: Provided always, that Copies of all such Rules and Regulations as shall be so made and established by such Courts of Judicature, shall be certified under the Hands and Seals of the Judges of such Courts to the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of *India*, to be laid before His Majesty for His Royal Approbation, Correction, or Refusal ; and such Rules and Regulations shall be observed until the same shall be repealed or varied, and in the last Case with such Variation as shall be made therein.

III. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That the Grand Juries in all Cases, and all Juries for the Trial of Persons professing the Christian Religion, shall consist wholly of Persons professing the Christian Religion.*

192. An account of the native meeting at Madras on the passing of the above Jury Act. (November 25, 1826).

Pursuant to the Notice of the Sheriff, as given in our Gazette of the 16th instant, a numerous Meeting of the Native Inhabitants of the Presidency took place on Saturday last, at the Building in Popham's Broadway selected for the occasion : The most respectable Members of the Native Community were present ; and the following Proceedings have been forwarded to us for publication.

"At a Meeting of the Principal Hindoo Inhabitants and Heads of different Castes held at a House formerly the Shop of Messrs. Ashton & Co. situated at Black-Town in Popham's Broadway on Saturday the 25th day of November 1826, pursuant to the Notice of the Sheriff, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Act of Parliament passed in England regarding the appointment of Jurors in this country.

The Assembly consisted of the most respectable Hindoo Inhabitants of Madras, in number more than a thousand.

The Sheriff having taken the Chair, addressed the Meeting as follows:—

Gentlemen,

At the requisition of several respectable Native Inhabitants of Madras, I solicited, and obtained the sanction of the Honorable the Governor in Council, to convene the Meeting of the Native Inhabitants now assembled.

To mark the object of this Meeting, I shall read to you the letter soliciting it, and the sanction of the Government.

(The Sheriff then read the Letters.)

From the time that has transpired since my Public Notification of the 15th Instant, I doubt not you are come prepared to take into consideration the object for which you are here assembled.

It might be justly deemed presumption on my part were I to offer an opinion on the Acts of the Legislature, nor is it my intention to offer you any advice on the subject. But before I call upon you to nominate your Chairman,

* 7 Geo. IV, Cap. XXXVII.

I trust I may be permitted to suggest to you the course, which it strikes me, you ought to pursue to prevent unnecessary discussions, and to enable you more effectually to attain the object of your wishes with due decorum, and respect towards the high authorities appointed to frame the Rules and Regulations for the Appointment, Form of summoning &c., of Juries.

I therefore submit to you, Gentlemen, the propriety of selecting a Committee (not too numerous) from each of the Castes here present, who may possess your entire confidence, to discuss the subject, (should it not have already met with mature consideration), and to frame an appropriate Petition to the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, stating your objections to being employed as Jurors.

It now only remains with me to tender you my humble services in presenting your Petitions, when engrossed and signed by as many of the respective Castes as are here present, to the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court. And Gentlemen, I have now to request you will make your selection of a *Chairman.*

Resolved unanimously, that the warmest thanks of the meeting be given to the Sheriff for calling this Meeting.

The assembly then requested *Venuelacunty Soob Row Bramin* to preside ; and having taken his seat, he explained to the Assembly what the Sheriff had stated, and interpreted the Act of Parliament in the Tamil and Telugoo languages, and requested the assembly to state their individual opinion respecting the Act.

Chinnatomby Moodeliar then stated or read his opinion to the following effect:—

The object of this Meeting is to collect the opinion of the Hindoos of this Town, on the subject of a Law lately passed in England, whereby we are declared eligible to act as Jurors like Englishmen, provided the Judges of the Supreme Court should think fit, in cases of a criminal nature, when persons of our own religion are to be tried.

Since the Law became known at Madras, it has been the subject of much discussion and consideration, and some European Gentlemen have kindly explained to several among us, that the privilege which has thus been conferred on us, is very valuable and ought to be received with gratitude ; and some of the Native Inhabitants, who are acquainted with the English language and European customs, have at times spoken of this measure as one that is likely to be beneficial to the Hindoo community.

Others have considered, that in our present condition, we are not sufficiently educated or advanced in knowledge to understand the nature of the duty, which as Jurors we shall have to perform; and it must be admitted, that nine-tenths of our number are totally ignorant of the English language, and have never been in the Supreme Court during a criminal trial, scarcely any of us are in the least acquainted with the rules of English Law, and perhaps there is not a single individual who can understand the distinctions that are said to exist in respect to offences against the Law of England, of which, if we act as Jurors, we shall be required to convict or to acquit our countrymen.

At a criminal trial we may understand the evidence given by witnesses in our own languages: and we may happen to know the character and condition in life of the witnesses, whereby we may form a correct judgment, whether they are speaking truly or otherwise; but without a proper understanding of the nature of the offence and the Law that may apply to it, it will be a difficult task to pronounce a verdict, however we may understand the facts of the case. Should the trial be for an offence, which may subject the prisoner to the penalty of death, there are very few among us who would consider themselves fit to form an opinion on a matter of so much importance. To the members of the Brahminical caste, other considerations will suggest themselves, to which no allusion may be made.

Many of us have heard, that at criminal trials, the assistance of Counsel has been useful, in explaining the facts of the case, in prosecuting with effect the guilty, and in defending the innocent; now should we act as Jurors, we shall lose whatever benefit can arise from the aid of Counsel, either to the Prosecution or the Defence. For we shall not be able to understand what may be addressed to us, and the same effect can never be produced by an Interpretor, however skilful and able he may be. This observation will apply in a much stronger degree to the Charge of the Judge, which must be interpreted and particularly explained, to enable the most intelligent among us to understand the law of the case, or the reasoning of the Judge on the Evidence, and the application of it.

Yet all these difficulties ought to be overcome, before any honest man can venture to pronounce a verdict which may deprive a fellow creature of his life, or occasion some other punishment.

If we are to act as Jurors at the Court House, we must also perform the duty of attending the Inquests of the Coroner, and let any one present reflect on the situation in which he will be placed, if liable to be summoned and to be kept for hours near to a dead body, and that body deposited in a place, which Bramins and respectable Hindoos ought not to approach.

On the present occasion, I do not wish to advert particularly to the differences and distinctions which exist between our Castes; but, in the trial of offences which may have been occasioned by quarrels of Castes, involving the common feeling of great numbers of men, it will be very difficult to find an impartial Jury to determine on the guilt or innocence of the party charged. The consequences of an acquittal or a conviction, are likely to be much more prejudicial to the conflicting parties, than if the party offending should be tried as heretofore.

It is said, that a similar measure has been tried at Ceylon, and that its effects have been very beneficial. On this subject, there are different opinions; but the people of Ceylon, who serve as Jurors, differ essentially from ourselves, and perhaps, are better fitted for the benefit which it is said has been conferred on them. There, the Judges perform Circuits at a distance from the seat of Government, and unless they were enabled to find men to perform the duty of Jurors, it would be necessary either to take Europeans with the Judges, or to abandon that mode of trial. At Madras, the Judges constantly administer Justice in one Court.

A time may arrive hereafter when the Hindoo Population of this place may overcome the difficulties which have been noticed ; but it is for those amongst us who are most competent to the task, to consider and declare, whether in our present condition we are fitted for the duty we may be required to perform; and if not, whether we ought not to represent submissively, but earnestly, to the Judges of the Supreme Court, that we are at present desirous of being excluded from the privilege extended by the late Act of Parliament to the Natives of this Presidency.

There are many points of a minor nature which must occur to any one who may have witnessed or heard of the Criminal Proceedings of the Supreme Court; but which illustrate the inconvenience that would result from our attending as Jurors. Whatever may be the day, or however indispensable we may think it to perform particular ceremonies, either for family purposes, or in the celebration of festivals, we must attend punctually or be subject to fines. We cannot during a trial take any refreshment—that by our custom is not permitted. We must continue together until our opinion is found ; and it is possible, that with every regard to our religion and our prejudices, men may be brought together, who have never before sat on the same form or carpet, and whose sitting together would constitute a mental degradation to the one or to the other, and perhaps the feeling might be mutual. Thus circumstanced, any unanimity of opinion would be difficult of attainment.

Although in certain cases about 30 years ago, half the Jury were Hindoos the other half were Europeans, and the Court of that time was not conducted by any regular forms or proceedings. The Judges were not Lawyers, and the course was better within the comprehension of the natives, who were usually selected to fill the office. What then happened to terminate the summoning of natives to serve on the Jury, is within the recollection of a few only. It is for our present consideration, whether we are yet competent to understand and to perform the duty?

Should the Assembly be of opinion, that the period has not yet arrived when we can venture to exercise the privilege which the British Parliament seems to have offered us, let us form a Committee to prepare a respectful and becoming representation to the Judges of the Supreme Court, to whom the framing of the Rule is delegated, expressing our thanks for the benefit intended to be conferred, and explaining our reasons for wishing to decline it. It may also be proper to convey a similar representation to the Government by which we are protected.

The sentiments stated by *Chinnatomby Moodeliar* and his proposal were declared by the *Chairman* to be in conformity with his own, and for himself and on behalf of the Bramin Caste, recommended that they should be adopted by the Meeting. *Poompavey Annasawmy Moodeliar* supported the proposal for himself and on behalf of the other Nattawars, with the exception of a few persons, in number about 20, who desired to be furnished with an Extract of the Proceedings of the late Mayor's Court, exhibiting the names of the Hindoo Inhabitants who formerly acted as Jurors in that Court, for the purpose of giving their opinion within a month. This latter suggestion was seconded by *Connore Mootiah Moodeliar.*

The opinion and proposal of Chinnatomby Moodeliar, seconded or recommended by the Chairman, was also supported by *Namasevoy Chettyar* for himself

and on behalf of his Caste, and by *Collah Ragavah Chettyar* for himself and on behalf of his Caste.

Vencatasawmy Chetty, on behalf of the Dassayees, asked the Chairman permission to retire into a room for the purpose of forming an opinion. This was seconded by *Mootoosawmy Naick*, but objected to by *Poompavay Anmasawmy Moodeliar*, on the ground that it would take up time unnecessarily, which objection was supported by *Nineappah Moodeliar*.

The *Sheriff* suggested that those people who wished to retire into a Room should stand up, as also those who made the objection to it, in order to point out the Majority and Minority. Eight Members of the Dassayees then stood up, as wishing to retire, but twenty having objected to it, the original proposal was negatived.

It was then unanimously agreed by the Members of all the Castes, that respectable persons of each Caste should be appointed to form a Committee, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best mode of framing and preparing a respectful Memorial to The Honorable The Judges of the Supreme Court, and another to The Honorable The Governor in Council expressing the thanks of the Hindoo Inhabitants of Madras for the benefit intended to be conferred by the Act of Parliament, and explaining the reasons for wishing to decline it.

The following persons were then nominated to form the Committee.

BRAMINICAL CASTE.

Vennalacunty Soob Row,
M. Bagaventy Row,
Vumpackum Ragaviah Braminy,
Woodraghery Audy Narrainniah Braminy.
Nagalow Sashiah Braminy.

NATTOWARS OR RIGHT HAND.

Poompavey Annasawmy Moodeliar,
Chinnatomby Moodeliar,
Covoor Soondram Moodeliar,
P. Agutheswarah Moodeliar,
Connore Iyahsawmy Moodeliar,
Conjevaram Sahapaty Moodeliar,
Muddyralah Yaterazlo Naidoo,
Ponnah Pillay.

DESSAYEES.

Seemappoorty Vencatasawmy Chetty,
Bary Vencadady Naidoo,
P. Connary Chetty,
Parumbackum Sashachellah Naidoo,
Balasalah Ramasawmy Naidoo.

NAGARAMWAR.

On the part of *Sooncoowar*.
Rottalah Kistnasawmy Chetty
Magalore Gohal Chetty
Soorah Ramasawmy Chetty
Y. Appiah Chetty
Mada Sambavasevah Chetty

On the part of *Collawar*.
Collah Ragavah Chetty
G. Ramasawmy Chetty
A. Vencataramah Chetty
M. Narrasimmaloo Chetty
C. Ramasawmy Chetty

LEFT HAND CASTES.

Vencatachella Chetty,
Vordapah Chetty,

Arnachellah Chetty,
Caumoo Chetty,
Chuckravurdy Chetty,
Ramasawmy Naicken,
Basoova Puttan.

V. Ragaviah Braminy then proposed, that the thanks of the Meeting should be given to the Chairman for his able conduct in the Chair ; which was seconded by *Chinnatomby Moodeliar*, and voted unanimously.

Thanks were also given by the Assembly to the *Sheriff*, for his zeal, activity, and the able manner in which he had convened and conducted the Assembly, and for pointing out the manner in which the Assembly should be conducted.

Thanks were then offered by the *Sheriff* to the Assembly for the regular manner in which the Meeting was conducted.*

Madras, 27th November, 1826. V. Soob Row."

193. The opinion of a native Indian on the above Jury Act. (December 30, 1826).

We will briefly state the purport of the observations which appeared in the 'Bengal Chronicle' of the 5th December, on the subject of the late Act of Parliament, respecting the admission of all classes of Natives to sit upon juries.

1. All classes of Natives, namely, Hindoos, Musulmans, Christians, &c. will have the privilege of being chosen jurors, to judge in cases of murder, theft, and such other criminal suits ; but it is left to the Judges of the Supreme Court to determine and make regulations respecting the qualifications of such persons as to their knowledge of the English language, and judgment in secular affairs ; that is, the Judges will permit those only to act as jurors whom they shall think qualified for the task.

2. The Grand Jury is to be composed exclusively of Christians.

3. All classes, indiscriminately, will be eligible to the Petit Jury, which has the power of determining whether a person is guilty or not guilty ; with this exception, that when either of the parties is a Christian, all the twelve persons of the jury shall be no other but Christians ; on the contrary, when either of the parties is a Hindoo, or Musulman, or of any other class, Christians shall have the privilege of judging ; that is, all the twelve persons, or any number of the jury, may be Christians.

The consequence of this new Act passed in England is, that in matters where a man's life is at stake, or where banishment, imprisonment, and such other severe punishments are awarded, we Hindoos and Musulmans must submit to the verdict of Christians, whether they be the natives of Britain, or the offspring of British fathers by Indian mothers, whether they be the common Portuguese or Armenians, or the Rice Christians of Serampore. These persons shall have the privilege of judging in cases where our lives are concerned : whereas we, although living in the same country, or even in the same hamlet with them, and partaking in their virtues and vices, shall have no power of judging respecting

* *Madras Government Gazette* (Nov. 3), quoted by *Bombay Courier*, December 16, 1826.

them. In like manner, our descendants must also submit their lives to the decision of the sons of Christians.

Missionaries and clergymen have spent more than thirty years in disseminating their faith in different sorts of books, and by various other means, without being able to make a single true and sincere convert to Christianity ; but now the way is opened, and many persons, no longer able patiently to bear the reproach brought upon them by this Parliamentary Act, will haste to take shelter under the Christian faith. When the rulers of a country use force or art to win over their subjects to their own faith from that of their ancestors, who shall have the power to oppose?

It would have been consonant to reason, virtue, and equity, if it had been ordered by this act, that as a Christian shall have the privilege of being tried by a jury composed of Christians only, in like manner, a Hindoo or a Musulman shall be tried by a jury consisting exclusively of persons of his faith ; or that as Christians shall have the privilege of sitting with Hindoos and Musulmans on the trial of a Hindoo or Musulman, so Hindoos and Musulmans shall have the privilege equally with Christians of sitting on the trial of a Christian. But instead of this, the order of the Parliamentary Act has laid all Hindoos as well as Musulmans, without any regard to rank or respectability, prostrate at the feet of Christians, whether of this or of any other place. On this subject a memorial has been presented now nearly a month past to the proper authorities in England, by a person amongst us who is waiting in anxious expectation to hear the result.*

194. Remarks of the "Bengal Chronicle" on the above. (July, 1827).

In our last we presented our readers with the remarks and reflections of a Hindoo of Bengal, on the Madras proceedings in relation to the East India Jury Bill, giving quite a different view from that which has been hitherto entertained of the probable motives of the Natives at that Presidency for adopting the course they have pursued. The writer considers that they are in fact hostile to the Bill, but that they have not had sufficient public spirit to make their real objections known, and that they have merely adopted those suggested to them by certain Europeans at Madras, in order to get rid of the Bill, which they dislike for very different reasons, viz. for its illiberal spirit, and for the insulting and degrading exceptions, on the ground of religion, which it contains. That these exceptions are felt by the Natives of Bengal as insulting and degrading—as contrary to the spirit of English law, and to the principles of abstract justice,—we know, not only from personal communications on the subject which we have had with Natives of the first respectability and intelligence in Calcutta, and from the remarks, the production of a Native pen, to which we gave insertion in Sunday's paper, but also from an article which we have this day extracted and translated from the "Sumbad Cowmudee". This Native paper, we may remark in passing, is only one edited by a Hindoo that has had the courage to avow its rejection of the popular idolatry, and to oppose the most revolting and injurious practices,

* *Sambad Cowmoody* (December 30, 1826), quoted by *Oriental Herald*, July, 1827.

current amongst the Natives, such as the burning of widows, the prejudices of caste, &c. This is probably one cause of its limited circulation among the Native population; but we need not add, that it forms a strong claim on the patronage of all those who are desirous of seeing pure religion and sound knowledge spread in this country. The article to which we have referred contains a brief but clear and perspicuous analysis of the spirit and principles of Mr. Wynn's Bill, against some of the provisions of which it strongly and justly protests, on the grounds we have already mentioned. It also gives us the first intimation we have received, of an appeal having already actually been prepared and sent to England against the objectionable parts of the Bill. This not only proves the existence of the feeling to which we have already referred, but also shows that it has been in silent but useful operation when we least expected it. The prompt adoption of this legitimate mode of obtaining redress for a supposed grievance, originating not with the local authorities but with Parliament at home, must, we believe, be as gratifying to the Government here, as we are satisfied it will be to the public in general.*

195. Extract of remarks of the "Bengal Chronicle" on the above Jury Act. (July, 1827).

Against the provisions of this bill, we think that Hindoos and Musulmans have strong and just grounds of objection, arising not from their unfitness for the discharge of the duties of jurors, but from the offensive religious exceptions which have been made, and which those classes can consider in no other light than as highly insulting and degrading. The allegation of unfitness from the Madras Natives came upon us so unexpectedly, that we confess it did at first astound and stagger us, but the light which the Madras papers have thrown on the machinery employed to effect the object in view, and the articles written by the Hindoos of Bengal and by the Editor of the Sumbud Cowmuddee on the subject, removed every doubt, and convinced us that the only objection which an honest Hindoo or Musulman can have to the bill, must be founded on the invidious distinctions to which we have adverted. We have sought for information as to the feelings and wishes of the Natives from all those of our acquaintance, and we have not found a single individual express a wish to avoid eligibility to the Jury, but they all with one voice loudly protest against the gross partiality and palpable injustice of debarring them from the Grand Jury because they are not Christians, and from the Petty Jury on the trial of Christians for the same reason ; their religion, the religion of their forefathers, the religion in which they themselves were educated, and to which most of them will fondly cling, being thus made the sole ground of exclusion from an honorary civic duty, and held up to their fellow-subjects or an object of contempt and reproach. We honour them for these feelings, and we will honour them more when they give a public and respectful expression to them. The 'John Bull' has announced that a public meeting is in contemplation by most of the respectable Natives in

* *Bengal Chronicle*, quoted by *Oriental Herald*, July, 1827.

relation to this bill, and we are persuaded that it is only for such a purpose that the meeting will be held, not for the purpose of objecting to the cases in which they are, but to those in which they are not, made eligible to serve,—not for the purpose of complaining of what has been done, but of what has been left undone.*

196. Native Petition to Parliament against certain provisions of the above Jury Act. (November, 1826).

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned Hindoo and Mohammedan inhabitants of Calcutta.

Sheweth,—

First. That more than a century has passed away, since the laws of England have been established and administered within the limits of Calcutta, under the authority of various Royal Charters and Acts of the legislature of Great Britain.

Second. That during all that period, your petitioners and their fathers, have been in all respects subjected to the operation of the criminal law of England, though by a Statute passed in the twenty first year of His late Majesty King George the Third C. 70. S. 17. they are entitled to the benefit of their own Civil Codes and usages in all matters relating to marriage inheritance and succession to property and contracts and dealing between party and party.

Third. That along with the introduction of the criminal law of England, the right of trial by Jury in criminal cases was also introduced and has always prevailed, but that such of your Petitioners as are Hindoos or Mohamedans, have until very lately, never enjoyed the right of sitting on Juries, even for the trial of persons of their own persuasions, or have been practically excluded from the exercise of that right.

Fourth. That by an act passed in the last Session of the last Imperial Parliament, entitled an act to regulate the appointment of Juries in the East Indies your Petitioners who have all along been subject to the penal provisions of the Law of England have at length been partially admitted to the exercise of one of its most valuable privileges.

Fifth. That your Petitioners feel the utmost gratitude for the concession thus afforded to them and it is in the performance of a grateful duty, that they humbly approach your Honorable House with an expression of their warmest and most respectful acknowledgments.

Sixth. But your Petitioners also owe a Sacred duty to themselves and their posterity, and while they express their joy at having been at length deemed worthy by the legislature of Great Britain to be adopted as British subjects, and to participate in some degree in the administration of those Laws to which they

* *Bengal Chronicle*, quoted by *Oriental Herald*, August, 1827.

are subject, they cannot but make known the deep regret with which they have perceived that the statute adverted to contains provisions which seem to betoken a distrust of your Petitioners which they feel to be unjust, and which brand them with a stamp of inferiority in the eye of the Law, and establish and perpetuate distinctions not only useless but odious and impolitic.

Seventh. That your Petitioners advert to the third Section of the Act already mentioned by which it is provided that the Grand Juries in all Cases, and all Juries for the trial of persons professing the Christian Religion, shall consist wholly of persons professing the Christian religion, by these provisions Your Petitioners are subjected to heavy disabilities for adhering to the religious opinions of their forefathers, in the full enjoyment of which they are secured by repeated acts of the legislature and repeated assurances of the local Government, and which opinions therefore they conceive can never be made a ground of civil disqualifications, without a breach of the compact which has been made with them.

Eighth. But without insisting on this argument alone, your petitioners humbly submit that these distinctions were wholly unnecessary ; for they beg to recall to the recollection of your honorable House that it is now nearly fifty years since a Committee composed of the members of your honorable House most distinguished for talent and knowledge of the affairs of India, reported that your petitioners ought to enjoy to its fullest extent, the right of sitting on juries and did not couple that recommendation with any reserve on the ground of religious opinions your petitioners will not complain that the recommendation thus given was not carried into effect ; but they venture to assert that it might have been even then adopted without the smallest inconvenience or danger, and now that another generation has passed away, and the different classes of the native population of Calcutta have become so much more familiar with the English language, and the usages and practice of English law, now that they have formed connections so much more numerous and intimate with their European fellow subjects, there seems the less necessity for a measure in speaking of which your petitioners trust they do not exceed the limits of respect when they say that it is one which nothing but the most clearly established necessity could justify.

Ninth. That your Petitioners conceive the very act in question proves that no such necessity exists, for since the legislature has deemed them worthy to enjoy the privileges and competent to perform the duties of Jurors in so many instances, it is clear that it has deemed them capable of performing those duties in all cases ; tho' in all cases it has not chosen to confer the privilege of performing them.

Tenth. By the third section of the act above quoted for regulating the appointment of Juries in the East Indies, your Petitioners are altogether excluded from the Honorable right of sitting on Grand Jurors, and are debarred from sitting as Petty Jurors on the trial of any Christian, while there is no provision in this act to prevent a Hindoo or a Mohamedan being tried by a Jury composed wholly of Christians your Petitioners conceive that they have a right to complain of these enactments they are persuaded that they can demonstrate that all the arguments on which they may be supported are fallacious, and they are also persuaded, that when the legislature of Great Britain turned its attention to the administration

of Justice in a country so distant from the Metropolis with the beneficent intention of improving the social and political condition of so large a portion of its subjects it was from want of information alone, that an act was drawn up by the main provision of which those intentions will be wholly disappointed.

Eleventh. The act is now unpopular with the respectable natives of Calcutta, and your Petitioners do not go too far in asserting, that if the disabilities imposed upon them by it be not removed it will become still more unpopular than it already is, with the great body of respectable natives and the result will be that no Hindoo or Mohamedan inhabitant will willingly serve as a Juror in any capacity. The upper classes, finding themselves excluded from the lists of the Grand Jury by its provisions, have already shewn a great repugnance to the Bill and are unwilling to serve as special Jurors, while the lower classes perceiving the act to be unpopular with their superiors and being less qualified to appreciate the importance of the privilege conferred, are also inclined to contemplate its provisions with dissatisfaction.

Twelfth. Such is the feeling produced by the Act in its present state among all classes of the Hindoo and Mohamedan Inhabitants and your petitioners profess themselves wholly unable to discover any good or valid reasons by which these invidious exclusions can be justified. The only reasons by which they can be supported seem to resolve themselves into the four following heads.

First. It may be intended to operate as a motive to conversion to Christianity, and it may be proposed to intimate to the people of India in this indirect manner, that the road to European privileges and distinctions and an equality with the governing Class can only be reached by a profession of the religion of the greatest part of Europe.

Second. It may have been supposed that Europeans and persons professing the Christian Religion constituted a minority of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, and that as Europeans originally stood in the political relation of conquerors such a relative condition of the different Classes of Society formed a reason, while the numbers of the Hindoos and Mohamedans would afford an opportunity for dangerous and unjust Combinations which would carry party spirit into the tribunals of Justice, and hazard the safe and impartial administration of Criminal law.

Third. It may also have been hastily supposed that there were no individuals professing the Hindoo or Mohamedan Religions who moved in the rank of Society from which Grand Jurors are selected though this is an opinion which we can scarcely permit ourselves to ascribe to your Honorable House.

Fourth. It may have been considered that as the Grand Jury are called upon to judge of the value of evidence without the aid of the debates of counsel and directions of a Judge, such functions required an intellect of a higher order than that which is necessary for the due performance of those of a Petty Juror and of a higher order than that possessed by any competent member of respectable Hindoos or Mohamedans in Calcutta.

Thirteenth. If the first of these reasons (conversion to Christianity) did really constitute the true ground for excluding them in a manner so degrading from an equality of privileges, Your Petitioners (though among the most faithful and

attached subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and firm in their determination ever to remain so) feel it a sacred duty to express their grief, their astonishment and their alarm. Your Petitioners beg earnestly to remind your Honorable House, that the Legislature of Great Britain itself as well as the local government of the East India Company is bound by the most solemn and repeated pledges to protect the natives of India, in the full enjoyment of their laws, customs, and religion, and your petitioners humbly urge that it would not be an observance of such a pledge in that spirit of perfect and sacred good faith which disdains a like insidious and indirect attack and open infraction, to hold out to them the alluring hope of an equality of privileges with their rulers, as the price of the desertion of the faith of their ancestors. Your petitioners are satisfied, the exclusion never was really intended so to operate, but the measure bears that construction and a feeling of mistrust has gone forth and may be confirmed among the millions of men who acknowledge the British rule, if so suspicious an indication be not explained. The better classes of the natives of India are placed under the sway of the Honourable the East India Company, in a state of political degradation which is absolutely without a parallel in their former history. For even under their Mohamedan conquerors, such of your petitioners as are Hindoos, were not only capable of filling but actually did fill numerous employments of trust, dignity and emolument, from which under the existing system of the Honorable Company's government, they are absolutely shut out. The present object of your petitioners and of your Hindoo petitioners in particular is not to detail these grievances, (which however they hope to see one day removed), but to press on your Honorable House the conviction, that they have submitted in tranquility to these exclusions reconciled in some measure to them, from a persuasion of the tolerant spirit of the local government, and from an implicit reliance on its often renewed assurances, that their religious opinions, and observances should be inviolably protected. If these assurances be withdrawn, or if a system of indirect attack be commenced on all religions to which Christianity is opposed, Your petitioners will no longer know where to look for protection, and the only equivalent which they have ever possessed for their former advantages will be withdrawn.

Fourteenth. Your petitioners well aware of the respect which they owe to your Honorable House feel bound to abstain from all remarks indicating their firm conviction of the superiority of their own systems of religion but they entreat your Honorable House to consider that they at least believe them to be true and they feel themselves at liberty to assert that the religious opinions which they profess, exercise at least as great an influence over their general conduct and their daily actions as any modes of religious faith existing on the face of the earth throughout those regions of Asia which your petitioners inhabit religion is not merely a system of theories and opinions but is interwoven with the laws the manners the daily necessities and daily actions of every condition of human life. In such religions the faith and the fervour of their supporters are nourished and confirmed by the incessant demands which are thus created upon their time and their attention, and religion is the most important business of human life and the most constant spring of human action and any interference with it is therefore peculiarly hard to be borne Your Petitioners humbly trust they have not urged

those topics too far, their only desire is to describe their feelings in language becoming men who plead earnestly for all that. is most dear and sacred to them, before a tribunal in whose sense of justice they feel secure and whose power to redress is not inferior to its justice.

Fifteenth. If the exclusion of your petitioners be justified by the second reason, namely that the number of the Hindoo and Mohamedan Jurors would greatly outnumber those of the Christian persuasion this is their answer. If it were true that the Hindoo and Mohamedan Natives of Calcutta eligible to sit either as Grand or Petty Jurors outnumbered the Christian population so qualified a remedy for the supposed evils might at once be provided by taking care to have Juries formed according to the custom of England in analogous cases, a Jury composed (where either party desired it) half of Christians and half of Hindoos or Mohamedans would obviate all the supposed inconvenience, and it would be easy to enact that in no case more than eleven persons professing the Mohamedan or Hindoo religions should ever sit on the Grand Jury, but your petitioners beg to assure your Honorable House that it is not the fact that the persons professing the Hindoo and Mohamedan religions eligible under the rules wisely framed by the Judges of the Supreme Court under the powers given them by the act of the last Sessions already mentioned at present outnumber those professing the Christian religion on the contrary the number of Christian Jurors in the list drawn out by the Clerk of the Crown for Calcutta and published by the authority of the Supreme Court contain the names of upwards of six hundred Christians and of only eighty two Hindoos and Mohamedans.

Sixteenth. It is to be expected moreover that this numerical superiority of Christian Jurors will rather have a tendency to increase than to diminish owing to the greater resort of Europeans which the daily augmenting intercourse between England and India must naturally produce all Englishmen are eligible as Petty Jurors without reference to property while all other Petty Jurors are selected according to a qualification of property, and in respect to Grand Juries is a high qualification in point of wealth besides a competent knowledge of the English language will be required from natives if ever they are made eligible the number chosen will be small, and is not likely for generations to come to equal that of the European gentlemen who resort to India, altho' from the effects produced by the establishments for Public education founded by the munificence of the local Government for the benefit of Hindoos and Mohamedans, and also from the impression of the advantages to be derived from an acquaintance with the English language, the number of Hindoo and Mohamedan Jurors may at some future period equal that of Christians, if not ultimately exceed it but even were this epoch arrived your Petitioners submit that the precautions which they have already pointed out would be amply sufficient to prevent all evil consequences.

On the third reason which it is possible may be urged in favour of the restrictions complained of your petitioners have already observed that they cannot permit themselves to believe that your Honorable House proceeded upon an opinion so unfounded and unjust in excluding your Petitioners from the right of sitting on Grand Juries. They cannot believe that a social ban so absolutely revolting would ever have been sanctioned by the legislature of a civilized nation. It is true that

the Princes and Rulers of British India and many families who also possessed intelligence rank wealth power and influence at the period of British Conquest have in a great measure disappeared or are now fallen into a state of destitution and decay, but it is a matter of history that it soon after became one of the favourite objects of the British Government in Bengal to build up a landed Aristocracy and that the permanent Settlement of the land revenue in the lower provinces carried into execution by the late Lord Cornwallis with the perfect approbation of the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India was chiefly directed to that end because it was truly supposed that it was the best mode to secure the cultivation and improvement of the soil and the happiness of the whole Community. It is true that at first from various causes that measure seemed to have failed in its objects. But since the commencement of the Present Century of a new race of landed proprietors possessed of more energy and capital and many of whom enjoy great wealth and consequence has been treated in the lower provinces of this Presidency some of whom actually reside within the limits of Calcutta. The free trade of late years permitted, has also improved the condition of the generality of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, so that there are now within its walls native Merchants in wealth equal, in intelligence but little inferior to the most respectable of its European Commercial residents. Such having been the policy of the Government, such being its effects your Petitioners cannot believe that your Honourable House at once intended to exalt and to debase, and that after the local legislature with the approbation of the Government of Great Britain had for upwards of thirty years declared it essential to the prosperity of the country that a race of native gentry should exist and had directed its efforts and its policy to create such an Order that it should now declare that not one individual can be found within the metropolis of British India after a conquest of seventy years worthy of the name of Gentleman or entitled to rank in the Eyes of Government as an equal with merchants of Calcutta or the Civil Servants of the Honourable Company, or to sit with them on the same bench in the performance of a Public Duty. If such an assertion could be made with truth how signal would be the failure of the Grand political experiment which the local Government has tried, and in what terms would history characterize the system of Government which Great Britain has established by her arms over a people whose numbers are equal to one eighth of the whole population of the habitable Globes and what opinion could posterity form of the effects of that Government.

Seventeenth. On the last reason which they conceive may have been urged against them namely that the duties of a Grand Juror demand more intellect than is required for the due performance of those of a Petty Juror and more than is possessed by any Hindoo or Mohamedan your Petitioners scarcely feel it necessary to enlarge but they submit that the duties of a Petty Juror if not so Honorable are beyond all comparison more difficult than those of Grand Jurors it is true that the Grand Jury have to decide upon the value of testimony unassisted by Judges or advocates but it is exparte evidence only, and it requires incomparably more sagacity to discern the truth among the conflicting statements of adverse witnesses and the eloquent and artful addresses of counsel against

which the dry and impartial charge of a Judge is sometimes but an imperfect protection, than to come to the conclusion whether a story of guilt is sufficiently established by the complainants proof to warrant of further Judicial investigation and your petitioners cannot avoid suggesting to your Honorable House that though necessarily inferior in knowledge of the Laws of England to European Gentlemen: Yet they are in fact from their superior acquaintance with the very peculiar habits manners and prejudices of their own Countrymen much better qualified to judge of the value of their testimony and must prove most useful auxiliaries in the administration of Justice which never can be perfectly administered in any country without the aid of the people themselves. In comparing the difficulties of performing the duties of Grand and Petty Jurors it is further to be observed that for the latter functions in which Judges and Barristers take part or more accurate knowledge of the English language is required than for the former where the familiar examination of evidence (almost always native) is nearly the sole duty to be performed.

Eighteenth. Your Petitioners have now briefly to advert to their exclusion from sitting as Petty Jurors on the trial of their Christian fellow subjects, they will not detain Your Honorable House with a repetition of arguments which they have already urged, but they cannot but observe in justice to themselves that they feel the operation of the new law which has been an unqualified boon to many classes and races of their Countrymen hitherto labouring under the same exclusions as themselves, and whom they cannot deem more worthy of relief than they are to be for this very reason doubly injurious and degrading to the Hindoo and Mohamedan Inhabitants of Calcutta. It is injurious not only because it exposes them without defence to the operation of prejudices arising from religious feelings among the strongest which actuate the human mind if once awakened, but because the Indian born Christians being much more numerous than the Europeans, and intercourse between them and Hindoos and Mohamedans much more frequent and familiar, feelings of rivalry and animosity are more likely to exist between them than between your Petitioners and Europeans with whom their intercourse though increasing is necessarily more limited. It is degrading because your Petitioners now see those whom they certainly never regarded in any point of view as their superiors, and who were never so regarded by the European residents, elevated above them by the sole circumstance of their religious profession. While your Petitioners saw that the more valuable privileges of the English Law, and the rights which it bestows were confined to the ruling class, to Europeans who coming from a distance might be supposed to have no local partialities or passions, and who were comparatively few in number your Petitioners were contented to submit without repining to a state of things in which they were not distinguished from the rest of their countrymen of any description but now that they behold themselves branded with inferiority and a numerous and increasing class of their own countrymen who were before scarcely even on a level with themselves in public opinion, withdrawn from their community to be enclosed within a circle of immunities into which your Petitioners are debarred from penetrating they feel themselves practically degraded with same measure as their countrymen are exalted, and experience the deepest humiliation. If your

Honorable House does indeed suppose it impossible that among men of different religions, a common sense of justice and a common regard for impartiality should prevail your Petitioners trust that you will at least extend among men of different religions, a common sense of justice and a common regard for impartiality should prevail your Petitioners trust that you will at least extend to them in conformity with the sacred pledges given by the legislature, the protection that is deemed so necessary to afford to others. If it were indeed necessary to protect the Christian population of Calcutta from the possible operation of Hindoo or Mohamedan prejudices in the Administration of Criminal Justices, surely it would be at least equally necessary to protect Mohamedans and Hindoos from the operation of Christian prejudices, and your Petitioners would implore your Honorable House to extend to them the safeguard which must then be deemed essential to their well being. But while your Petitioners feel persuaded that no such prejudices do as yet exist, they cannot but perceive the danger than the invidious distinctions which the legislature has sanctioned may create them, and most earnestly supplicate your Honorable House to reconsider the law and weigh the suggestions for its improvement which they offer with the most respectful humility.

Nineteenth. They entreat that the legal distinction between them and their fellow subjects which this act has established may be abolished altogether, either by permitting half the Jurors to be chosen from those persuasions in all cases in which a Hindoo or Mohamedan may be arraigned at the bar of Justice or that the enactments of the third Section of the act of the Seventh Year of his present Majesty C. 37 entitled an act to regulate the appointment of Juries in the East Indies may be simply repealed and the formation of the Jury lists left to his Majesty's Judges on whose impartiality and anxious disposition to fulfil the great object of protecting the natives (for which their Court was originally instituted) your Petitioners fully rely. And as your Petitioners have already stated that the member of Christian Jurors on the present lists is very much greater that of the Hindoos and Mohamedans together and is likely long to continue so they trust that this fact will be sufficient to quiet the apprehensions of the most timorous advocates for precautions.

Twentieth. Your Petitioners have now humbly laid before your Honorable House the grievances to which they are exposed by the operation of an act intended as they fully believe and gratefully acknowledge for their benefit and improvement they have also ventured with respect they trust, but with an earnestness proportioned to the importance of the object to examine the argument which may have induced the measures of which they complain to point out their insufficiency and not to suggest a remedy. In this they will not believe they can have offended. Because by conquest or cession at a now remote period, the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain they have found by experience the advantages of its dominion and have learned enough of the beneficent principles of British law to know that in the August assembly of the legislature, a prayer like theirs will not be disregarded. Though their voice has never yet been heard within its walls, they feel the most perfect conviction, that now when it is heard for the

first time pleading the cause of Justice, which they are not more interested in demanding than the legislature in granting, it will not be heard in vain. They are aware of the peculiar situation in which they stand, they are aware of the difficulties of legislating for a country, situated at a distance of half of the Globe and penetrated with the conviction that if their rights and feelings have suffered injury, it has been because they have been overlooked and not because they have been disregarded, they approach your Honorable House in the full confidence that their representations will be met with favour and their prayers with compliance. The manner and extent of the remedy they have in some degree ventured to suggest but whether it shall please your Honorable House simply to repeal the third section of the Statute for regulating the appointment of Juries in the East Indies or to modify its provisions by new enactments they leave to the wisdom of Parliament.

Shibchunder Doss
Buddinauth Bysack
Ramcoomer Chatterjee
Radakissun Bysack
Bolichund Bysack
Dyolechund Bysack
Rajkissun Bysack
Muddunmohun Sein
Beerchund Addy
Gooroopersaud Bose
Hurrichunder Ghose
Maudubchunder Ghose
Tureekoolah Chowdhoory
Hurrymohun Tagore
Chundercomar Tagore
Nundcomar Tagore
Collycomar Tagore
Hurocomar Tagore
Prossunnocomar Tagore
Hurrymohun Day
Russomoy Dutt
Rammonauth Tagore
Kistnomohun Dutt
Mohesechunder Day
Connoy Laul Tagore
Kissenmohun Mozomdar
Cossenoth Choudoorey
Annundchunder Sirkar
Banymaudub Ghose
Radamohun Mookerjee
Prandhun Dutt
Gourmolic Roy
Dinnouth Mookerjee
Ramdhone Dutt
Bhugban Lawhurry
Joggomohun Sein
Horoochunder Mozumder
Collychunder Bose
Gobindchunder Moytree
Rammohun Mookerjee

Doorgaprowsad Sircar
Roopnarain Sein
Modoosodon Bysack
Radamadub Banarjee
Omachurn Bonerjia
Dwarikanauth Tagore
Cullachund Bose
Ramnarain Shein
Chundersicker Bisswass
Rammohun Dutt
Ramgopaul Bhattacharjee
Neelerutner Holdar
Sunatur Mookerjee
Ladlymohun Tagore
Shamlaul Tagore
Hurrolaul Tagore
Narainchund Coondoo
Kissenchunder Bose
Roopchand Dutt
Bonemully Dutt
Pittamber Gangooley
Roopchurn Day
Prawnkissen Roy
Ramchunder Doss
Mothurmohun Chatterjee
Hurynaun Sine
Shibram Chatterjee
Colly Doss Ghose
Nilcomul Dutt
Goluckchunder Lohory
Annundchunder Chatterjee
Hurrykissen Chatterjee
Bhogobanchunder Bhodary
Annundochunder Seal
Raujchunder Mookerjee
Calawchund Bose
Gungapersaud Ghose
Issenchunder Mittre
Moheschunder Bonarjee
Juggomohunshure Gunggopauddhoy

Ramdhun Ghose
Parbutty Mookerjee
Rambeimmo Doss
Goopenauth Goss
Cossinoth Chatterjee
Bishonauth Mutterloll
Shamchund Doss
Oboychurn Holdar
Kissenmohun Chunder
Beprodoss Ghose
Ramdhun Ghose
Nilamoy Mullick
Obychurn Bannerjee
Radukissen Mullick
Gourychurn Banerjee
Collykinker Chatterjee
Tarineechurn Chatterjee
Radhanoth Mitter
Koonjbehary Roy
Nobinchunder Bose
Rustomjee Cowasjee
Rajkissenroy Chowdory
Mottoormchun Mazumdar
Annundchunder Mullick
Gunganarain Ghose
Gobinchund Dhurr
Gobinchunder Chatterjee
Rammohun Roy
Goroodoss Mookerjee
Ramchunder Gangoly
Groopersaud Doss
Kissendhun Doss
Isserchunder Vhuttacharjee
Pitamber Chatterjee
Soroopchunder Day
Nobcoomar Ghose
Aushootos Doss
Ramcomul Sen
Annunchunder Gangoly
Roopnarain Day
Jagotchundra Roy
Modunmohun Sein
Tarackchunder Chatterjee
Rajchunder Doss
Nobkissen Sing
Muddoosudon Mullick
Hubool Kurrem
Golam Ally
Golaum Sobhaun
Mahamud Nuzeem
Seyeth Ahmud Bux
Ahmud Kubbeer
Gurrebwoollahlaum
Noorul Huck
Ed Hauzenally
Hyder Ally
Mahamud Busheruddcn
Aubdore Rahamaun
Boo Ally
Aubdoollahy
Golaum Colendar
Mahamudally Salum
Golaum Ally
Muyhewooden
Salaumwoollah
Seiyeth Ahamut
Ahamud Hussen
Mahamud Hayoth
Sarajudden Mahamud
Seiyeth Anatolly
Auzmut Ally
Neamut Ally
Haumydooden
Ramjaunally
Korasally
Golaum Mahamud
Mahamud Nautuck
Mahommed Sallem
Aubdore Rohym
Hethatally
Golaum Ally Ahamud
Korabaun Ally
Sahadat Ally
Ahamud Ally
Menhajooden Mahamud
Mahamud Hussen
Mahamood
Moonee Rudden
Aslahodden Mahamud
Tauz Mahamud
Ahamud Bux
Mahamud Panah
Seiyeth Golum Meer
Hyderaly
Serajooden Ahamud
(Illegible)
Abdoollah
Mirza Dawoodbey
Hamydoollah
Nussurwoollah
Anoyetally
Jahoorally Hussen
Balyeth Ally
Aumeerwoollah
Mansoor Ahamut
Atejauth Hussen
Nazeemudden Mahamud
Delarally

Hauzarmaully
Mahamud Bushy
Mahommud Moobyn
Morolee Khaun
Anoytally Kadaree
Mahamud Hussen
Saumsoojaha
Golaum Sabdar
Ahamudally
Khodamaully
Seiyeth Rozabally
Fahajooden Hyder
Sciyeth Doothfor Rahaman
Rayahajoodden Ahamud
Anoyetally
Mahamud Panah
Fazele Huck
Majar Rahman
Zobaidally
Seiyeth Koramuttally
Aubdool Huck
Nuzeeruden Mahamut
Jahar Hussen
Sadoodden
Mahamud Ramjohn
Golaum Kadar
Ramjaunally Husseny
Awool Hussen
Aubdo Sookoor
Savanally
Nudoram
Moojee Borahaman
Abdoollah*

197. Extract proceedings of the House of Commons on the presentation of the above petition. (June 5, 1829).

MR. CHARLES WILLIAMS WYNNE.—The petition which I hold in my hand is one of much interest and importance. It proceeds from the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and is signed by 116 Mahomedans and 128 Hindoos; all of the latter having subscribed their names in the English character. The prayer of it is, to obtain an extension of the privilege of sitting upon juries, which was granted to them by Parliament in 1826, so as to enable them to serve on grand juries and petit juries, for the trial of Christians, to which, by that Bill, Christians only were admitted. The petition, in some measure, partakes of the usual character of compositions which come from India, and certainly does not possess the recommendation of brevity ; but the general style of it is highly creditable to the ability of those from whom it proceeds, and is demonstrative of the general progress of intelligence and education. Soon after I entered upon the office of President of the India Board, I was surprised to find a petition, which had been addressed to Lord Hastings, then Governor General, by persons designating themselves as Indo-Britons, but more commonly known by the name of half-castes, complaining, among other things, of their exclusion from the right of sitting upon juries. At first, I doubted whether any such exclusion could legally exist ; but was afterwards convinced, that from the construction which the term "British subjects" had received, not only from the Courts in India, but from its use in different Acts of Parliament, that it was only by a legislative enactment that this disability, equally unjust and impolitic, could be removed. Upon applying myself to prepare a Bill for this purpose, I was satisfied that it would be necessary to grant the same privilege to all natives of India, and that if any distinction were to be made, it must be by religion, there being no other practicable way to draw a line between the illegitimate offspring of an Englishman, and the son of the same mother by a native.

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, 1828.

For the latter concession, which had neither been prayed for nor recommended, I feel that I am myself wholly responsible. Doubts, however, were still entertained by those whom I consulted, as to the expediency of allowing natives to sit upon grand juries at all, or on petit juries on the trial of Europeans. The little respect paid by the natives to veracity or to the sanction of an oath, had been the subject of complaint among all the most intelligent and best-informed Judges ; and the long-established habits of corruption and venality, in judicial proceedings, excited apprehension. Besides, recent as our empire in India is, it appeared that, at least in the first instance, it might not be desirable to place the conquered in situation of judges of the conquerers. These considerations induced me to adopt the distinction now complained of. The measure was, in a great degree, an experimental one ; and it was evidently easier, if it should succeed, to extend its effects, than, in the contrary event, to curtail them. The experiment has now, however, been tried ; and, as far as it has gone, has been successful. Both from Bombay and Calcutta, I have received most favourable accounts of its success; and the Judges who preside in these courts have expressed opinions that the concessions to the natives may safely be extended so far as the right of serving on grand juries.

It is, indeed, most satisfactory to me to see this petition, as it affords the best proof that the value of the privilege is properly appreciated. Should Parliament think fit to grant its prayer, so far as respects grand juries, the proportion and selection of the natives, who shall be allowed to avail themselves of it, will still be controlled by such rules as the Judges may think fit to establish ; and it seems highly probable that it may operate as a powerful incentive to men of rank and property to qualify themselves to acquire this distinction by their intelligence, information, and general character.

It may also be advantageous, both as leading Europeans and natives to associate in the discharge of public duties and business of mutual import, and as relieving a proportion of Europeans from the frequent recurrence of a duty, which, from their other avocations, and the smallness of the number of persons liable to its performance, sometimes presses upon them in a burthensome manner.

I have now stated nearly all that I feel necessary on the immediate prayer of this petition; but I consider the general principle on which it is founded as being of infinitely more importance. I look at it as connected with the great question now opening itself on the consideration of Parliament, to which we shall, I trust, apply ourselves at the earliest period of the next Session. That question, I need not say, relates to the general condition of India, and the measures which it will be fit to adopt for its improvement, at the approaching expiration of the Company's Charter. Of these, I am convinced, the first and foremost is to open to the natives a legitimate channel for ambition and exertion, by the removal of every exclusion on account of blood or colour. The reproach of our Government has been, that its extension has almost everywhere extinguished the former aristocracy of the country, who have gradually sunk into a state of apathy and imbecility, deprived of every incentive to exertion.

That this should have been the effect of our sway, has been lamented by every one who has looked at India with a liberal and enlightened view. Among many other authorities, I need only refer the opinions which Sir John Malcolm, and my lamented friend Bishop Heber, have recorded in the two most valuable works on India which late years have produced. The appearance of Bishop Heber's Journal has, indeed, had the effect of drawing the public attention to the situation of India, in a manner before unparalleled. In him were united qualifications which we cannot hope again to meet in the same individual. He combined the zeal and self-devotion of a missionary with the toleration of a philosopher, and the discretion of a statesman. In every former instance recorded in history, the object of enlightened conquerors has been to connect the conqueror with the conquerors by every tie which policy could frame. In India, the total difference of our habits, laws, and religion, would undoubtedly have rendered this a most difficult task, to be effected only by long patience and perseverance. Instead, however, of attempting it, our wisdom has, on the contrary, shewn itself in the exclusion of the slightest admixture of native blood from every appointment, civil and military. The strictness of this rule has, indeed, been, within the last two years, relaxed, so as to confine its application only to the first cross of European and Indian blood, but the principle continues. It is not long since Committees at the India House, not content with observing the complexion of any candidate for the service of the Company, have insisted upon scrutinizing his hands, to see whether, in the skin of the knuckles, they could detect any tinge of consanguinity with those over whom he was to bear rule. I believe, indeed, that some persons may still be found, who are persuaded that any mixture of native blood augurs want of courage for military, and want of integrity for civil, employment. To argue gravely against such doctrines would be idle. I would rather advert to the case (happily not a single one) of a most gallant and excellent officer, Colonel Skinner, who being by his birth excluded from the Company's regular army, contrived, by the favour of the Governor-General, contrary to these regulations, to obtain employment in an irregular corps, in the command of which he has repeatedly rendered the most distinguished services. As long as I live, I shall recollect with satisfaction, that it fell to my lot to advise my Sovereign to reward this officer, though of Indian descent, by granting him the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and by placing on his breast the insignia of the Bath. I believe that every one acquainted with India will agree that these honours were never more worthily bestowed. Other instances might be quoted of officers who, after having been refused admission into the service of the Company on the same account, have risen to high rank in that of the King. Such is the case with the half-caste, but the native is even more strictly excluded from all command or distinction. Whatever may be the length of his military service—however meritoriously he may have proved his fidelity, his courage,—whatever may be his rank and family,—he never can rise to an equality, either of command or emolument, with the lowest European, who has just set his foot on the shores of India.

Nor is this system of exclusion less visible in the civil departments of the Government of India. It has been frequently acknowledged to be among our

first duties to endeavour to compensate to the inhabitants, the establishment of a foreign rule by an improved administration of Justice. For this object we have a numerous judicial establishment, the members of which are properly, and, indeed, necessarily, liberally remunerated. Without such remuneration, purity and impartiality cannot be looked for in a country where the temptations to corruption are so strong, and the opportunities so many. But it is impossible that we can adequately supply with European magistrates, a country extending nearly 2,000 miles from north to south, and the same from east to west. The principal grievance now felt, arises from their deficiency in number, and the consequent distance which a party who seeks justice against an European must travel to obtain redress. Instances have been known where crimes have been concealed, owing to the unwillingness of those who were the objects or spectators of them to undertake the journey necessary in order to prosecute. The only way in which this deficiency can be supplied, is by raising and training up a superior order of native functionaries. In this, I am happy to say, all those who now govern in India, concur; and I can, with confidence, appeal to the authorities of Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Malcolm, as well as those of Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Elphinstone, and Bishop Heber, in favour of such a course. But the first step is to open the avenues to rank, distinction, and emolument, as the reward of good conduct. It is true that the situations of village and provincial magistrates are now occupied by natives ; but they are limited in their jurisdiction, and their salary is inconsiderable. Much has been done since the last Charter Act, for the promotion of education in India ; yet unless the natives can look forward to future objects of ambition, to situations which shall not only afford them emolument, but rank and consideration in society, both among Europeans and natives, all other incentives to improvement must prove vain and insufficient. Probably the measure recommended by Bishop Heber, of combining native and European magistrates in periodical sessions on the same bench, might be found materially to assist this object. This, however, is a question of detail, and may be more fitly the subject of future consideration. What is material, is the general principle ; and, I trust, that whatever difference in opinion may exist as to the authority through which the Government of India shall hereafter be administered, we shall concur in the propriety of a declaration, that all the subjects of Great Britain, without distinction of blood or colour, shall be eligible to every employment for which their abilities, education, and habits may qualify them.

I have already, during the present Session, said, that so far as respects India, I consider the question of commerce at an end. The trade of India has, as it is admitted by my Honourable Friend, the Chairman of the East India Company, passed out of the hands of the Company into those of the free trader; nothing remains but to afford the latter every facility for carrying it on and establishing himself, consistent with the due protection of the natives from insult or oppression. To this object, the term colonization has most improperly been applied, and has given rise to ideas the most mistaken. It is not additional population which is desirable, but the introduction of additional European capital and science, for the employment and improvement of the inhabitants of India.

It is to their interest that we are called upon, in the first place, to attend ; for, by assuming the Government of their country, we have contracted towards them a debt, which we have, as yet, most imperfectly discharged. To this object, I trust, therefore, that we shall zealously apply ourselves, and that we shall, at the earliest period of the next Session, inquire what has been done for the amelioration of the general state of India since the year 1813, when this subject was last under the consideration of Parliament—what has been the success of past measures—and what new ones should be adopted for this most desirable purpose.

* * * * * *

The petition was brought up. On the question that it be read,

Mr. C. W. W. Wynn said,—I believe no man ever discharged his duty with more advantage to those over whom he presided, than Mr. Elphinstone ; and I may add, that Sir Thomas Munroe was quite as strongly impressed as anybody could be with the advantage to be derived from availing ourselves of the services of native functionaries. I have heard with great pleasure the testimony borne by my Noble Friend to the attempts that have been made since the date of the last charter for the furtherance of education among the Natives of India. A sum not less than a lac of rupees (10,000 *l.*) was, by the Act of 1813, directed to be expended annually for the attainment of that object ; and I believe no one year has passed in which much more than that amount has not been so expended. I think it desirable that the privileges now sought should be granted as a favour; and, therefore, much as I desire that it may be conceded, I do not regret that it has not been granted before it was asked, for then we could not know how it might have been accepted—whether as a boon or as a burden. If it be now yielded after this request, we may trust that it will be received in the same spirit as it will be conceded.

The petition was then ordered to be printed.*

198. Petition of the natives of Bombay to Parliament against certain provisions of the new Jury Act. (December 31, 1829).

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Hindoos, Parsees, and Mahometans, Natives of the East Indies, and Inhabitants of the Island of Bombay,

Sheweth,—We beg to be permitted to offer to your Honourable House our grateful acknowledgments, for the many testimonies we have had of your solicitude to promote our welfare and happiness. We are satisfied that our representations for the amelioration of our condition in society, and for the improvement of our political institutions in India, will be listened to by you with patient attention,—

* *Mirror of Parliament*, 1829, Vol. III, p. 2061.

will have your unprejudiced consideration, and that it will ever be your desire, that all the subjects of our Gracious Sovereign, in whatever region they may be, shall be fully protected in their lives, their personal liberty, their character, and their property.

We beg your Honourable House to take into your consideration, the expediency of rendering all his Majesty's subjects, being natives of India, eligible to serve on grand juries;—and further, to introduce and establish the trial by jury in civil cases, in his Majesty's courts of justice at the three Presidencies in India, and to render the natives of India eligible to serve on those juries. Already the natives of India serve on petit juries, in all criminal trials in his Majesty's courts in India; and the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay has acknowledged their utility on those trials. Of all trials, that by a petit jury for crimes is the most important, and when the natives of India are declared by Parliament, qualified to serve as jurymen on those trials, and experience has proved their utility, we venture humbly to submit to your Honourable House, that there is no sufficient reason to exclude them from grand juries, and petit juries in civil cases. Whether before a grand jury, or a petit jury in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, or a jury in plea causes, the subject under investigation generally embraces transactions of a local nature, and the witnesses are principally natives of India. To ascertain the intention of the witnesses, and the degree of credit that is due to them, in order to pronounce a true verdict, a knowledge of the languages of the country, of local usages and customs, civil and religious, and of general character, we presume to suggest, is as much required before a grand jury, and before a petit jury in civil causes, as before a jury on trial for crimes.

We beg your Honourable House also to take into your consideration, the expediency of rendering his Majesty's subjects, the natives of India, qualified to be his Majesty's justices of the peace for the several Presidencies in India, and the territories subordinate to them respectively. We admit an objection to arise, from a want of knowledge in the natives, of the laws administered by justices of the peace; but that objection may be obviated by declaring that all their acts, as justices of the peace, to be valid, shall be in conjunction with a justice of the peace who is a British subject. Since Parliament has declared the natives of India, under the advice of the court, to be qualified to serve on petit juries, on trials for crimes, it surely may be allowed to us to argue, that they are qualified to act as justices of the peace, in conjunction with one of his Majesty's British subjects.

We see no reason to dissemble, and we avow to your Honourable House, that one of our reasons for soliciting to be eligible to serve on grand juries, and on juries in civil causes, and to be justices of peace, is to diminish the odious distinction that separates us from his Majesty's British subjects; that pronounces us an inferior and degraded class in society, and unworthy of the confidence of our Gracious Sovereign and of the Government.

We beg your Honourable House to take into your consideration, the system for the administration of justice in the interior of British India; it is eminently

defective,—it affords no adequate protection for the rights of property,—it affords scarcely any protection from personal wrongs,—and in particular from false imprisonment, when committed by persons possessing public authority. Your Honourable House are perfectly sensible, how much life is embittered by personal wrongs, and especially by false imprisonment. It is true, that by Acts of Parliament, and by the Charters of the Supreme Courts in India, actions for damages will lie in all those courts for personal wrongs, including false imprisonment, committed by his Majesty's British subjects, or natives of India in their service,—but it is probable, that at a distance of thirty miles from each of the Presidencies, there is scarcely a native of India, who has the slightest knowledge of those Acts of Parliament and Charters,—and if they were known, the immense distances from his Majesty's courts in India, would, in most instances, prevent application to them for redress. At present we are inhabitants of the island of Bombay, but many of us have families in the interior of the British territories in India, and all of us, for trade, pilgrimages, and other purposes, occasionally leave the island of Bombay, and at once are under the judicial administration that is in force beyond this Presidency. We purposely decline a statement of particular instances of grievances by the judicial system in the interior of India,—our objections apply to the system itself.

We beg to be excused entreating the attention of your Honourable House to the very extraordinary situation of his Majesty's subjects, the natives of India. The dynasties that have been conquered by the British arms in India, were only of short duration,—scarcely one of them had been in existence more than a century,—we allude to the Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa,—the Nabob of Arcot,—Tippoo Sahib, and the Paishwa,—there was nothing venerable in the remote antiquity of those dynasties,—the natives of India had no other attachment to them than what arose from their possession of power. The strength of the present generation did not exist when the Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, the Nabob of Arcot, and Tippoo Sahib, were conquered. In another quarter of a century, few of the natives who were the subjects of the Paiswa will be alive. The immense population, calculated at upwards of sixty millions, which inhabits those conquered empires, now look for protection and happiness to the British Government alone. They have no sentiments of hostility to the British Government,—they have no hopes but what arise from British institutions,—it is their wish to possess and to merit public confidence, and under the auspices of your Honourable House, and the enactments of Parliament, to be declared eligible to fulfil and execute all civil offices throughout British India,—judicial, financial, and territorial. We presume to suggest to the consideration of your Honourable House, that the time is at length arrived when the public institutions throughout the territories in British India ought to be adapted to the permanent continuance of the British authority over them. Your Honourable House will not believe that a population of upwards of sixty millions does not contain within itself, talent, assiduity, and integrity, to justify their being largely admitted into the execution of judicial, financial, and territorial offices. We refrain from enlarging on the numberless advantages, in policy

and in morals, both to the United Kingdoms and to British India, from the natives of India being extensively admitted into those offices. The philanthropy and wisdom of your Honourable House are our guarantees that all will be done that can be done, to make the situation of being his Majesty's subjects in India the cause of congratulation to all the natives of British India.

We have great pleasure in acknowledging our obligations to your Honourable House, for your undeviating attention and anxiety to secure to the natives of British India, the full and free enjoyment of their respective religions.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Bombay, 31st December, 1829.

Signed by ninety-five of the principal Hindoos, Parsees, and Mahometans of Bombay.*

199. Copy of correspondence between the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control re: introduction of a Bill to amend the above Jury Act. (September 16, 1831 to April 5, 1832).

No. 1.

Letter from the Rt. Hon. Charles Grant, M.P. to the Chairman of the East India Company, enclosing copy of a Bill relative to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and Juries in the East Indies.

India Board, 16th September, 1831.

Sir,

I beg to enclose for your inspection, a Copy of a Bill which I propose to submit to Parliament, relative to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and of Juries, in the East Indies.

I am, &c. &c.
CHARLES GRANT.

No. 2.

Letter from Robert Campbell and John G. Ravenshaw, Esqrs. to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, M.P., &c. &c. &c.

Sir, East India House, 22nd September, 1831.

We have had the honour to receive your Letter dated the 16th instant, communicating the Draft of a Bill which you propose to introduce into Parliament, relating to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and of Juries, in East Indies.

Whilst the Court are most anxious to promote the advancement of the Natives of India to offices of trust and responsibility, they very strongly feel the necessity of exercising much caution in the adoption of measures for that purpose. To proceed too rapidly in such a case, would ultimately retard, instead of promoting the object sought to be attained.

* *Mirror of Parliament*, 1831, Vol. II, p. 1837.

The office of Justice of the Peace is one which we have hitherto considered to partake of the character of a King's Magistrate appointed to administer British Law; and if your wish be to invest the Natives of India with that character, it is a step which the Court confess they are not prepared to adopt without much more consideration than that which they have been enabled yet to bestow upon it. You are aware that the Court have encouraged the employment of Natives in the administration of Indian Law. The entrusting them with the administration of British Law, involving a power to take cognizance of charges against European Functionaries, even of the highest class, is a very different matter.

The Court observe, that by the Indian Jury Act, passed in 1826, Juries for the trial of Christians, must consist wholly of Christians.

It would have been satisfactory to the Court to have been favoured with a communication of your reasons for proposing the repeal of that provision, which seems to the Court to be essential for guarding against the possibility of Christians, European or Native, being tried upon questions involving life or death by Hindoos and Mussulmen.

We trust, Sir, that, upon further consideration, you will abstain from pressing this Bill at present, the subject of which it treats being of such a nature as to call for much reflexion before they become matters of legislation.

We have the honour, &c. &c.

ROBERT CAMPBELL,
JOHN G. RAVENSHAW.

No. 3.

Letter from the Right Honourable Charles Grant, M.P. to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company.

India Board, 15th October, 1831.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 22d ultimo, relative to the eligibility which it has been proposed to confer upon the Natives of India, to serve as Jurymen and Justices of the Peace.

The reasons for which I am desirous to see this measure adopted, are chiefly those which apply in every country that has reached an adequate degree of civilization. If it should appear to you that there are any particular grounds of exception in the present instance, I trust I need not add, that on being communicated to me, they will receive the fullest attention of His Majesty's Government.

In consequence of your having stated that the step is one which the Court of Directors cannot adopt without more consideration, than that which they have yet been enabled to bestow upon it, I deferred the immediate introduction of a Bill founded upon the Draft I submitted for your information.

Although the delay was undoubtedly due to the convenience of the Court, yet in the absence of any ostensible objection, and not myself perceiving that any political danger is to be apprehended from the measure, I should under such circumstances be very unwilling to protract that delay; and I will therefore

request you to have the goodness to bring the subject under the full, and, above all, the immediate consideration of the Court.

It will not escape your observation, that it is only *eligibility* which it is proposed to confer, and which of course would be susceptible of regulation under due responsibility.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.
CHARLES GRANT.

No. 4.

Letter from Robert Campbell and John G. Ravenshaw, Esqrs., to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, M.P. &c. &c. &c.

East India House, 8th December, 1831.

Sir,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 15th October, upon the subject of the Bill which you propose to introduce into Parliament to authorize the appointment of Natives of India to be Justices of the Peace, and to repeal the clause of the Indian Jury Act, which requires that Juries for the trial of Christians shall consist wholly of Christians.

In making the communication contained in our Letter dated the 22nd of September, the Court were fully aware that it was only *eligibility* which the Bill proposed to confer; but we would submit to you, that while the Bill professes to confer a boon upon the Natives of India, all the local Governments, in the exercise of their discretion, might decline to act upon it; in which case there would be created feelings of dissatisfaction towards those Governments, who would thus incur the odium of refusing or restricting, without the credit of bestowing, an important distinction.

The Court much wish that you had explained the reasons which have led you to propose this Bill; you merely say they "are chiefly those which apply in every country that has reached an adequate degree of civilization"; which general principle the Court understand to be, that the natives of every country sufficiently civilized, should be deemed eligible to fill important and responsible offices in the administration of its affairs; a principle, upon which, as you are aware, the Court have practically acted as respects the Natives of India, who, under existing regulations (which moreover may be modified or extended without any further legislative enactment) are invested with a considerable degree of authority in the ordinary functions of administering Justice, collecting the Revenue, and conducting the Police and Magisterial duties, within the limits of the several Provincial and Zillah Courts. But the office of Justice of Peace is one, in which it is necessary that the person entrusted with it should not merely have an adequate degree of civilization, he should also have an accurate acquaintance with that part of the laws of England which he will have to administer.

It will hardly be contended that the Natives of India are now, or are likely at an early period to become, qualified in this respect. It is not to be expected that they will voluntarily sacrifice the time and expense which would be necessary to acquire an adequate knowledge of the English Law Books and

Acts of Parliament in which the duties of Justices of the Peace are laid down, for the mere distinction of acting as unpaid Magistrates; or if they did, that they would undertake the duties of the office, when they found that for the non-performance of those duties, or for the performance of them in any way but that prescribed by the English Law, for acts of omission as well as acts of commission they would be responsible to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court only, to various pains and penalties, would be thrown into the hands of the Attornies of that Court, and would be subjected to all the expense and inconvenience of English Law Proceedings.

It is further important to observe, that the office of Justice of the Peace involves direct cognizance of the conduct of Europeans; a power which, if committed to the Natives, will, the Court conceive, have an injurious effect in lowering that estimation of the European character which has had so important an influence in upholding our Indian Empire.

The Court do not question the intelligence and capacity of the Natives, but they consider them defective in many qualities, particularly firmness of character, which are so necessary to inspire confidence, and so essential to enable them to discharge the duties of a Justice of the Peace with usefulness and with credit.

With respect to the trial of Christians by Natives of India who are not Christians, the Court had always considered, that it was a principle of the Law of England, that there should be some community of feeling between those who were to try and him who was to be tried ; and they cannot but entertain great doubt of the propriety of departing from that principle upon this occasion. There ought, the Court think, to be some reality in the maxim, that men are to be tried by *their Peers*, by what the English Law, with strong meaning, calls the *"Country."* But what Country, to an Englishman and a Christian, is it to be tried by Hindoos and Mussulmen? What community of feeling, interest or habitude, can subsist between such parties? The idea of being tried by Hindoo or Mussulman Jurors must be intolerable to every Englishman. It is true the anomaly exists, in subjecting Hindoos and Mussulmen to be tried by Christian Jurors; but that is only a consequence of the system under which the Government of India is held, and does not seem in any degree to require the establishment, by way of compensation, of the new anomaly, of allowing Hindoos and Mussulmen to try Christians.

Upon the whole, after the maturest consideration, the Court remain of the opinion expressed in our Letter to you of the 22nd September last, that, however "anxious they are to promote the advancement of the Natives of India to offices of trust and responsibility, they very strongly feel the necessity of exercising much caution in the adoption of measures for that purpose. To proceed too rapidly in such a case, would ultimately retard, instead of promoting, the object to be attained"; and we cannot help feeling, that to hold out the least prospect of a boon, which the people are not in a state to accept with any probability of advantage to themselves or benefit to the State, would be a delusion. The Court, therefore, beg leave to decline being parties to the Bill which you propose to bring in; and they would earnestly suggest to you the expediency of your

abstaining from carrying the proposition into effect, without a previous reference of the whole subject to the consideration of the Bengal Government; upon whose proceedings, hitherto, there is not to be traced the slightest indication of an opinion favourable to the measures which you contemplate.

We have the honour, &c. &c. &c.

ROBERT CAMPBELL.
JOHN G. RAVENSHAW.

No. 5.

Letter from the Right Hon. Charles Grant, M.P. to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company.

India Board, 6th March, 1832.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to address you in reference to your Letter of the 8th December 1831, on the subject of the proposed Bill to amend the Law relating to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and of Jurors in the East Indies.

In answer to the remark made in my Letter of the 22nd September, that *eligibility* is all that the Bill proposes to confer, you observe, that "all the local Governments, in the exercise of their discretion, might decline to act upon it; in which case," you add, "there would be created feelings of dissatisfaction towards those Governments, who would thus incur the odium of refusing or restricting, without the credit of bestowing, an important distinction."

To this observation I can only reply, that I trust and believe that the local Governments will by no means conceive it to be a just exercise of their discretion, systematically to debar the Natives from that to which the Law pronounces them eligible. It will be for the Governments at home and in India to lay down precise rules as to qualification for admission to the exercise of the duties in question, and to adhere to those rules; but we must not suppose the possibility of any attempt on the part of the local Governments to defeat, by practical exclusion, the intentions of the Legislature.

I acknowledge with pleasure the correctness of the statements in your Letter, respecting the general principle upon which the Court has acted in reference to the Natives of India. Their eligibility "to fill important and responsible offices in the administration of the affairs" of their country, being therefore established as a general principle, the propriety of excluding them by law from particular offices can only be maintained, by showing with respect to each office a special case of exception.

I proceed, therefore, in the first place, to examine the reasons assigned by the Court for the exclusion of Natives from the office of Justice of the Peace.

The first objection is, that "it is not to be expected that Natives will voluntarily sacrifice the time and expense which would be necessary to acquire an accurate knowledge of the English Law Books and Acts of Parliament, in which

the duties of Justices of the Peace are laid down, for the mere distinction of acting as unpaid Magistrates."

In answer to this argument, I have first to remark, that if the Natives would not make the sacrifice of time and expense which would be necessary to enable them to learn the duties of the Office, they would not possess the qualifications pronounced indispensable by the public Authorities, and would consequently be still inadmissible. Their exclusion from the office, however, could not in that case be regarded as a grievance; they would be excluded, as individuals, by their own choice, and not as a body, by an indiscriminate legal enactment.

But in the second place, I must own that it seems to me a gratuitous assumption, to suppose that no Natives, otherwise qualified, would make the sacrifice in question. The degree of knowledge of the English Laws which could be reasonably required as a qualification for the office, is found to be easily attainable by those gentlemen who are now appointed to fill it, without the previous advantage of a legal education ; and there is no reason why the acquirement of the same degree of knowledge should be regarded by intelligent and respectable Natives as a matter of formidable difficulty. In the pursuits of private life, as well as in those branches of the public service in which they have hitherto been permitted to engage, the Natives of India have evinced no deficiency, either in habits of application to business or in the skill and acuteness required for its successful prosecution ; nor can it be maintained that they are insensible to that stimulus to exertion which arises from the hope of honourable distinction. Those Natives who are entrusted with the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue, in the interior, qualify themselves for those duties by studying the Regulations of the Government under which they are to act. Why, then, should we anticipate a different result in the case now under consideration?

2dly. "The Court are of opinion that Natives would be deterred from undertaking the duties of the office, on account of the responsibility under which they would be placed to the Supreme Court, their liability to penalties for illegal conduct, and their being in such cases thrown into the hands of the Attornies of the Supreme Court, and subjected to all the expense and inconvenience of English Law proceedings.

In answer to this statement, I have simply to remark, that if, from these or any other considerations, Natives should be unwilling to become Justices of the Peace, they would not be appointed to the office. And the Court cannot fail to perceive, with reference both to this and to the former objection, that supposing their anticipations to be realized, the Act would be inoperative, and the evils apprehended as its consequences would not take place.

3dly. The Court conceive that to commit to Natives "a direct cognizance of the acts of Europeans" will "have an injurious effect in lowering that estimation of the European character which has had so important an influence in upholding our Indian Empire".

In reference to this apprehension, I beg to advert to the fact, that authority is at present exercised over Europeans by Natives of a very inferior rank, who are employed in the apprehension, confinement, and punishment of offenders.

The Natives have long been accustomed to see Europeans in situations very unfavourable to the continuance of any such notion of their individual superiority, as could be affected by the proposed measure. But it is not on such a notion, but on a conviction of the superiority of our Government to those of Asiatic States, that the stability of our Empire depends ; and neither the elevation of Natives in our own dominions, nor the subjection of Europeans to Native rulers in foreign territories, appears to have produced any abatement of that conviction. The real source of our strength, next to our military power and skill, being the unity of purpose and the justice of principle which have distinguished our Government, the security of our dominion cannot fail to be increased by every measure tending to remove needless distinctions, and to combine all classes in the administration of the laws.

4thly. The Court do not "question the intelligence and capacity of the Natives, but they consider them deficient in many qualities, particularly firmness of character, which are so necessary to inspire confidence, and so essential to enable them to discharge the duties of a Justice of the Peace with usefulness and with credit".

Assuming the correctness of this opinion, it will not, I presume, be alleged, that the native character is incapable of improvement in those points in which it is now defective ; and it would seem that the most effectual means of accomplishing that improvement, would be to open to the Natives, as objects of honourable ambition, those employments which obviously require the exercise of the qualities in question. It is also to be remembered that native Justices of the Peace would act under the constant superintendence of European authorities ; any evils resulting from their want of firmness, or other defects, would consequently with ease be obviated or remedied.

Further, it may be observed, that the Natives are already, as is stated in your Letter, "invested with a considerable degree of authority in the ordinary functions of administering justice, collecting the revenue, and conducting the Police and Magisterial duties, within the limits of the several Provincial and Zillah Courts". To this list may be added also the functions of Petit Jurors. In the execution of these various duties, the same moral qualities are requisite as in the administration of the office of Justice of the Peace.

The decisive answers, however, to this objection is, that with respect to Natives as well as Europeans, the question of appointment to the office will be one of personal qualification, to be considered in each individual case.

Upon this part of the subject I have only to add, that the Natives who may be appointed Justices of the Peace will act under instructions sent from this country ; and that in framing those instructions, provision may be made for obviating any practical difficulty which this Board may agree with the Court in anticipating in the working of the measure.

The next object proposed by the Bill is, to render persons not professing the Christian religion eligible to serve on Grand Juries. Their exclusion from this duty, while they are admitted to Petit Juries, is surely an anomaly. It is understood to have been generally lamented in India, as unwise and invidious. The functions of a Grand Juror seem indeed to be such as can with peculiar advantage

be entrusted to Natives, on account of their habits and superior means of information. Those difficulties, too, that were supposed to attend their serving on Petit Juries, are little likely to occur in relation to Grand Juries. But I presume that, in truth, the only objection to this part of the Bill, refers to the principle of admitting persons not being Christians, to serve on Juries, Grand or Petit. To this objection, which applies of course more especially to Petit Juries, I now proceed to advert.

The Court's argument on this point is, that according to the law of England, "there should be some community of feeling between those who are to try, and him who is to be tried" ; that men should "be tried *by their Peers*, by what the English Law, with strong meaning, calls the Country" ; but that in the trial "of an Englishman and a Christian by Hindus or Mussulmans, there is no country, no community of feeling, interest, or habitude ; and that the idea of such a Trial must be intolerable to every Englishman".

1st. I will not enter on this occasion into any inquiries as to the precise meaning of the terms "Peers" and "Country" ; although it might, I think, be fairly argued, that in the true sense and substantial justice of those terms, the Constitution of England would recognise as Peers and Country, in matters of this nature, those persons, in every part of our Dominions, who are made amenable to the same Tribunals as their European fellow-subjects. But it is sufficient to observe, that, practically, it does not appear that identity of religion has been considered as necessarily involved in those expressions. Foreigners accused of offences in England are entitled to be tried by a Jury composed of an equal number of British Subjects and of Foreigners. Supposing the accused to be a Mahomedan, the Foreigners who would be placed on the Jury would probably be persons possessing as "little community of feeling or habitude" with him, as would exist between an English prisoner and a Hindoo or a Moslem Juror.

2dly. The argument of the Court involves the principle of separation between persons of different religions ; a principle which may be carried to an indefinite application, and, if sound, ought to prevent any inter-community between the different classes, or any admission of Natives not professing Christianity, to offices which in any degreee affect Christians. Thus extended, the principle would obviously be full of injustice, and would be attended with the most injurious and fatal consequences both to the governors and to the governed.

3dly. If the Trial of Christians by Juries composed in part of Hindus or Mussulmans be so inconsistent with the principles of the Law of England, and so repugnant (to use the words of the Court) to English notions of justice, that "the idea would be intolerable to every Englishman," on what principle can the converse proceeding be justified? The trial of Hindus and Moslems by a Christian Jury would seem, under these views, to be not merely "an anomaly," but a mockery, or worse. In the Trial by Jury, we profess to confer on the Natives the advantage of free institutions; but it would follow, from the argument urged by the Court, that what we have thus imposed on them, we should in our own case regard as an intolerable grievance.

4thly. It is important to bear in mind, that many cases may occur, in which it may be positively for the advantage of Europeans to be tried in part

or entirely by Natives. The number of Europeans resident at each of the Presidencies is, after all, comparatively small; and in such contracted societies, we know that local and personal feelings and jealousies are unfortunately too prevalent. In England, a remedy for evils of this kind is found, either in a change of venue, or in a postponement of the trial. In India, the accused, on some occasions, may find it his best resource to escape to the Native Jury; and why the option of so doing should be refused, it is not easy to perceive.

Lastly. It is to be observed, that the party accused has the right of peremptory challenge of a certain number of Jurymen, and of indefinite challenge for cause assigned. This privilege appears to me to afford all the protection which can be reasonably desired, against any bias which the Jurors may be supposed to entertain against the Prisoner.

I have now examined the reasons assigned by the Court in support of the continued exclusion of the Natives from those functions to which the Bill in question proposes to render them eligible; and in conclusion, can only express my sincere regret at the determination of the Court to decline becoming parties to it. A reference to the Bengal Government seems to me unnecessary, because I think we have sufficient materials before us to form our judgment.

Under these circumstances, I would fain hope that the Court, on reconsideration, may see reason to take a more favourable view of the matter. If this, unfortunately, should prove not to be the case, they will not, I am sure, deem it a want of respect on my part, for their opinion, if, after having invited without success their concurrence and co-operation, I should feel it my duty to adhere to my original intention, and to proceed with the proposed measure on my own responsibility.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

CHARLES GRANT.

No. 6.

Letter from Robert Campbell and John G. Ravenshaw, Esqrs. to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, M.P., &c., &c.

East India House, 5th April, 1832.

Sir,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 6th ultimo respecting the proposed Bill to amend the Law relating to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and of Jurors in the East Indies.

The Court of Directors having fully considered the statements and arguments which you have adduced in support of your proposition, find themselves compelled to adhere to the opinions which we had the honour to express in our Letter dated the 8th of December 1831.

After the full discussion which this matter has undergone, the Court forbear from urging any further arguments in opposition to the proposed enactments, contenting themselves with an expression of their regret that they should have the misfortune still to think, in opposition to you, that the experiment is unnecessary and inexpedient, and is at all events of such a nature as to make it

desirable to obtain the opinion of the local Government, before it is made the subject of legislation.

There is only one point in your Letter upon which we will trouble you with any observation. In remarking that the local Governments might decline to act upon the Bill, the Court did not mean to imply that these Governments would attempt to defeat the intentions of the Legislature. You had, in your Letter of the 15th of October, stated it as a recommendation of the measure, that Eligibility was all that the Bill proposed to confer; from which we imagined it to be your wish and intention that the local Governments should be left to avail themselves, or not,of the authority proposed to be given, according to their discretion; and it was the fear which the Court entertained of the consequences of a declaration by Parliament of eligibility not followed up practically in India, which gave rise to the remark alluded to.*

We have the honour to be, &c., &c.,
ROBERT CAMPBELL.
JOHN G. RAVENSHAW.

200. Extract proceedings of the House of Commons on the introduction of the above Jury Bill. (June 18, 1832).

MR. CHARLES GRANT.—I beg leave to move, Sir, that this Bill be now read a third time.

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MR. CHARLES GRANT.—My Right Honourable Friend does not dissent from the principle of the Bill ; but his objection to the third reading chiefly rests upon the circumstances that, as there is a general inquiry going on respecting India, it should be postponed until the result of that inquiry is known. I stated last year, that, before any legislative measure could be adopted with regard to the general system of the Indian Government, the House must obtain full information ; and, therefore, it was, that the Committee was appointed to obtain that information ; but, at the same, I observed, that there might be certain local and isolated topics and imperfections which affected the interests of the people of India, which I thought might be taken up by the House prior to the general discussion.

I beg, also, to add this further observation, that the present Bill is, in fact, entirely of a negative nature: it imposes nothing. It simply repeals a previous Act which was imperative in its nature, and substitutes one of a discretionary kind. There are certain civil functions in India to which the natives are by law admissible ; their admission to which depends upon the civil Government. There are certain other functions which the natives are actually prohibited by law from discharging. Now the object of this Bill is simply to repeal that prohibitory Act, and to entrust a discretionary power to the local Government. The two functions which the natives are, at present, prohibited from discharging are those of grand jurors and justices of the peace. Now, if the local authorities are fit to be entrusted with the powers of Government, they are, I think, the safest depositories of that discretion

Parliamentary Papers (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 31.

which this Bill is intended to create. This is not a matter of slight interest to the natives of India.

My Right Honourable Friend says that the principle I have asserted is, that you should apply improvement where civilization is sufficiently advanced. I assert that the principle is this, that as far as possible, and as soon as possible, the natives of India are to be made partakers and sharers of the rights and liberties of English subjects, and of the advantages of the British Constitution ; and that it is our duty, by every possible method, to advance the natives of India in every species of improvement. I know, also, that that is the principle of my Right Honourable Friend ; and that that is the reason why this Bill is brought forward. If, indeed, this measure were peremptory and obligatory, then there might be some reason to pause ; but as it is entirely permissive, and so far as it goes, must tend to the advancement of the native population in civilization, I cannot see any reason whatever to postpone its third reading. The two points to which this Bill refers, are points which have attached greater attention and excited considerable anxiety on the part of the native population. Petitions have been presented on the subject from Calcutta, Bengal, and from Rangoon,—all stating that the natives of India possess the highest qualifications for those offices, and that there exists great anxiety upon the subject ; and they implore this House and the India Board to allow them to discharge those functions.

I regret extremely that my Right Honourable Friend, and I know he also regrets it, when he brought forward the existing Jury Bill, did not at the same time, make the alterations which are now intended to be made. The effect of that Bill has been most unfortunate. It has created discontent on the part of those whom it was intended to conciliate. One part of the Bill is calculated to give them great offence, and is founded on a most dangerous principle ; it, in effect, says that the natives of India shall not be rulers over Christians. Now I deprecate bringing in Christianity as a rule of legislation. It is as injurious to Christianity itself as it is insulting to the feelings of those against whom such enactments are made to operate. To call in the sanction of Christianity to measures of legislation, degrades the holiness of the faith it is intended to uphold: it makes that to be regarded as a terror and a dread, which ought to be held in the liveliest affection: and, instead of being the rallying word of union and of peace, it is made the watchword of discord and dissatisfaction. I object to it, therefore, for the sake of legislation itself, no less than for the sake of Christianity, which ought to be applied for the purposes of love and mutual amity, and not converted into an instrument of bondage, and the source of perpetual discontent.

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MR. HYDE VILLIERS.—It appears to me that the objections of my Right Honourable Friend apply rather to the details than to the principle of this Bill. This subject was under the consideration of the Committee up-stairs last year, and was then fully considered, and the report was laid on the Table some time ago. With respect to the observations of my Right Honourable Friend, respecting the Government of India, I think it will strike any Gentleman at all con-

versant with the subject, that whatever changes are to be introduced into the Government of those immense territories, they should be as gradual as possible, at the same time it is most desirable that such a change as this Bill proposes to effect, should be carried into operation in as short a time as possible, consistently with the well-being of the people of India.

The Bill was then read a third time, an amendment was made, and the Bill was passed.*

201. The amended Indian Jury Act. (August 16, 1832).

'Whereas it is expedient that other Persons besides the covenanted Servants of the United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *East Indies*, or other *British* Inhabitants of the *East Indies*, should be capable of being appointed to the Office of Justice of the Peace within and for the Towns of *Calcutta*, *Madras*, and *Bombay*'; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That in the Manner prescribed by Law for the Nomination and Appointment of Persons now eligible to the Office of Justice of the Peace in the Territories in the Possession and under the Government of the said Company, and subject, except as to the taking of any Oaths, to the other Provisions of the Law which relate to the said Office, it shall and may be lawful for the Governor General in Council of *Fort William* in *Bengal*, the Governor in Council of *Fort Saint George*, and the Governor in Council of *Bombay*, respectively for the Time being, to nominate and appoint, in the Name of the King's Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, any Persons resident within the Territories aforesaid, and not being the Subjects of any Foreign State, whom the said Governor General in Council and Governors in Council respectively shall think properly qualified, and who will bind themselves by such Oaths or solemn Affirmations as may from Time to Time be prescribed in that Behalf by the said Governor General in Council and Governors in Council respectively, to act within and for the Towns of *Calcutta*, *Madras*, and *Bombay* respectively, as Justices of the Peace ; and the Persons so to be nominated and appointed to act as Justices of the Peace within and for the Towns aforesaid shall have full Power and Authority to act as such Justices of the Peace, but according only to the Tenor of the respective Commissions wherein such Persons shall be so nominated and appointed.

II. 'And whereas by an Act passed in the Seventh Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Fourth, intituled *An Act to regulate the Appointment of Juries in the* East Indies, it is amongst other things provided and enacted, that the Grand Juries in all Cases, and all Juries for the Trial of Persons professing the Christian Religion, shall consist wholly of Persons professing the Christian Religion: And whereas it is expedient to repeal such Enactment'; be it therefore enacted, That from and after the First Day of *July* One thousand eight

* *Mirror of Parliament*, 1832, Vol. III, p. 2657.

hundred and thirty-two the said recited Provision and Enactment shall be and the same is hereby repealed.*

202. The Bengal Regulation VI. of 1832. (July 31, 1832)

A Regulation *for enabling European Functionaries to avail themselves of the Assistance of respectable Natives in the Administration of Civil or Criminal Justice, and for modifying or dispensing with Futwas by Mahomedan Law Officers in certain Trials:* Passed *by the Vice-President in Council, on the 31st July, 1832.*

I. It is considered desirable to enable the European functionaries who preside in the courts for the administration of civil or criminal justice to avail themselves of the assistance of respectable natives in the decision of suits, or the conduct of trials, which may come before them. It is also offensive to the feelings of many persons who are subject to the Government of this presidency, and do not profess the Mahomedan faith, to be liable to trial and punishment under the provisions of the Mahomedan criminal code. The Regulations which have from time to time been passed by the Government render it unnecessary any longer to maintain that form of trial towards such persons, and it is therefore proper that it should be modified. The power given to single judges of the Courts of Nizamut Adawlut to overrule the futwas delivered by their Mahomedan law officers in criminal trials that may come before them, supersedes the necessity for requiring the delivery of a futwa in all such cases, or for any longer maintaining the same number of officers of that description. With reference to these objects, the following rules have been enacted, to have effect throughout the provinces subject to Fort William.

II. The Governor-General in Council is hereby declared competent to grant the powers specified in the following section of this Regulation to any European officer presiding in a court for the administration of civil justice, such powers to be exercised either in any particular suit, in any specified district, or generally by such officer, in any suits that may come before him, and in any part of the country where he may be employed ; provided that it shall always be competent to the Governor-General in Council to revoke and annul the grant of such powers whenever he may see sufficient cause for so doing.

III. *First.* In the trial of civil suits, original or appeal, it shall be competent to every court in which an European officer thus empowered presides, to avail itself of the assistance of respectable natives in either of the three following ways:

Second. First, by referring the suit, or any point or points in the same, to a punchayet of such persons, who will carry on their inquiries apart from the court, and report to it the result. The reference to the punchayet and its answer shall be in writing, and shall be filed in the suit.

Third. Or, secondly, by constituting two or more such persons assessors or members of the court, with a view to the advantages derivable from their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses. The opinion of each assessor shall be given separately and discussed ; and if any of the assessors, or the

* 2 and 3 Wm. IV, Cap. CXVII.

authority presiding in the court, shall desire it, the opinions of the assessors shall be recorded in writing in the suit.

Fourth. Or, thirdly, by employing them more nearly as a jury. They will then attend during the trial of the suit, will suggest, as it proceeds, such points of inquiry as occur to them; the court, if no objection exists, using every endeavour to procure the required information, and after consultation will deliver in their verdict. The mode of selecting the jurors, the number to be employed, and the manner in which their verdict shall be delivered, are left to the discretion of the judge who presides.

Fifth. It is clearly to be understood that, under all the modes of procedure described in the three preceding clauses, the decision is vested exclusively in the authority presiding in the court.

IV. *First.* The provisions of the preceding section are applicable, but without the necessity for any special authority from the Government, to all Courts of Criminal Justice, in which a commissioner of circuit or a judge of sessions may preside. In all trials in which recourse may be had to the provisions of this Regulation, the futwa of a Mahomedan law officer is declared unnecessary, and may be dispensed with at the option of the court, anything in the existing Regulations to the contrary notwithstanding ; provided, that whenever the futwa is dispensed with, and the crime of which the prisoner is convicted be one which the judge is not specifically empowered by the Regulations to punish, he shall not proceed to pass sentence, but shall refer the case for the consideration of the Nizamut Adawlut, stating at length in the proceedings the opinion of the punchayet, assessors, or jury, and his own opinion as to the crime proved, and the nature and extent of the punishment which should be awarded.

Second. In criminal trials also it is to be understood that, under all the modes of procedure prescribed in this Regulation, the decision is vested exclusively in the officer presiding in the court, provided that the sentence be one which, under the existing Regulations, it is within his competency to pass.

V. In modification of the rules contained in Regulations IX. 1793, and VII. 1803, or other corresponding enactments which provide for the delivery of futwas before the *Courts of Circuit* and the Nizamut Adawlut, and which prescribe that the sentences of those courts should be regulated by the Mahomedan law, it is hereby declared that any person not professing the Mahomedan faith, when brought to trial on a commitment for an offence cognizable under the general Regulations, may claim to be exempted from trial under the provisions of the Mahomedan criminal code ; and in such case the *commissioner of circuit or* judge of sessions presiding on the trial shall comply with such requisition, and shall proceed in one of the three modes referred to in Section IV. of this Regulation, at the same time dispensing with the futwa of the Mahomedan law officer.

VI. In modification of Section LXXVII. Regulation IX. 1793, Section XII. Regulation VIII. 1803, Section VII. Regulation VIII. 1808, Section III. Regulation XVII. 1817, Section IV. Regulation VI. 1831, and any other provisions of the existing Regulations which regulate the number or functions of the head cauzy or mufties of the Courts of Nizamut Adawlut, it is hereby enacted, that the Governor-General in Council shall appoint as many law officers to those

courts as the state of business in each may appear to render requisite. It shall not hereafter be necessary that a futwa be filed by the law officers in every case that may be referred for the final sentence of the Nizamut Adawlut ; but the judge or judges by whom the proceedings shall be reviewed shall exercise their discretion in requiring a futwa or otherwise, as may appear to them expedient or necessary, excepting in cases in which exemption from the futwa is prescribed by Section V. of this Regulation.

203. Extract of remarks of "Samachar Durpun" on the above. (September 15, 1832).

We close this long article with one remark for our friend of the Chundrika. He says we are partial to Ram Mohun Roy ; we confess the charge ; and would now offer as an additional reason for that partiality, that both the benevolent provisions of this Regulation have been distinctly recommended by him to Parliament. If we say that it was the remarks of Ram Mohun Roy which suggested these enactments to the Governor General, then we cannot conceive a greater honour for him ; if it be said that these useful regulations occurred simultaneously to both, without any mutual communication, we must regard this fact as a test of the just views, and the benevolent intentions of the Raja. In either case the Chundrika will see that his dislike of Ram Mohun Roy is misplaced ; that our partiality to him is founded upon reason.*

204. Petition of some of the servants of the East India Company to Parliament against Grant's proposed Jury Bill. (January 22, 1833).

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the undersigned persons who have resided in or are connected with the East Indies.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners are informed that a Bill is now depending before your Lordship's house which is entitled "an act to amend the Law relating to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and of Juries in the East Indies".

That this Bill proposes for the first time to confer on natives of India jurisdiction over British subjects and all other Europeans.

That it appears to your petitioners to be peculiarly desirable in legislating for British India to fall in with the current of human opinions and feelings, and the natural order of things ; but that the present bill seems to be an attempt to alter by force of law that relation between the European and the Asiatic which has conferred on a few strangers the Empire of India.

We observe that the natives of India have hitherto been employed in capacities in which they have been immediately responsible to European energy, judgment, principle, and freedom from prejudice, and while fully recognizing their talents

* *Samachar Durpun*, September 15, 1832.

and many valuable qualities, we see no reason to believe that when acting independently they will possess the firmness and rectitude of understanding, the respect for an oath, the sense of honor, the knowledge of and allowance for different manners, language, religion, and intellectual progress which should fit them to exercise with advantage to the administration of justice, the powers now proposed to be conferred on them.

The persons at Calcutta best qualified and best entitled to officiate as Justices of the Peace and Jurors are precisely those who have recently appealed to this country against the order of the local Government abolishing the barbarous rite of women burning themselves with their husbands' bodies. We conceive it is still too soon, the task of educating and enlightening is still too new and superficial to allow us to expect the unbiassed and independent exercise of native intellect, for instance in a case where an influential public officer is concerned ; or in case of caste and vicinage, or in which a Brahmin or a woman or cow or other object, by them regarded with reverence, may be involved.

It is by tacitly allowing for and avoiding premature collision with such prejudices and superstitions that our Government has been enabled gradually to extend the employment of native agency, and we were apprehensive that the inflexible and impartial spirit of English tribunals and English laws which supposes every individual concerned in administering them to be actuated exclusively, by a pure love for and an accurate apprehension of the principles of justice, is inapplicable at present to the state of native society in India. In the mean time the experiment is under trial under the recent act enabling natives to sit as jurors on each other.

But whatever opinion may be ultimately formed of the fitness of natives of India to perform the duties now proposed to be confided to them, we beg leave humbly to represent to your Lordships that any immediate decision upon it would be premature. Whether the present Bill is to be regarded as an indication of the line of policy to be adopted respecting Europeans at the approaching consideration of the renewal of the East India Company's charter, or whether it is to be viewed as a detached and isolated measure, in either case we submit that the Legislature can scarcely be prepared to pronounce definitively on a matter, the investigation of which is still actually proceeding, and should not at such a moment unnecessarily hamper itself with that which is new and untried.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your Lordships will reject the Bill.

James Watson, Royal Medical Service.
J. H. Lucas, Captain Bengal Army.
James Peach.
Charles Mackinnon.
D. Campbell.
Charles Peach, Lieutenant-Colonel.
R. Mort, Lieut.-Colonel, Madras Army.
R. Leslie Melville, Bengal Civil Service.
R. G. Purtinckson, Lieut.-Colonel, Bengal Army.
L. Kennedy, Bengal Civil Service.
N. Charles Alston.
W. Richards.
G. Durant, Colonel Bengal Army.

G. Henry Lloyd, Major Bengal Army.
H. S. Thornton.
[1]J. M. Richardson, 23 Cornhill.
T. Ush.
D. Sherwood, Colonel Bengal Army.
J. Williamson, Retired Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.
A. G. Revely, late Bengal Civil Service.
W. Burton, Lieutenant-Colonel, Madras Artillery.
J. Rawlings, Captain Artillery.
N. S. Bowler, Lieutenant-Colonel, Madras Army.
A. Ramsay, Bengal Civil Service.
M. Murry, Major Madras Artillery.
George Harris.
T. Shere.
Thomas Lamb, Captain Bengal N.I.
A. Grafton, Major Bombay Army.
T. Linch, Lieutenant-Colonel.
J. Caulfield, Lieutenant-Colonel.
A. Ogilvie.
Walker R. Gilbert, Colonel.
N. Conway, Captain Bengal Army.*

205. Extracts of letter from Rammohun Roy on the passing of Grant's Jury Bill. (January 22, 1833).

By the *Zenobia* we have been favoured from our esteemed countryman in England with a letter, from which we make the following extracts.

"I lately sent you two dispatches by the ships *Georgiana* and *Roxburgh Castle*, and now lose no time in informing you that the East India Juries and Justices Bill has passed into a law, (on the 16th instant,) notwithstanding strenuous opposition on the part of the Company and some of their servants. The natives of India are indebted only to Mr. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control, for this just and liberal measure, which must have the effect of raising them morally and politically. Both the Hindoos and Moossulmans are now entitled, equally with Christians, to serve as Justices of the Peace as well as to sit on both Grand and Petty Juries. No longer can a spirit of religious rancour find its way into India. Now, I beg you to recollect how much despair was expressed when we were preparing the petition to Parliament five or six years ago, praying for the removal of the religious distinctions contained in Mr. Wynn's act. Even in one of your letters received by me some time ago, you intimated that 'there was no use in petitioning Parliament and seeking justice for the natives of India, since only a few speeches are made on the presenting the petition, and then the subject drops.' I fully admit that you were perfectly right as regards the nature and character of the former Government and Parliament. The case is now, however, very much altered. The present Government seems very liberal, and the voice of the mighty people of England grows every day stronger in proportion to the growth of their intelligence. I must at the same time confess that the progress we have made in India as to knowledge or politics, is by no means equal to that made here by the English ; I therefore beg to observe, that moderation and prudence should not be lost sight of by our countrymen. We should not be too hasty and too sanguine in raising our condition, since gradual improvements are most durable.

[1] We did not expect to see this name here, and are at a loss to divine the cause of such a phenomenon.

* *India Gazette*, January 22, 1833

"Though it is impossible for a thinking man not to feel the evils of political subjection and dependence on a foreign people, yet when we reflect on the advantages which we have derived and may hope to derive from our connection with Great Britain, we may be reconciled to the present state of things which promises permanent benefits to our posterity. Besides security from foreign invaders and internal plunderers. let us ask ourselves, whether we could have rescued ourselves from the stigma of female murder (Sutee-burning) but for the English? Whether we could otherwise have obtained the power of equalizing ourselves with the rulers of the country in regard not only to civil but to criminal jurisprudence?

"To shew what opposition was made by the Company and their servants, and how Mr. Grant successfully combated them, I enclose herewith a printed copy of the correspondence between him and the Court of Directors. This suffices to shew the character and disposition of these men towards the natives of India. All the Directors (except Major Carval and Mr. John Forbes) concurred in opposing Mr. Grant ; and not content with this, they stirred up the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* (a friend of Mr. Mill, one of the Directors) to attack the Bill and the author of it in his journal, in order to prejudice the British public against it, (as will be seen by the accompanying number of that paper, dated July 24). This having failed, they got a number of their servants and connections to propose a petition against it at the Oriental Club, to be presented to the House of Lords."

"P.S.—The subject of Lakheraj (Regulation III. 1828) will be soon brought to the notice of the authorities here, and I will lose no time in informing you of the result.

"In continuation of my letter of yesterday I now enclose the copy of the petition therein referred to, which was presented to the House of Lords by the Company's connections here, and which bears only 34 signatures, after a whole month's exertions. It is nevertheless gratifying to observe, that of hundreds of servants and connections of the Company, only 34 have shown opposition to the improvement of the natives of India, and these 34 are *not* persons whose opinions would carry any weight in this country ; while a numerous class of persons of high respectability are favourably disposed, or at least not avowedly opposed, to the interests of the natives of India."

There is one point in these extracts deserving of attention. We mean the remark on the small number of friends which the Court of Directors could muster to oppose the excellent exertions of Mr. C. Grant. This circumstance is in itself a proof of the imbecility of the Directorial efforts when opposed to popular measures. England is now arrived at that degree of civilization which places the reign of opinion on a permanent basis. Nothing that is not consonant to justice can succeed, and the friends of monopoly had better cease to oppose such measures than expose their illiberal but imbecile attempts to failure and merited contempt.

Our countryman suggests the propriety of giving some public token of our sense of gratitude to Lords Grey and Brougham, Mr. Charles Grant and other

friends of Reform and of India. We are fully convinced of the necessity of such a step, and would have forthwith suggested some feasible plan for carrying this design into execution, but for the gloom which of late has been cast on the spirits of every one, in consequence of the recent failures. It is not the time to meet for the purpose of congratulation and rejoicing when we behold some of the best friends of India and of the natives involved in ruin and distress. We must wait until time which wears away the sad remembrance of past misfortunes permit us to rejoice without a mingled feeling of joy and sorrow. We shall not forget the subject, but agitate it so soon as a fit opportunity offers.*

206. Remarks of Rammohun Roy in answer to the objections raised by the Court of Directors against the introduction of the proposed Jury Bill by Mr. Grant. (January 28, 1833).

The East India Directors in their letter to the President of the India Board, dated the 8th December 1831, point out several objections to the Bill proposed to be introduced into Parliament by the President, for rendering natives of India "eligible" to be appointed as Justices of Peace, and to sit on Grand Juries as well as Petit Juries.

I. NATIVE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

The Directors urge, 1st, that "it is not to be expected that they (the natives) will voluntarily sacrifice the time and expense which would be necessary to acquire an adequate knowledge of the English law books and acts of parliament, &c." to fit themselves for the office; or 2dly, "that they would undertake the duties of the office of unpaid magistrates when they found that they would thereby become liable to prosecution in the Supreme Court for any error or neglect of duty", (acts of omission as well as commission).

I regret that the Court of Directors should have overlooked the express language of the intended Bill, which is to render natives "eligible" only, not to make acceptance of office compulsory on them. Persons who choose to qualify themselves by acquiring a competent knowledge of British law, and are willing to incur the responsibility, may be appointed by Government ; those who might decline the labour or the risk would of course not be appointed. It imposes no hardship or difficulty on either party.

With respect, however, to their capability of acquiring the requisite legal knowledge, the Directors themselves entertain no doubt, as admitted a few lines further on, in the following words :—"The Court do not question the intelligence and capacity of the natives". And although it may be easily shewn by a reference to the lists of the former and present European justices of the peace under the local Governments of the Directors, that many of them were, and still are, not possessed of an adequate knowledge of "the English law books and acts of parliament", yet I must refrain from quoting a bad precedent to justify any other improper practice. But I cannot help observing that the Court of

* *Reformer*, quoted by *India Gazette*, January 22, 1833.

Directors are the last persons who should expect an "adequate knowledge of the English law books and acts of parliament" from those whom they wish to be appointed as judges and justices of the peace over the millions of their fellow subjects.

The third objection advanced by the Directors is that "they consider them (the natives) defective in many qualities, particularly firmness of character, which are so necessary to inspire confidence, and so essential to enable them to discharge the duties of a justice of the peace with usefulness and credit".

I am at a loss to reconcile this vague and general charge of unfitness with the tenor of a preceding paragraph, in which the Directors state that "under existing regulations" (which, moreover [they add] may be modified or extended without any farther legislative enactment) "the natives are invested with a considerable degree of authority in the ordinary functions of administering justice, collecting the revenue, and conducting the police and magisterial duties". How is it that persons deficient in "so many qualities", especially "firmness of character", have been entrusted with such important functions, judicial, fiscal, and even magisterial? And what is the wide distinction between the latter and those of justices of the peace that makes persons who are fit for the one unfit for the other?

Fourthly, the Court object that the Bill would give natives "a direct cognizance of the conduct of Europeans," and that this would, they apprehend, "have an injurious effect in lowering the estimation of the European character". Yet the Court must know that such direct cognizance has already existed for many years, and one of the examples of it that may be mentioned, is well known to many European gentlemen now in England, viz. that even the common police officers, native thannadars of the boudary guard in Calcutta, are empowered to apprehend and arrest all Europeans, high or low in rank, whom they find committing any disturbance,—a very common occurrence, which is thus amply provided for and remedied by native controul. Has this coercion, at the very seat of the British Indian Empire, lowered the estimation of the European character, or impaired the British power in India?

II. Native Jurors.

The Directors, lastly, in a similar manner, start objections to the "Trial of Christian" by natives who are not Christians, as jurors. They say, "The Court had always considered that it was a principle of the law of England that there should be some community of feeling between the jurors and the person judged. But what community of feeling, interest or habitude", they ask, can "an Englishman and a Christian" have with "Hindus or Mussulmen" (meaning Mussulmans). "The idea" (they add) "of being tried by Hindoos or Mussulman jurors must be intolerable to every Englishman".

Do the Directors mean to say that Englishmen are the only Christians in India, or do they not know that the British inhabitants form but a small portion of the professors of Christianity? Is it from want of information that they state the question as if it referred to Englishmen alone, or is it from an unwillingness to view it fairly and candidly? Have they never heard of the native Portuguese

Christians, the numerous descendants of the early settlers in the East? Of the Syrian Christians in the South of India? Of the mixed offspring of European and natives becoming every day more numerous ; not to mention the late converts of the Missionaries? Therefore, it is by no means the English residents only whom the Directors wish to exempt from the ordinary operation of the law in the Trial by Jury. Under the term "Christian" in India is comprehended not only the comparatively very limited European community, but all the various races of men above noticed, however faint or imperfect may be the traces of religion which they retain, and however discordant their views in points of faith as Protestants, Catholics, &c ; and under the present system all these by merely professing a kind of Christianity, may acquire the right of trying the great body of Hindoo and Mahommedan inhabitants, whatever their rank or respectability, who adhere to the religion of their forefathers.

If the Hindoos and Mussulmans are to be excluded from acting as jurors on the trial of Christians on account of their want of community of feeling with them, the same objection applies to Christians acting as jurors on the trial of Hindoos and Mussulmans. The principle is the same in both cases, and justice knows no respect of persons.

If it be supposed that religious animosity may exist between opposite sects living together, and that the Hindoos and Mussulmans would be actuated by this feeling in the trial of Christians, it is evident that the same objection would apply to the Native Portuguese and other Christians sitting on the trial of Hindoos and Mussulmans. But such apprehensions are entirely groundless, there being no country in the world in which as yet, the spirit of religious toleration is so prevalent as in India, and it is well known that the native muftis (first appointed by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 to the office of assessors to the judges of circuit, in which capacity they pass verdicts in questions of life and death &c. affecting the Hindoo and Mahommedan and Native Christian population generally) have exercised this power for a period of forty years, in a manner so satisfactory that the Government amid innumerable other alterations has never changed this part of its judicial system. If any charge of religious partiality had ever been established against the native assessors, who, in fact, exercise the functions of jurors, the Government could not, of course, conscientiously have continued them in the exercise of these important duties.

It lies with every Government to establish and preserve a community of feeling, interest, and habitude, among the various classes of its subjects, by treating them all as one great family, without shewing an invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect, but giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomination they may be found. But by pursuing a contrary plan, for "community of feeling" will of course be substituted "religious jealousy" ; for community of interest, a spirit of domination or "ascendency" on the one hand, of hatred and revenge on the other ; and lastly, for "community of habitude" will be established a broad line of demarcation and separation even in conducting public business.

I am quite at a loss to conceive why the Court of Directors instead of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the millions of British subjects in India, should, on the contrary, pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance, in a now harmonious though mixed community, and to revolt the feelings of the most numerous classes of it, particularly the intelligent among the rising generation.

No statesman will, I think, consider such a distinction favourable to the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity ; since it renders the privation of civil rights to particular sects a species of religious persecution, which those subjected to it may glory in suffering for conscience sake, and therefore adhere to their peculiar creeds, however erroneous, with greater obstinacy as a point of honour as well as a matter of faith ; since a change might subject them to a suspicion of being actuated by a desire to gain civil privileges.

While no such invidious distinctions existed between different religious sects, the natives of India were disposed to place confidence in the disposition of the Government to act with justice and impartiality in protecting all classes of its subjects ; they made no complaint on account of their exclusion from political power, and they were ever disposed to forget that their rulers were foreigners of a different country and religion from themselves. This fact however is now painfully obtruded on their attention by the daily operation of the laws themselves as established by the 7th Geo. IV. Cap. 37, s. 3, which has consequently excited more discontent among the intelligent part of the natives than even their total exclusion from the exercise of political rights, as fully proved by their petitions to Parliament on the subject.*

(Signed) RAMMOHUN ROY.

207. Remarks of the "Reformer" on the above. (January 29, 1833).

In our last we made some extracts from the letter of our countryman in England, Rajah Rammohun Roy, and, together with the East India Juries Bill, we copied the petition got up by the Court of Directors against it. We have now the pleasure to lay before our readers the sensible and eloquently written remarks of Rajah Rammohun Roy on the correspondence between the Directors and the Board of Controul, which he furnished to the latter, and with a copy of which we have been obligingly favoured. This valuable paper, which will be found among our correspondences, takes the same view of the subject as we have done ; it even enters into some of the reasonings we urged when expressing our opinion on the correspondence, and considerably strengthens our position by the additional arguments it has brought in the field, and by the judicious manner in which the whole subject is urged upon the attention of the authorities in England.

We shall not attempt to add any other reasoning to those already brought forward, and which have been sufficient to set at a complete nonplus the whole of the Directorial arguments, backed by their ever memorable petition signed by 34 of their intimate friends and connections. We shall, however, make a few

* *India Gazette*, January 28, 1833.

observations on the attempt itself which the Directors, our honourable rulers at Leadenhall Street, made to prevent the admission of their faithful native subjects to the distinguished and important situations to which the liberal policy of the Board of Controul wished to raise them. Setting aside the numerous benefits which the East India Company have derived from their possessions, the well known East India patronage is of itself so valuable a possession to them, that it has been frequently remarked, even if they were to be deprived of every other monopoly, this monopoly of nomination to the Indian service would alone be a sufficient motive for them to wish for a renewal of the Charter. Now is it just, is it reasonable, that a body of merchants who derive such considerable benefits from India, —that is, from the industry of their native subjects,—should place themselves in hostile array against the moral and political advancement of these very subjects? Such selfish measures might perhaps meet with the false laudation of flatterers in a Turkish divan, but in a country like England—in a court like the British Parliament, where opinion unfettered by tyranny reigns,—even in this country which has happily seen the dawn of enlightenment, such measures cannot but meet with the universal censure and obloquy they richly deserve. Be this as it may, what are we to think of the conduct of Mr. Ferguson, who undertook to be the bearer of this petition to the house of Parliament? What are we to think of his repeated pledges given to the natives before his departure from India, that he would on all occasions advocate their cause? Has he already forgotten the speech he made at the farewell dinner at the Town-hall given to him by the natives, and the sentiments he expressed on that occasion? Oh! how fickle is the mind of man! how changeable his sentiments when exposed to the influence of a different atmosphere of circumstances. We would ask Mr. Ferguson how he made his fortune which now enables him to live in affluence. Is it not derived from the natives? May not all that he now possesses be called the property of natives transferred to him with too liberal a hand? Observe the return. Shall we call it gratitude? That would be the grossest misapplication of the term. We shall therefore leave Mr. Ferguson to the silent admonitions of his own conscience, which must at times plead our cause and the cause of justice with silent but more powerful eloquence than we can.

The Court of Directors in offering this kind of hostility to the advancement of the natives of the country, have taken a step which if not retraced but followed up by others of a similar nature, will ultimately tend to make their Government unpopular in India. Not that we mean to insinuate there is any danger of rebellion. The natives are not yet fit for such effectual check to the grasping hand of monopoly —the mass of the people will not even know of the oppressions to which they are frequently subjected: they feel the full effects, it is true, of all that is done to prevent their advancement ; but they are too ignorant to trace these effects to the proper cause. Therefore, when we say that the Company will become unpopular by adopting an illiberal policy, we mean, it will become so in the eyes of those who are sufficiently informed to know what is passing around them, and who can express an opinion on these subjects. The injury, therefore, which the Company will do to their interests by opposing liberal measures, must, under present circumstances, be far more limited than what it would have been, had India been what England is. But are we then to exclaim, "O justice! thou art fled to brutish

beasts, and men have lost their reason?" Are we then to believe that the Company, being aware we are not in a condition to do justice to ourselves, will not render it to us for the sake of that virtue? If the opinion of the few helpless who venture to think in this land of comparative darkness, and perhaps sometimes to express their thoughts, does not influence our rulers, is it to be supposed that these rulers are equally deaf to the powerful voice of the people of England, who are continually crying out to them to do justice to India, and to ameliorate the condition of her children? No ; let us hope for better things from our rulers—even from the Honorable East India Company, whose local Government here has not, we are ready to acknowledge, of late withheld from us some of the privileges, which the existing circumstances and the temper of the times seemed to demand at its hands.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for India than the presence of Rajah Rammohun Roy in England at this juncture. The explanations he is capable of affording on Indian subjects, and the weight which must be attached to his opinion not only from their bearing internal testimony of truth, but also from the circumstance of his being a Hindoo, must operate very powerfully to produce the best results for India. The question of colonial representation has been sufficiently examined to convince every impartial person that the colonies would be greatly benefited by having representatives in Parliament. On the same principle, if Rajah Rammohun Roy is personally at the seat of the Government, he can do a great deal for our good. His well known zeal and talents have already been exerted in the cause of his country, and who can say for how many of the privileges we here enjoy we are not indebted to this faithful friend of India. It is true he is not in the Parliament, and must therefore express his sentiments in that assembly by proxy: but considering the cause he advocates and the influence he enjoys, it will always be easy for him to have very able proxies in Parliament to make those representations in regard to India which he himself might have made had he a seat in that assembly. Rajah Rammohun Roy must not be robbed of that meed of praise which is due to him for the share he has in the advancement of his countrymen in knowledge and civilization ; but the benefits he now confers on his country by his zealous efforts in England, now the fountain head of all the goods and evils which India experiences, surpass all his past services in her cause.

The *Hurkaru* remarks, that when Rajah Rammohun Roy was informed of Lord Ellenborough's intention to support a petition against the India Juries Bill contrary to "his previous pledges to Rammohun Roy to advocate on all occasions an enlightened policy towards his countrymen, he addressed to his Lordship a respectful but eloquent and forcible remonstrance, and the noble Baron made no opposition therefore to the Bill". Add to this the remarks of the Rajah on the correspondence "between the chairs of the Board of Controul and the Direction", which we have already said he furnished to the Board. These and numerous other instances of his zealous services may be quoted to shew that India has much good to expect from the sojournment of Rajah Rammohun Roy in England.

In our last we said that Rajah Rammohun Roy had suggested the propriety of giving some public token of our sense of gratitude to Lords Grey and Brougham, Mr. Charles Grant and other friends of reform and of India ; we think the name of our countryman should not be forgotten whenever such a token is given. His

zealous exertions for the good of India fully entitle him to the gratitude of his countrymen, and whilst expressing our sentiments on the philanthropy of our English friends, it is but just to give that meed of public praise to our much respected countryman which every patriot deserves, perhaps expects, from his nation. We shall not forget this subject ; but watch a fit opportunity to bring it to the notice of our countrymen*

208. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" on the same. (January 29, 1833).

We re-publish from the *Reformer* some remarks by Rammohun Roy on the East India Justice of the Peace and Jurors Bill, which were submitted to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India in reply to the objections of the Directors. The Bill, having passed through all the forms of the Legislature, is now the law of the land, and at the present moment Rammohun Roy's remarks are chiefly valuable as a record of his sentiments and as a proof of the proper measures he has adopted to protect the rights and vindicate the claims of his countrymen. We have before expressed our disappointment at the views he has advanced respecting colonization, which will not bear the slightest examination ; but whatever may have perverted his opinions on that subject, we may infer from the spirit and tenor of his present remarks, that it was not subserviency to the wishes of the Directors, and that he is entitled to the confidence of his countrymen.†

209. Further editorial remarks of the same on the same. (January 29, 1833).

The opposition that a small junto of individuals, the majority as little known as they are influential, have made to that just and indeed indispensable measure, the "East India Juries Bill", is calculated to surprise, whether considered with reference to its perfect inutility, the false grounds on which it is attempted by this means to set up mischievous assertions, or the bad spirit in which the effort had its rise and was brought from its obscure origin to the disgraceful publicity in which it met its defeat. For the facility of business and the conservation of rights and property, as well as for investing the natives of the country with the true dignity of an honourable trust and responsibility, a portion of the higher employments and larger emoluments of office in this country have been, by this Bill, judiciously accorded to the people of India. It might be expected that the benefits of such an arrangement would induce all who look on it to be cautious of hostility, and at least to venture on remonstrance only for reasons of the most conclusive character,—reasons not confined simply to the objection that certain inconveniences were likely to flow from it, as inconveniences flow from most human contrivances however generally well-ordered, but that the sum of mischief would certainly and greatly preponderate over the obvious good. Regarding this

* *Reformer*, quoted by *India Gazette*, January 29, 1833.
† *India Gazette*, January 28, 1833.

act of legislation only prospectively, as a proceeding likely, by its natural operation hereafter, to raise the native character both in intelligence and moral worth, by placing the contemned native in situations favourable to the acquirement and cultivation of those qualities, it might be supposed that the most ordinary benevolence and a very limited insight into expediency would prescribe acquiscence in it, unless a clear and aggravated case could be made out of intermediate injury that could be set off, as too high a price of inconvenience to be paid for such advantages. The petitioners against this bill object to its provisions, as placing the powers of the magistracy and the exercise of judgment in the hands of persons they alledge to be morally unqualified for the trusts reposed in them ; but as a whole people not in a state of barbarism, enlightened by literature and art of a certain rank, and in the possession both of manufactures and trade, can be degraded to this state of moral incapacity only by their political institutions, in which a system of exclusion is known to be the most derogatory, the remedy for the incapacity must be the removal of its cause ; and even these petitioners will admit, if they admit at all the necessity of the change, that to convert incapacity into ability, and to infuse the vigour of high principles throughout a community, the difficulties ought to be endured and incurred which ordinarily in the first instance must result from the use of unqualified agents for the discharge of duties they are thus to be instructed to perform. What shall we say then of this pigmy knot of heartless cavillers who have here openly lent themselves and interposed their puny vice to curtail the measure of legal securities which the legislature intends to yield, without the power of making out one of the cases of hardship they have pretended would follow from the adoption of this new course which almost every other man in England and India regards with approbation? Their flimsy protest, with a disregard to the decent concealment with which prejudice and party-spirit for the most part are disguised, discloses only an alarm at change, principally founded on the apprehension that "the present Bill is to be regarded as an indication of the line of policy to be adopted respecting Europeans at the approaching consideration of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter",—a phrase which implies only a narrow jealousy of native improvement and advancement in the service of the state.

There is one attempt at trickery in this petition,—the only passage indeed distinguished by its particular meanness from the pointless imbecility of the whole, —that will not escape attention. "The persons at Calcutta", say the undersigned, "best qualified and best entitled to officiate as Justices of the Peace and Jurors, are precisely those who have recently appealed to this country against the order of the local Government abolishing the barbarous rite of women burning themselves with their husbands' bodies". Here is an admonition to the *Dhurma Subha* to be cautious in future of putting in the hands of the enemies of India even the show of weapons they may use against her interest. Those enemies, pressed by the emergency of their situation, and never remarkable for delicacy in choosing their means, have endeavoured to abuse the English legislature with the assurance that the small minority they compose constitutes the whole wealth and intelligence of this city, and that unqualified by their act, they

are still the best qualified persons the appointed functionaries on the spot can select for the responsible duties to be awarded to native talents. Were this statement of the petitioners as true as it is utterly unfounded, we should still doubt if religious mistakes would compose an entire disqualification for civil functions. False and illogical as it is, there is no dissuasive in the petition stronger than this, and balancing against its complaints the profit to the country of an extended magistracy, the contempt with which it has been rejected may be considered as affording cause of just gratulation.*

210. Remarks of the "Asiatic Journal" on Grant's Jury Act. (September, 1833).

This bill is the subject of a very long and elaborate hostile article in the *Meerut Observer* of February 14th. The writer observes, "professing as we do the liberal principles of the Benthamite school, we readily admit our bias to advocate any measure which tends to the happiness of the greatest number; but at the same time, as dispassionate observers of passing events and the spirit of the times, we must confess that, as the liberal school is now the dominant party at home, it behoves us to view with considerate attention the passing of a bill which, although considered by superficial writers as a mere nothing, appears to us to involve a principle subversive of European ascendency in this country".

He then animadverts upon Mr. C. Grant, the originator of the measure, in no very laudatory terms, and supposes him to have been mystified by Ram Mohun Roy. He investigates the constitution of the English trial by jury, which he considers "incompatible with the state of society in India", and that "it cannot be established there without infringing the very code of laws whereby it has its being". He endeavours to show that the arguments of Mr. Grant, whom he terms "an utterly inexperienced legislator and a mere political visionary", are shallow and inconclusive.

"A juryman, he observes, should (as his first qualification) possess a proper regard for the sacred nature of his oath, be a perfectly independent man, giving his unbiassed opinion without thought of fear or favour, and look on the person on whom he sits in judgment as his equal in rights and privileges, without the vestige of a sentiment of individual enmity. Now natives of Hindoostan, from high to low, have no idea of the sacred nature of an oath; nor do they consider it in the light we do, as the most binding of all contracts. They are proverbially the least independent of any race pretending to a just conception of the rights of man, and in all their acts, words, and actions, betray a truckling and crying subserviency to the powers that be, and an unlimited acquiscence to the infallibility of the opinion happening to be held by the strongest; they are also utterly unable to look on Englishmen as either their equals in rights and privileges, or in feelings, habits, thoughts, or sympathies; and, moreover, cannot be supposed to consider them (their conquerors and oppressors) without something of a feeling approaching to enmity. Now, such being the case, *we* say that natives of

* *Ibid*, January 29, 1833.

this country must unlearn all this before they can be safely entrusted with the office of jurors under the unmodified English jury law. There are yet other considerations arising out of this view of the question—would the establishment of the English jury law with native jurors, secure or endanger the liberty of the subject? Our opinion is that with the natives as they now are, *slaves,* and the Government as it now is, *despotic,* this measure would endanger instead of securing the unbiassed course of justice". He concludes :—"That we shall, in process of time, be ejected from this country, there is little doubt : let us not be prematurely busied in teaching its inhabitants to lord it over us. When, in the fulness of time, the revolution shall take place, let us trust that European energy, intelligence, and civilization may have done their work toward increasing the sum of happiness in India, and raising the people of this land to a higher rank in the scale of moral and intellectual beings. Should the change occur (owing to the infatuation of the ruling powers) while the great majority shall be still as they are now, the consequences, both to ourselves and the unhappy inhabitants of this country, will be that our "last state will be worse than our first". No measure is, we conceive, more calculated to hurry the catastrophe, than the favourite idea acted on in this instance by Mr. Grant, the superiority, namely, of theory *v.* practice, self-sufficiency *v.* experience, law cut and dry *v.* the provisional decisions of a local government. It is not often that we have occasion to speak favourably of the political measures of the Court of Directors, or to use harsh language towards that enlightened ex-Brahmin, Ram Mohun Roy ; in the present instance, however, we have good reason to break our usual rule in either case. Nothing can be more praiseworthy than the sound sense and cautious policy displayed by the Court, in their earnest recommendation for allowing the use of the free discretion of the local government in regard to Mr. Grant's jury bill ; nor can any thing, we think, be more impolitic than the arguments evidently supplied by the Hindoo patriot, who has sacrificed truth and honesty in order to pander to his passion for theory, and assured Mr. Grant that all India regretted the non-appearance of native grand jurors, while he must have known that such a statement was hardly true when predicated of even the enlightened population of the single city of Calcutta".

The act meets with opponents at Calcutta and Madras.*

* *Asiatic Journal,* September, 1833

ECONOMIC

211. Minutes of some of the Members of the Governor-General's Council on the settlement of Europeans in India. (May 12, 1775 & May 18, 1785).

In consequence of the request made by the Committee to deliver an opinion on the Orders of the Court of Directors, and on a clause in the late Act of Parliament, Mr. Francis begs leave to give in his opinion.

EXTRACT MR. FRANCIS'S MINUTE.

The general principles which establish the necessity of such restrictions (of Europeans from holding lands) have not, in my opinion, lost any part of their force by the increase or confirmation of the British influence in Bengal.

1. If nothing but grants of waste lands were in question, it would still be an object of serious consideration, *first, to the British Government, whether or not it would be advisable to encourage colonization here.*

4. The soil of right belongs to the natives. Former conquerors contented themselves with exacting a tribute from the lands, and left the natives in quiet possession of them.

To alienate them in favour of strangers may be found dangerous as well as an unjust measure. We cannot understand the arts of cultivation in this soil and climate so well as the natives. The landholder will consider us with jealousy and hatred, as the invaders of his rights and property. The ryots, attached by custom, religion and prejudice, to the authority of their ancient masters, will not readily submit to labour for new ones, to whom they are not bound by any natural relation of manners or religion, or by reciprocal obligations of protection and dependence. A few Europeans will be thinly scattered over the face of the country; the native inhabitants will desert it.

10. A measure which tends to throw the farming of lands into the hands of Europeans must, independently of every other consideration, be attended with difficulties prejudicial to the Company's revenues. The mode of collection in this country must at once be rigid, regular and summary. The natives have at all times been subject to the decisions of the Dewan, or of the Courts instituted by his authority. If British subjects, or their servants, are permitted to rent farms, there will be no way of recovering any arrears or balances due from them to the Company, but by instituting suits against the parties in the Supreme Court of Judicature; the delays and expense of such a mode of proceeding are obvious. It appears to me that, under such a system, the revenues could not be realized, the collections would universally fail, and in the end our possession of the country would be very precarious.

MR. MONSON.

If the paragraphs in the general letter of the 17th March had been attended to, and the positive orders then given by the Court of Directors had been observed as invariable laws, I should not have found myself now in the unpleasant situa-

tion, either to censure the acts of the late administration, or to give a sanction to their conduct in opposition to the mandates of my honourable employers.

The question now before the Board, on which I am required to give an opinion, may be considered in a political view:

1st. *Whether it is for the interest of Great Britain to colonize in East India.*
2d. *Whether such a colony would be of advantage to the India Company.*

The migrations to countries believed to be the regions of wealth would be so considerable, that the mother country would soon feel the dire consequences of them.

Every person who comes into this country is impressed with the idea of making, in a short time, a very considerable independent fortune.

The means to be pursued for this end operate to the impoverishment and destruction of the country. If Europeans were allowed to hold farms, as their influence is great, they would in some degree oppress the natives, as in the instance now before us; such checks on the cultivation of the lands will occasion them to fall considerably under their value: besides, they are entirely unacquainted with the mode of culture in this country; the language, the customs and manners of the people are so dissimilar to others, that it is impossible for foreigners to cultivate on equal terms with the natives.

Their manner of life will not permit them to give equal profits to the Government with the natives, as their expense on every article of subsistence is more considerable; consequently, the Europeans will be in a worse condition than the natives, or Government must be satisfied with a less revenue from the lands, in order to enable them to live.

The few wants of the natives, who are satisfied with the mere necessaries of life, will allow them to pay larger taxes to Government from the same quantity of land, in the same state of culture, than an European can afford to do; it is evident, therefore, that it cannot be for the interests of the Company to allow Europeans to become landholders.

The uncultivated lands, under a mild and fixed government, might soon be brought into culture by giving premiums and making advances of money to the natives.

Providence has ordained, by her formation of the constitution of Europeans, that they should not become the cultivators of this country; they can only be task-masters, and will enrich themselves, having no permanent interest here, to the prejudice of the natives, and to the loss of Government.

EXTRACT MR. SHORE'S REMARKS, accompanying Governor-General's Minute.

It is very obvious, that within the last 10 or 12 years, a considerable alteration has taken place in the manners of the people. This alteration is the natural consequence of a greater degree of intimacy with Europeans than they formerly were admitted to. Those parts of our character which first drew their attention were bravery, clemency and good faith; they have since found that we are not wholly destitute of weaknesses and vices, and that Europeans, like all others, are

open to temptation. The respect they entertained for us as individuals, or as a nation, is diminished, and they now consider themselves upon a more equal footing.

The introduction of the Supreme Court of Judicature has largely contributed to the elevation of the natives, and to the depression of Europeans. This system, which was meant for the relief of the natives, has in very few respects answered that object. In many instances it has been a heavy grievance to them, and the natives themselves have found out the art of making the powers of the court the means and instrument of forwarding their own views of interest and oppression, of eluding the power of the Government, and of weakening its authority, by engaging the two tribunals in contests with each other.

Such are the inhabitants of Bengal over whom the European jurisdiction is established. Prudence may, no doubt, render it permanent, but prudence and policy alone can effect this, on a comparison of their numbers with ourselves.*

212. Extract letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors re: settlement of Europeans in India. (November 1, 1788).

Para. 29. If the proposed[1] ([1]Free Trade) scheme were adopted, multitudes of Europeans would flock unto the interior parts of the country; they would naturally possess themselves of the seats of the manufactures abandoned by the Company; eager competition must immediately arise; enhanced prices and debased fabrics follow. The weavers would receive advances from all, each would be ready to take redress into his own hands; disputes between merchants, as well as between them and the manufacturers, would be inevitable; and the country thus, in all probability, become a scene of confusion and disorder, which the distant situation and other avocations of the collectors would little permit them to rectify. How far a salutary freedom and extension of commerce would be promoted by such means, it cannot be hard to determine.†

213. Extract letter from Marquis Cornwallis to Mr. Dundas on the same subject. (November 7, 1794).

Extract Letter from Marquis Cornwallis to Mr. Dundas, dated London, 7th November, 1794.

34. And I am strongly impressed with a conviction that *it will be of essential importance to the interests of Britain, that Europeans should be discouraged and prevented as much as possible from colonizing and settling in our possessions of India.* I look upon it to be highly expedient that it should be a fundamental principle in the new system, not only to relieve the corps of European troops

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, pp. 259-60.
† *Ibid.*

frequently, but also to secure the return of all military men who may be entitled to any provision from the public to their mother country, by rendering all pensions and allowances to them after they are worn out or may have been permitted to retire from the service, payable to those only who shall actually claim them in Europe.*

214. Remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" in appreciation of the support given by the "Sambad Cowmoody" to the question of Colonization, together with a letter and translation of the article published thereon. (March 1, 1828).

We earnestly solicit the attention of our readers to the able letter of A LANDHOLDER, which our Correspondent A. has so obligingly translated for us from the *Sumbud Coumoody*, and we congratulate the community on the fact of the Native Press being devoted to discussions of such importance and calculated to draw closer that bond of union between Natives and Europeans which is the surest and best security for the permanence of British Supremacy in the East.

How gratifying to those who really have at heart the welfare of the country, and deem it inseparable from the continuance of British power, is the conduct of this native Editor as contrasted with that of the *Bull*, and its reverend Proprietor and other instigators of the counter-petition on the sugar question! Here is a native gentleman coming forward in his own Journal to promote harmony between his own countrymen and ours, and to vindicate the European character from aspersions heaped upon it by one whom it peculiarly behoves to be the promoter of concord and who boasting himself a Briton should blush to stigmatize the national character for the sake of furthering a mere party purpose. It is to be hoped however, that the eyes of the deluded natives will now be opened to the true state of the case and that they will learn to view in their true light the disgraceful efforts to which we allude. We imagine indeed, that this salutary effect has already been extensively produced, for after all the vaunting about it—the Counter Petition appears likely to be quietly consigned to the tomb of the capulets ; and we should have left it to that oblivion which its promoters ought to covet, but that we deem it a sacred duty to let the English public see that a portion of the native press, is nobly meriting the support and countenance of a British Government and a British community by defending the British character against secret assailants and open revilers,—a course calculated to create and strengthen that attachment of the conquered to the conquerors, which as we have said, will place our power here upon an indestructible basis.

To The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

Sir,—I have the pleasure of sending you a translation of an article which originally appeared in the *Sumbud Coumoody*, on Tuesday last, and which I under-

* *Ibid*, p. 261.

stand was written by a native of great respectability, whose family is possessed of extensive landed properties in several districts of Bengal, and who himself holds responsible situations under Government, and enjoys a high character among the mercantile community of Calcutta.

Calcutta, Feb. 28, 1828.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
A.

Translation of an article which appeared in the Sumbad Coumoody, on Tuesday last the 26th Feb., 1828.

A few weeks ago there was a meeting held in the Town Hall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to equalize the rates of duty on the Sugar exported from the West Indies and from this country, and to allow British born subjects unrestricted residence in India. When after a free and lengthened discussion, several resolutions were proposed and passed, a Clergyman, whose rulling passion is only contention and quarreling, instead of opposing any of the objects of the meeting openly, expressed to a Native acquaintance his entire disapprobation of the last mentioned object and has since, I understand, persuaded him and some others through him, to present a Counter-Petition, which is now under preparation by the Rev. gentleman.

From what our Native friends heard from that Minister of the Gospel, they have formed the opinion, that the ultimate object of that prayer was to displace the Native Landholders from their respective estates by allowing Europeans to possess the Landed property in the country, and to make a general effort, though the vast number of European residents, to convert the Hindoos to Christianity.

Under this impression, they have drawn up a sketch of their intended Counter Petition, and given the same to the Rev. gentleman to revise it, and to suggest any further arguments that might give weight to the Counter Petition, but being advocates for a bad cause, they have not yet been able to come to a conclusion.

Both in their conversation and writings, they generally refer to the alleged disadvantages and injuries resulting from Indigo plantations throughout the country by European gentlemen, and make attempts to give the public to understand, that Europeans having already occupied a great portion of land productive of paddy, &c. for the plantation of Indigo, the scarcity of rice, the principal food of the Native population, is severely felt and consequently the lower classes have been involved in great distress and trouble from the want of the necessaries of life.

It is however well known to every one, who has an estate in the country, and personally conducts the affairs of his zemindary, to what great degree waste lands have been cultivated in consequence of Indigo plantation and how comfortably the lower classes are spending, their days from the dispersion of money throughout the country by the Indigo Planters. Those peasants who were, in former times forced by their zumendars to labour for them without any remuneration or for the gift of a small quantity of rice, are now enjoying some freedom and comfort under the protection of Indigo Planters, each receiving for his labour, a

salary of about four rupees per month from these Planters of Indigo and many persons of middle rank, who know not how to maintain themselves and their families, being employed as sirkars &c. under these Indigo Planters at a higher salary remain no longer victims to the whims of zumendars and great Banyans. From these circumstances, it can be justly inferred, that should the unrestricted residence of European Gentlemen be permitted, and thereby a great number of Europeans become permanent settlers in different parts of the country to carry on plantation, commerce, &c. the condition of the lower and middling classes would certainly be more improved and the soils better laid out, a circumstance the apprehension of which is mortifying to the self-interested landholders, who are eagerly desirous to trample down the lower and middling classes within their respective circles.

From a reference to the reports made from time to time to Government by its inquisitive Judges, the cruel behaviour of the Zumendars towards their Ryots, will be satisfactorily proved. Besides several landholders, who did not or very seldom visit their respective zumendaries, placing confidence in their managers and stewards, allow them entire power over the cultivation; but the managers generally abuse the trust placed in them, and grievously oppress the Ryots for their own advantage. They ultimately compel many of the cultivators through extortion to fly to other villages, leaving their huts unoccupied and soils totally waste. The false excuse which they offer to their masters is, that owing to the tyranny exercised by Indigo Planters, the revenue is reduced and cultivation diminished, and thereby they keep their masters in darkness.

Under these circumstances, I hope I shall be justified when I say, that whosoever is inclined to oppose the diffusion of knowledge among the natives by the British Government of India, and by many private individuals, among Europeans, or whosoever is disposed to oppose the unrestricted residence of Europeans in this country, provided certain changes shall at the same time, be introduced into the system of administering justice, is an enemy to the natives and to their rising and future generations.*

A LANDHOLDER.

215. Letter of a Landholder in the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the counter-petition of the orthodox Hindoos re : colonization. (March 17, 1828).

To The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

Sir,

The Editor of the *Bull* speaks with surprize of a Native Landholder having manifested a wish "to introduce foreigners and strangers into his country". I must therefore refer the Editor to the pages of history, and assure him for his consolation, that no native Landholder ever invited *foreigners and strangers* to visit his land and settle here. But that it was *foreigners and strangers* that first made their

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* quoted by *John Bull,* March 1, 1828.

appearance in the country and have gradually established themselves as the sole Rulers of this vast empire, inviting their fellow countrymen to follow them and engage in commerce and other honest pursuits.

Now the question is whether these *foreigners and strangers* have proved so obnoxious to the native inhabitants and so injurious to their interests as to justify the latter in regarding the former with enmity and shunning concord and union with them or whether these *foreigners* have been found friendly and beneficial to the native community and instrumental in improving their condition. To come to a conclusion on this point by means of experience, let us next direct our inquiry to the mutual relation existing between those *foreigners* and the natives residing in Calcutta, where a vast number of foreigners of all ranks and descriptions, whom the *John Bull* represents as *"monsters"*, are permitted to reside, to trade, to purchase land and keep up intercourse with the native population and where both equally enjoy the protection of British Law.

We find in Calcutta Seminaries principally established and supported by *foreigners and strangers* for the education of native youths both in English and Bengallee, several of these *foreigners* not only give their contributions for the purpose of diffusing knowledge among the natives, but bestow their labour also gratuitously in promoting education. We find here hundreds of natives of wealth and influence well informed and less prejudiced chiefly owing to their intercourse with *foreigners and strangers*, so that they feel no disgrace or reluctance in following the example of *foreigners* in laying out gardens, building houses and furnishing them according to the fashion of Europe for the enjoyment of health and comfort, they in imitation of their *foreign* neighbours scorn at the idea of "trampling down ryots" or such as are placed under them as their dependents. Again we find in Calcutta thousands of men of the middling classes raised to a degree of independence from the patronage of *foreigners and strangers*, enjoying liberty of thought and action. We daily have an opportunity of observing here that *many* thousands of men of the lower classes, commonly called ryots, are comfortably lodged and decently clothed under the protection and support of *foreigners and strangers*, without proving offensive to their superiors or manifesting a desire "to oppose their hereditary landlords". In appearance, in dress, and in the enjoyment of comfort they in general excel the sons and relations of those petty landholders that reside in the country where these *foreigners and strangers* are forbidden to settle ; and where, in consequence, nothing but ignorance, superstition and poverty prevail.

Let any person endued with common sense and common honesty associate and communicate both with the native inhabitants of Calcutta and those that reside in the country, and compare the intellectual social and domestic condition of the one with the other and then state publicly, whether he considers me justified in saying, that "whosoever is disposed to oppose the unrestricted residence of Europeans in this country, provided certain changes shall at the same time be introduced into the system of administering Justice, as an *enemy* to the natives and to their rising and future generations". It is now left with the Editor of the *Bull* to shew and substantiate the contrary, viz. that these *foreigners* have proved obnoxious

to the native inhabitants and injurious to their interests, should he succeed in the attempt, I shall give up the position.*

March 8th, 1828.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A LANDHOLDER.

216. Minute of Lord William Bentinck on Colonization. (May 30, 1829).

The sentiments expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe have my entire concurrence; and when we adopted the recent Resolution to permit the occupancy of land by Europeans, it was by no means my intention to rest upon that measure as a final one, still less that the grounds assigned for its adoption should be regarded as embracing the general question of the policy to be observed in respect to British settlers. Believing the diffusion of European knowledge and morals among the people of India to be essential to their well being, and convinced that the development of the natural resources of the country depends mainly on the introduction of European capital and skill, it has always been my wish and intention that the above question should be fully considered and discussed, and that the result of our inquiries and deliberations should be submitted at an early period to the authorities at home. But the resolution referred to did not seem to require that we should enter upon so wide a field: our immediate purpose was merely to enlarge the operation of certain rules already partially in force, and the effect of our determination will only be to permit that which is now done covertly, to be done openly. I feel however much indebted to Sir Charles Metcalfe for having thus brought the general subject before the Board, and I gladly seize the opportunity of recording the views and sentiments with which I regard it.

We need not, I imagine, use any laboured argument to prove that it would be infinitely advantageous for India to borrow largely in arts and knowledge from England. The Legislature has expressly declared the truth: its acknowledgment is implied in the daily acts and professions of Government, and in all the efforts of humane individuals and societies for the education of the people. Nor will it, I conceive, be doubted that the diffusion of useful knowledge, and its application to the arts and business of life, must be comparatively tardy, unless we add to precept the example of Europeans, mingling familiarly with the natives in the course of their profession, and practically demonstrating by daily recurring evidence the nature and the value of the principles we desire to inculcate, and of the plans we seek to have adopted. It seems to be almost equally plain, that independently of their influencing the native community in this way, various and important national advantages will result from there being a considerable body of our countrymen, and their descendants, settled in the country. To

* *John Bull*, March 17, 1828.

question it is to deny the superiority which has gained us the dominion of India: it is to doubt whether national character has any effect on national wealth, strength and good government: it is to shut our eyes to all the perils and difficulties of our situation: it is to hold as nothing community of language, sentiment and interest, between the Government and the governed: it is to disregard the evidence afforded by every corner of the globe in which the British flag is hoisted: it is to tell our merchants and our manufacturers that the habits of a people go for nothing in creating a market, and that enterprise, skill and capital, and the credit which creates capital, are of no avail in the production of commodities.

It is possible, however, that the actual condition of things may be regarded by many as sufficiently satisfactory to render questionable the wisdom of any great change, of which the effects are not precisely anticipated; and probably the effects of the measure of giving increased facility to Europeans to settle in the interior, with permission to hold land, may be more generally considered to involve so much hazard of evil as to counterbalance its admitted advantages. Now what is the actual state of the country? Is it not true that the great body of the people is wretchedly poor and ignorant? Do we not every day perceive how little our officers possess the knowledge necessary to their good government, and how much there is wanting between them that community of sentiment and purpose, without which there can be no good government? Are not the files of our civil courts loaded with arrears of business? Does there not prevail so much lying and litigation as to prove either great defects in our tribunals, or a lamentable demoralization in the people, or more truly both? Is it not generally considered to be impossible, without a burthensome stipendiary police (almost as strange to the people as ourselves), to contrive the means of preventing the organization of gangs of plunderers, such as once spread terror through many of our districts? Do not the police establishments, which, chiefly from the want of courage and concord in our native subjects, are thus thought necessary for the prevention of crime, lord it oppressively over the communities of whom they ought to be the aids and instruments? Are not the native officers in all departments alleged to be guilty of much extortion and corruption? Do not the zemindars and revenue farmers often cruelly grind the cultivators? Do not several revolting and brutalizing practices still prevail among the people? Is there anywhere the prospect of our obtaining, in a season of exigency, that co-operation which a community, not avowedly hostile, ought to afford to its rulers? Is it not rather true that we are the objects of dislike to the bulk of those classes who possess the influence, courage, and vigour of character which would enable them to aid us? Do our institutions contain the seeds of self-improvement? Has it not rather been found that our difficulties increase with length of possession? In the midst of financial embarrassment, are we not constantly called upon for new establishments involving fresh burthens? Is not the agriculture of the country, in most places, conducted with a beggarly stock and without skill or enterprise? Are not its manufactures generally in a degraded condition? Is not commercial intercourse spiritless and ill-informed? Is there a single article of

produce, excepting those which Europeans have improved, that is not much inferior to the similar productions of other countries, and can the difference be traced to circumstances of soil and climate? One great staple manufacture being supplanted, is there not reasonable ground to apprehend a failure in the means of effecting the returns, without which no profitable trade can exist, especially in a country tributary to another, as India is to England? Do not the cultivators and manufacturers and merchants alike labour under an oppressive rate of interest, which, with a languid condition of trade, unequivocally evinces poverty and want of credit? Is there not, as indicated in Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute, imminent danger of our failing to realize the income which is necessary to maintain the establishments required for the protection and good government of the country, to say nothing of roads, canals, seminaries, and public improvements of every kind?

The answers to these questions must, I apprehend, be such as to imply that the present condition of things is far from being that with which we could justifiably sit down contented. They must equally, I am satisfied, if rendered in full sincerity and truth, evince that the required improvement can only be sought through the more extensive settlement of European British subjects, and their free admission to the possession of landed property.

No stronger argument can be adduced in favour of the present proposition than is exhibited by the effects which European skill and machinery have produced *against* the prosperity of India. In the last despatch in the Commercial department from the India House, dated 3d September 1828, the Court declare that they are at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in cotton manufactures, both in Bengal and Madras, because through the intervention of power-looms the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and in price. Cotton piece-goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus for ever lost. The Dacca muslins, celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated from the same cause; nor is the silk trade likely long to escape equal ruin. In the same despatch the Court describe the great depression of price which this article sustained in consequence of the diminished cost of the raw material in England, and of the rivalry of British silk handkerchiefs. The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the Report of the Board of Trade, exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution, productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce.

If all the ancient articles of the manufacturing produce of India are swept away, and no new ones created to supply this vacuum on the exports, how will it be possible for commerce to be carried on, and how can any remittances on private or public account be made to Europe ? If bullion alone is to supply the balance, soon will the time arrive, when, under the increased value that scarcity must give to money, it will no longer be possible to realize the revenue at its present nominal amount. It is therefore the bounden duty of Government to neglect no means which may call forth the vast productive powers of the

country, now lying inert from the want of adequate encouragement. It may be confidently asked, whether to the natives singly we may look for success, and whether any great improvement has been ever introduced not exclusively due to European skill. To those who so feelingly deplore the misery of the Indian manufacturer, it will be consolatory to know that a prospect exists of better days, with a hope also that her staple commodity, the cotton manufacture, may still be rescued from annihilation. Mr. Patrick, an "Englishman", is at this moment erecting a very large manufactory for the spinning of cotton-twist by machinery, to be moved by steam; and it is not irrelevant from the object of the present paper to observe, that these great works are erecting upon his own estate, held in fee-simple, under a grant from Warren Hastings. Hitherto the Bengal cotton has been held unfit for conversion into twist, but an improved kind has been lately cultivated, which it is supposed will be quite fit for the purpose. An improved species of tobacco has also been grown, bearing double the value of the native tobacco, and likely to vie with that of America. To whom again is the commerce of India indebted for these new resources in her commercial distress? To Englishmen only, is the triumphant answer. Specimens of both these articles have been sent to the Vice-president of the Board of Trade.

It remains to inquire whether the giving more facility to Europeans to settle in the interior, with the power of acquiring landed property, is likely to be attended with any, and what, hazard of evil. On this point I confess my present sentiments differ considerably from those I once held, and the circumstance makes me with the more confidence oppose myself to opinions held by persons for whom I cannot but entertain a sincere respect.

The apprehension of evil from the extensive settlement of British subjects in the interior of the country seems to rest chiefly on the supposed character of the natives, and on the assumed disposition and conduct of our countrymen. It has been stated that the former are exceedingly jealous of any interference by strangers, and singularly averse to change ; and it has thence been argued that the frequent resort of our countrymen, while it would fail to produce any useful alteration in the habits and sentiments of the people, would almost certainly occasion alarm and discontent, if not disturbance.

The views of the native character in which such references has been founded must, I think, be now admitted to require considerable modification. I shall not dwell on facts drawn from their history under the dominion of our predecessors, nor on the various changes which Hindoo communities appear to have undergone, independently of any impetus from without. Yet the facility with which they have submitted to the successive conquerors of the country ; the relation in which many of the most influential persons and classes among them have stood to foreign rulers ; the habits which many of them have borrowed from the Moslems ; the divisions existing among them ; the rise of new sects in comparatively modern times ; the frequent instances that are met with by our revenue officers of numerous village zemindars professing the Moslem faith, though they distinctly trace their origin to a Hindoo ancestor, and still retain the name and pride of high caste;—all these circumstances powerfully contradict

the notion that there is something immutable in their sentiments and condition. Recent events, and the occurrences now passing under our eyes, still more clearly justify the persuasion, that whatever change would be beneficial for our native subjects we may hope to see adopted, in part at least, at no distant period, if adequate means and motives be presented. I need scarcely mention the increasing demand which almost all who possess the means evince, for various articles of convenience and luxury purely European ; it is in many cases very remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festivals, a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much of what used, in old times, to be distributed among beggars and Brahmins is now in many instances devoted to the ostentatious entertainment of Europeans, and generally the amount expended in useless alms is stated to have been greatly curtailed. The complete and cordial co-operation of the native gentry in promoting education, and in furthering other objects of public utility ; the astonishing progress which a large body of Hindoo youth has made in the acquisition of the English language, literature and science ; the degree in which they have conquered prejudices that might otherwise have been deemed the most inveterate ; (the students in the medical class of the Hindoo college under Dr. Tytler, as well as in the medical native school under Dr. Breton, in which there are pupils of the higher castes, are said to dissect animals, and freely handle the bones of a human skeleton) ; the freedom and the talent with which in many of the essays we lately had exhibited to us, old customs are discussed ; the anxiety evinced at Delhi and at Agra, and elsewhere, for the means of instruction in the English language ; the readiness everywhere shown to profit by such means of instruction as we have afforded ; the facility with which the natives have adapted themselves to new rules and institutions ; the extent to which they have entered into new speculations after the example of our countrymen ; the spirit with which many are said to be now prosecuting that branch of manufacture (indigo) which has alone as yet been fully opened to British enterprise ; the mutual confidence which Europeans and natives evince in their transactions as merchants and bankers ; —these and other circumstances leave in my mind no doubt that our native subjects would profit largely by a more general intercourse with intelligent and respectable Europeans, and would promptly recognise the advantage of it.

As to the practical effect, much must of course depend on the circumstances, character and conduct of the persons who might settle in the country. Let us then consider how far, on this head, there is any just ground of apprehension. It has been supposed that many of the indigo planters resident in the interior have misconducted themselves, acting oppressively towards the natives, and with violence and outrage towards each other. Had the case been so, I must still have thought it just to make large allowances for the peculiar position in which they stand. They have been denied permission to hold lands in their own names. They have been driven to evasion, which has rendered it difficult for them to establish their just claims by legal means, or they have had to procure the plant required by them through a system of advances, which in all branches of trade is known to occasion much embarrassment, and to lead to much fraud.

They have possessed no sufficient means of preventing the encroachment of rival establishments, still less of recovering their dues from needy and improvident ryots. Further, we must not forget that the restrictions imposed upon the resort of Europeans to this country have operated to compel the houses of business often to employ persons in the management of their concerns in the interior whom they would not have employed if they had had a wider scope of choice. It would not be wonderful if abuses should be found to have prevailed under such circumstances, as if the weakness of the law should have sometimes led to violence in the assertion of real or supposed rights. But under all the above circumstances of disadvantage, the result of my inquiries is, a firm persuasion (contrary to the conclusions I had previously been disposed to draw) that the occasional misconduct of the planters is as nothing when contrasted with the sum of good they have diffused around them. In this as in other cases, the exceptions have so attracted attention, as to be mistaken for a fair index of the general course of things. Breaches of the peace being necessarily brought to public notice, the individual instances of misconduct appear under the most aggravated colours ; but the numerous nameless acts, by which the prudent and orderly, while quietly pursuing their own interests, have contributed to the national wealth, and to the comfort of those around them, are unnoticed or unknown. I am assured that much of the agricultural improvement which many of our districts exhibit may be directly traced to the indigo planters therein settled ; and that as a general truth it may be stated (with the exceptions which, in morals, all general truths require to be made), that every factory is in its degree the centre of a circle of improvement, raising the persons employed in it, and the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity, above the general level. The benefit in the individual cases may not be considerable, but it seems to be sufficient to show what might be hoped from a more liberal and enlightened system.

It is imagined, however, that British subjects, if admitted freely to resort to India, and to occupy land, would colonise in great numbers ; that, becoming too strong for the Government, they would violently invade the rights of the people, and at no distant period throw off their allegiance. It is supposed, in short, that we should have exhibited here results similar to those which occurred in the Americas ; that the original inhabitants of the country would be subjected to violence and oppression; and that the colonists, if not swept away by insurrections of their own creating, would soon claim independence, and assume an attitude of hostility to England.

Now, without presuming to pronounce what the course of centuries may produce, under the great changes which British India is, I trust, destined to undergo, we may, I think, confidently assert, that there is no analogy to support the above anticipation of the effects which will flow from an increased facility to Europeans to settle in the interior of this country.

In respect to climate, India may be described as a tropical country, in which the European cannot safely labour in the field, excepting at particular times, and in which the Northern races appear, after a few generations, to lose much of their

physical hardihood. The mountainous tracts, in which a more congenial climate is to be found, present no surface to support any large population. It is already, in all the districts that would invite the adventurer, a densely-peopled country. The land is in most places distinctly appropriated by individuals. The rights of private property are recognised not less clearly than in Europe, and the modes of transfer not less fully defined. Its inhabitants are industrious, accustomed to all kinds of severe toil, readily turning their hands to new arts, frugal in their habits, patient of exertion in the pursuit of gain. Living and rearing families upon little, in a climate suitable to their constitutions, they present to the manufacturer and the agriculturist a singularly cheap supply of labour. They seem to have a peculiar aptitude in accomodating themselves to the various tempers of their masters, and fidelity to their trust is generally held to distinguish them, even when otherwise ranking low in the scale of morals. In the more warlike classes, there is presented to the Government the means of maintaining a large force of excellent soldiers. In almost all classes, excepting the lowest, it may find able instruments of civil government. With strong local attachments, there is no feeling of patriotism to excite their enmity to strangers, or to bind them together in one common enterprise. Their paternal village is dear to them. The name of country, in a large sense, is unknown. Their religion (I speak of the Hindoos) is even more a cause of division among themselves than of separation from others. Rival sects may contend, but, undisturbed, they will never apparently find cause of hostility in the religious practices of those who profess a different creed. The spirit of Hindooism is exclusive, not offensive. These last-mentioned circumstances, which have in all ages rendered it comparatively easy to subjugate India, seem calculated to facilitate the settlement of our countrymen among them ; but they must at the same time operate to prevent such settlement from assuming the state ordinarily exhibited on the introduction of a new race into a country. While the Hindoo religion is maintained there can be no mingling of races, such as has occurred in other countries ; and the line of separation would probably long survive after the original cause had ceased. The Christian rajpoot is not more likely to forget his origin than those who are now found professing the religion of Mahomed ; and all the circumstances above enumerated appear to render it in the highest degree unlikely that Europeans would fill India in such numbers as to colonise, in the ordinary sense of the word, or as to acquire the power of setting Government at defiance ; nor is it more probable that the habits and pursuits of the settlers would incline them to violence.

Without adverting to the difficulty of transporting any large number of labourers to so distant a country, India, I may remark, offers no advantage to the European who has only his labour to bring to market. In providing himself with the comforts necessary to his existence, he must here expend a sum that would much more than purchase an equivalent of native labour ; and the comparative value of the latter must increase with improved skill and knowledge. In agriculture, the chief branch of national industry, and that on which the population mainly depends, it is impossible to economise labour to the same extent as in manufactures ; especially where a tropic sun and periodical rains exert so powerful

an effect on the vegetable world. And the climate must, in almost all our districts, confine the European husbandman to the work of general superintendence. In all branches of industry, indeed, it is European capital, skill and example which India requires, and for which she offers a market. European labour is not wanted, and could not be maintained. The settlers therefore must be men of capital and skill. They must consequently be few in number, contrasted with the population of the country. A labouring class who should attempt to settle would perish. There is no scope for wild adventure. The acquisitions of the settlers must be made in the face of an established Government, and under fixed laws. Wealth can be found only by industry working with superior skill or superior credit.

So far indeed from fearing too great an influx of Europeans, I confess my apprehension is that no encouragement we can hold out will induce them to resort to India in the number that seems to be desirable. Nor does there seem to be any sufficient reason to assume, that even if much more numerous than I conceive possible, they would be disposed, or if disposed, able, to resist the Government and oppress the people. He who looks to derive an income from such speculations as would occupy them, is not likely to find his advantage in scenes of violence and civil commotion. Excepting to the wild tribes, who can bear the climate of unhealthy fastnesses, there is no country in the world perhaps that presents fewer facilities to those who would enter upon a contest with the established Government, even though commanding the active co-operation of a considerable proportion of the people ; and such co-operation could scarcely be looked for by those who had raised themselves by oppressive means. Ages indeed must elapse before the descendants of Europeans can be so numerous as to be formidable to a Government that consults the interests and possesses the attachment of its subjects, even supposing them to retain the vigour and distinctive characteristics of their ancestors. While they are few in number, no one seems to deny that they must side with the Government: and the argument I am contesting seems to admit that the natives will suffer from injustice only when the new settlers and their children are strong enough to set them and the Government at defiance.

But is there, in truth, any reason for considering the interests of the two parties distinct? have we not hitherto found, that where the field has been equally open, the accumulation of wealth by the natives has fully kept pace with that of our countrymen ; nay, that the former, as being the most necessary to their joint concerns, and the most keenly alive to the means of forwarding his private interests, has generally had the advantage? Is it not extravagant to suppose, that within any period of time on which it would be reasonable to speculate in prospective legislation, the natives can be superseded by Europeans, or their co-operation slighted?

The whole indeed of the objections to the settlement of our countrymen which I have been now considering rest on a train of argument, in meeting which the chief difficulty is that of so stating it as to bear the semblance of sound reason. If an enemy to our faith and nation were to urge it, starting with the assumption that the Government would league with the settlers in a scheme of injustice and spoliation, one could easily imagine that he might find materials of plausible and

insidious declamation ; but it does seem to be strangely paradoxical when the same conclusion is drawn by an Englishman loving his country, and justly proud of it.

But it may be said that the danger lies in the union of the British settlers with the natives of the country ; and this is a more intelligible ground of argument. It assumes, however, a vast change to have occurred in the frame of society, such as can scarcely be looked for in centuries to come ; I might almost say a vast improvement, which would imply that the time had arrived when it would be wise in England to leave India to govern itself. For assuredly, if we suppose the distinctions of tribe and caste to have ceased, and conceive these rich and extensive regions to be filled with an united people, capable of appreciating and asserting political freedom, we must complete the picture by imagining that England has (voluntarily or involuntarily) ceased to withhold privileges she has taught them to exercise. So long, however, as our countrymen and their Christian descendants are few in number, and that must be for centuries, they must cling to the Government, even supposing, what is not likely, that they have no closer connexions with England. Nay, even community of faith and language, or of language alone, will, I conceive, tend to bind the possessors of it to our interests (if we do not utterly neglect theirs) by a tie stronger than that which connects the Hindoos of different castes and sects, and will, if they be numerous, greatly strengthen our hold of the country. The British settlers and their descendants, at least the more wealthy of them, will probably maintain a very close connexion with the mother country. Some will reside in it ; many will visit it ; many will send thither their children to be educated ; many will look to it as the place of retirement from active life ; all will depend upon it for much of their comfort and wealth. Their relation to the Government will be proportionably close. And that the residence in the interior of the country of any considerable number of such persons in the capacity of landholders and merchants would add to the efficiency and strength of our Government seems to me to be certain. They would open to us much useful information now difficult of attainment. The complaints of mismanagement on the part of the local authorities would be made with comparative freedom. The growth of discontent might thus be nipped in the bud ; projects of disturbance would be more readily discovered ; the local influence of our countrymen, and the sentiments of those who had acquired from them our habits, our language, our knowledge or our creed, would operate to break the current of any general feeling adverse to our rule. In each individual we should, on the occurrence of any emergency, have an active and well-informed agent for local purposes. Their number, though altogether feeble when opposed to the arms and unaided by the resources of the state, might powerfully reinforce our means of putting down internal our resisting external hostility. In the civil branch of Government, they would present a cheap and excellent substitute for much of the existing expensive and inefficient establishments. Our police might then really be founded on the only good foundation, the influence and authority of local residents. In our courts of judicature we might then hope to introduce, with comparative facility, the best institutions of our country. Can we doubt that they would add largely to the wealth of the country, and greatly facilitate the realization of the revenue necessary to its security and good government? or can we imagine that they would not

powerfully contribute to the diffusion of knowledge, which would raise the moral and intellectual condition of our native subjects, and to the introduction of arts, machinery and works of skill, calculated to enlarge the productive powers and correct the physical disadvantages of the country?

I have not particularly adverted to the Mussulman portion of our subjects, because I do not imagine that any stress has ever been laid upon the class in the present argument, because it appears to me to be self-evident that an increase in the number of British or Christian inhabitants must diminish the risk of danger and trouble from them, and because I believe that, so long as they profess the intolerant doctrines of their prophet and remember the station they once held, their hostility can only be neutralized by their interests and their fears and by their knowledge of our power.

I do not of course overlook the circumstance, that in proportion as Europeans resort to the country in greater numbers, the increase of the mixed race must be accelerated. But this I by no means regard as a source of danger. Quite the contrary. The race in question must necessarily be much more closely connected with the nation of their fathers, by community of language, habits and religion, than with the people to whom their mothers may have belonged, among whom, if Hindoos, they must hold the lowest rank, and by whom, if Moselmens, they are little likely to be respected. It is, indeed, from association with the governing class that they must chiefly look for station, wealth and influence, within any period to which we can reasonably extend our speculations.

I am aware that there exists in many quarters an uneasy feeling in respect to the East Indians. It seems to me to be greatly misplaced. Their number is inconsiderable. The evident disposition of all who raise themselves to opulence and consideration is to take their place with Englishmen according to their rank. The lower classes are not politically to be distinguished from natives, excepting that, as Christians, they are of course nearly allied to us. That many individuals of the class are discontented and unhappy is, I fear, true. Their condition is in several respects an unhappy one. Their education has not, I believe, been hitherto, generally speaking, judicious. There has been little opening for their enterprise, and they have not shown much enterprise in using the opportunities afforded them. There are some striking exceptions, but these are themselves the first to admit the general truth. I should greatly rejoice to see a wider field opened for the industry and skill of the class in question ; and such will, I think, be one of the happy effects of affording a greater facility to Europeans to settle in the interior and to occupy lands. Fathers will thus have the means of giving useful and profitable employment to their children to a much greater extent than they now have ; and the wants of European settlers and their families will soon create various demands now unknown to the country, in supplying which the industry of all classes will find a ready market.

On whatever side therefore the subject is considered, the more does it present the prospect of advantage from the free resort of Englishmen to India. On one supposition only can I entertain the apprehension of danger. Undoubtedly, the presence of our countrymen, and the knowledge which they are likely to diffuse, will render the people more conscious of their rights and better able to understand

the duties of their governors. Were it our purpose to pursue a course of injustice, to withhold from the people the privileges they may fairly claim and could advantageously exercise, to sport with their lives, their properties or their feelings, by arbitrary acts, by grinding extortion, or by capricious innovation, we should act most unwisely in permitting one British subject to enter the country, excepting as an accomplice in the scheme ; we should be acting madly in spreading abroad the lights of knowledge. But our designs being benevolent towards India, let us not withhold what best would serve her. Our duty being to maintain the dominion of England, let us not reject the best means of confirming it. Our care being equally the interests of both countries, let us not exclude those who would best promote and combine them.

With the above sentiments, I must of course feel most anxious that the state of the law should be so amended as to oppose no obstacle to the settlement of British subjects in the interior. It is clear that if any large number of that class become proprietors of land, or reside for other purposes at a distance from the Presidency, many serious inconveniences may be experienced, unless they be subject, with the rest of the inhabitants, to the authority of the local courts. The defects in the legislative provisions relative to civil suits must therefore be amended. The jurisdiction of the criminal tribunals now confined to trespass and assault must be extended. The doubts that attach to both branches must be removed. It would be the height of absurdity to argue, from the inefficiency of our existing institutions, against the admission of Europeans. The remedy, it is clear, is not the exclusion of these, but the reform of our system.

Further, it appears to be no less evident that the authority to be exercised by the Supreme Court should be better defined, and its process regulated. How this can best be done I do not now propose to discuss. Before leaving Bengal, I desired the secretary to prepare materials for our deliberation ; and I hope soon to learn that considerable progress has been made in the work. My present impression is that the Supreme Court, instead of standing isolated from the Government and from the local tribunals, should be rendered a component part of our judicial establishments, the whole being remodelled, with many alterations, into one harmonious system ; and that the Government (in conjunction possibly with one or more of the King's judges) should be vested with power to legislate equally for all classes, Europeans and native. By such a plan all difficulties might easily be conquered, and all the doubts and embarrassments now incident to the acts of a legislative body, separated by half the globe, would be obviated. But even should Parliament, in its wisdom, reserve to itself the power of legislating for India (the local legislature would in any event remain subject to the control of the home authorities), there may not, I trust, be any serious difficulty in obtaining the enactment of such laws as may afford to all classes equal protection, and as may secure for all the cheap and prompt administration of justice by able and independent judges adequately controlled.*

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK.

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, pp. 274-80.

217. Extract letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors re: the same. (January 1, 1830).

2. We propose to confine the present communication to the subject of your Honourable Court's despatch of the 8th July last relative to the permission granted to Europeans to hold lands in the interior of the country.

3. The papers transmitted to you on the 1st September last will have sufficiently apprized you of the sentiments entertained by the Governor-general and by Sir Charles Metcalfe respectively, in regard to the advantages to be anticipated from the freer resort of Europeans to this country, with increased facilities of acquiring the possession of lands. We have the honour of forwarding (numbers in the packet) copies of Minutes recorded by the Governor-general and by Mr. Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, on a consideration of the despatch now acknowledged.

4. The Governor-general's Minute containing a full exposition of the scope and purport of the Resolution passed by us on the 17th February 1829, it appears to be unnecessary to trouble your Honourable Court with any detailed explanation on that point; and it can scarcely be necessary for us to expatiate on the benefits which England and India would, in our judgment, alike derive from the more extensive application of the skill, enterprise and capital of British subjects, to the improvement of the agricultural and commercial resources of the latter country. On that head there is, we imagine, but little difference of opinion; and the sentiments entertained by us are fully stated in the papers, of which copies will accompany this despatch.

5. It may be proper, however, to say a few words on the subject of that part of your despatch wherein you intimate doubts as to the utility of long leases on an assured tenure for the cultivation of indigo. After stating the circumstances which render a certain length of tenure requisite for the profitable cultivation of coffee, you observe that "these circumstances do not exist with regard to indigo. The cultivation of indigo (you add) is annual, and a single year, or at most a few years, will indemnify the cultivator for the expense he has incurred". This subject you will find particularly noticed in the 13th and 14th paragraphs of the Governor-general's Minute, to which we beg to refer you. The opinion entertained upon it by those connected with the trade is strongly expressed in the Memorial which led to our Resolution of the 17th February, and every information we possess induces the belief that they have not exaggerated the disadvantages to which they were subjected by the prohibitory law. The notorious fact that almost all the European planters found it necessary to rent lands in the name of their servants, subject to all the risks and embarrassment of such a proceeding, might be sufficient to establish the benefit of a legalized occupancy. The understood practice of establishments, belonging wholly or in part to persons born in the country, leads to the same conclusion ; and a brief consideration of the nature of the trade and of the circumstances of the country, with the detailed explanations which your Honourable Court can readily obtain from gentlemen practically conversant with the subject, will serve to indicate the nature and extent of the benefits contemplated. Every magistrate in Bengal

can attest the litigation and other demoralizing effects which have frequently resulted from the competition of rival factories ; a competition which, instead of proving mischievous to the community, and often ruinous to the parties, would be greatly beneficial to the country if the indigo planters were generally permitted to stipulate for the possession and usufruct of defined fields ; and so could give precision to their contracts with the cultivators, and provide the means of promptly enforcing their fulfilment. The experience of your Honourable Court in regard to that part of your investment which is provided by advances, will afford you the means of estimating the losses and difficulties to which an indigo planter is exposed, who has to trust to engagements with needy and improvident ryots for the produce of fields on which he is not allowed to have any legal lien, and the rent of which is payable to another, under the ill-defined relations of the zemindarry system. And where the native zemindars have turned their attention to this speculation, as they have of late years done to some extent, it is plain that the European is placed on a footing of great disadvantage, if denied the best, indeed the only means by which he can effectually and honestly counteract the intrigue, chicanery and fraud by which, in the present state of morals in the bulk of the native community, he must expect to be assailed. Even without any such influence or temptation it frequently happens, we are told, that the ryots take advances from two parties, and cultivate for neither: and the outstanding balances belonging to almost every factory that is exposed to sale may be taken as conclusive proof that large losses are sustained by their undertaking what they can not, or will not, fulfil. It is not surely necessary to suppose the exercise of any improper influence, in order to show that the planter would be able to make advances with much increased security, if standing towards the cultivator in the character of landlord, possessing a well-defined lien on the articles produced with his capital. The same cause would, we doubt not, greatly ameliorate the condition of the ryots ; for if the planters did not grossly misapprehend their own interests, they would certainly, we conceive, pursue them through a course of fair dealing and liberality, since no one can hesitate in preferring the advantage of having to deal on terms of mutual benefit, with comfortable and cheerful people, well supplied with agricultural stock, and enjoying a just share in the fruits of their industry, to any speculation of forcing, through the employment of a host of native servants, a dissatisfied and beggarly tenantry to fulfil the stipulations of a hard-driven or unequal bargain ; and in proportion as Europeans are allowed to hold lands on an assured tenure, we should confidently anticipate a gradual rise in the circumstances of the agricultural community, and the more adequate supply of agricultural stock, now generally obtained by the ryots at a ruinous charge of interest, and often but scantily supplied. Further, it appears to us that nothing could be more beneficial than the gradual relinquishment of the system of advances, under which it can scarcely be said that the cultivators are the owners of any of the produce raised by them ; a system which cannot but lead to improvidence, carelessness and expense. Now this end will, we think, be greatly promoted by the more extensive occupation of land by Europeans and their descendants ; and no class is likely to benefit more than the ryots by the increased value and certainty

which will, we trust, be given to their rights and interests as the occupation of our countrymen is extended.

6. Your Honourable Court appear to doubt whether, in so far as concerns indigo, an improved tillage can be contemplated from the removal of the restrictions to the occupancy of land by Europeans. We understand, however, that even in Bengal many intelligent individuals already speculate on such improvement. We are not prepared to say how far skill and science can in this case be applied to an improvement of the process of culture and dressing land ; but there are, we believe, extensive tracts, now of little value, which might probably be made productive by irrigation, or by the admission of the waters of the Ganges and other streams when loaded with alluvial deposit ; and in Behar and the Western Provinces it is, we conceive, certain that planters would be disposed to ensure and extend irrigation by a considerable outlay of capital, if vested with an assured tenure under a long lease.

7. Your Honourable Court will best be able to judge how far the indigo trade of Bengal is liable to suffer from the competition of other countries. To whatever extent, and in whatever quarter the danger may exist, it is plain that of all means which can be taken for averting it, the best, indeed the only effectual one, must be sought in keeping down the cost of production. The high prices which have recently prevailed, however advantageous to individuals, have been consequently regarded by us with some anxiety: the evil of over-production, though the individual loss is of course to be deprecated, may safely be left to work its own cure. But in a commercial view nothing could be more calamitous than to lose this great staple; and if there be the slightest ground for the apprehension of foreign competition, which some intelligent gentlemen have expressed, we can conceive nothing more mortifying and discreditable to the administration of this country than to discover, possibly too late for remedy, that, yielding to speculative fears, they had fostered the trade of our rivals by withholding from our countrymen the facilities which they required in order to preserve this important branch of national commerce. We shall most deeply therefore lament if it shall appear to your Honourable Court (contrary to our hope and trust) that paramount considerations require you to deny to the British settlers those privileges in regard to the occupancy of land by which they expect permanently and unobjectionably to diminish the expenses at which the indigo of Bengal and its dependent provinces is now produced.

8. We shall not further dwell on the advantages likely to follow the freer admission of Europeans to the possession of landed property; as already observed, they are, we imagine, generally admitted. The question how far the measures proposed to be adopted for the purpose of securing the contemplated benefits are likely to be attended with the risk of preponderating evils is one upon which a greater diversity of sentiment may be expected to exist. On that question, therefore, it may be proper that we should submit some remarks, in addition to the observations contained in the Minutes now and formerly transmitted to you.

9. In the first place, we may observe, that the circumstances of the country (at least of those districts in which Europeans are at all likely to settle) have

greatly changed since the prohibitory rules were first adopted. In the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, a large portion of the zemindaries formerly held or managed by natives, has, you are aware, been transferred, by public or private sale, to persons having no hereditary connexion with the tracts of which they have so acquired the property or management. Of the purchasers many are inhabitants of Calcutta, who or whose families acquired wealth, either by commercial speculations, conducted in close communication with Europeans, or in the service of the Government under European superiors. The habits and notions of such men are necessarily very different from those of the persons whose tenures they have acquired. Several of them are well acquainted with our language; all are familiar with the system of our government; and the progress of education which, you are aware, has been singularly rapid among the Hindoo youth of Calcutta, will every day tend to create a community of sentiment between the natives and Europeans, and to remove impediments to their free intercourse. Already, indeed, we are informed, that there are instances of the employment by native zemindars of European gentlemen in the superintendence of indigo factories established on their estates. Generally, too, it is to be observed that in our old provinces the people have now long been accustomed to a plan of government, according to which every situation of importance and high emolument is vested in European officers, while the subordinate offices are generally held by men of their selection, guided by their instructions and example, or trained in the execution of laws wholly of our enactment. The interference of the European functionaries (direct or indirect) pervades every corner of their districts. The character of the functions which they are required to discharge, whether as judges and magistrates in crowded cutcherries, or as collectors entering into detailed inquiries as to the minutest particulars of the rights and interests of the people, is equally calculated to do away that strangeness with which in new countries the Asiatic must necessarily regard the European. Our native officers are the creatures of our will. In many districts, too, the British settlers are already numerous. Howsoever multiplied, their residence could no longer occasion the fears and jealousies that might be supposed to follow the introduction of a race of strangers, even if the system of our Government, and the course of proceedings prescribed for its officers, had not operated to accustom the community to the European character. In so far as these observations are applicable, it seems to be clear that there is little room for the apprehensions that might be entertained if it were proposed suddenly to introduce a body of British adventurers into countries recently conquered or acquired, and still possessed by natives of influence and rank, reared under the despotic government of Indian rulers.

10. Even less reasonable do we consider the supposition that the possession of lands would be acquired by Europeans in a manner calculated to excite disturbances. Of all property it is the least likely to be wrongfully taken from its owner, excepting through the operation of bad laws, or laws badly administered; and as the eyes of Government, of its magistrates, and of the community, would be specially directed to the conduct of the European settlers they are of all classes the least likely to be shrouded in the obscurity which must cover usurpations result-

ing from such a cause. Public sales in liquidation of arrears of revenue are in the Lower Provinces now rare, though numerous estates are advertised. The rules under which they are conducted are such as afford every reasonable security against abuse ; and any abuse practised by or in favour of an European would be much more easily detected than malpractices to which natives alone were parties ; since of the latter, generally speaking, our European functionaries can know little but the name. In the Western Provinces sales for arrears are now happily almost unknown. None are made without the express sanction of Government ; and the errors and misapprehensions in regard to the rights and interests of the several classes connected with the land, to which mainly are to be ascribed the extensive alienations of property that occurred in several of those provinces, are, we trust, in a great measure connected. It does not consequently appear to us that any argument against encouraging Europeans to settle in the interior, by granting to them the privilege of holding landed property, can be drawn from the unhappy prevalence of sales in former periods ; on the contrary, the more we see reason to apprehend that our institutions have hitherto failed to secure the rights of the people, or that our native officers have oppressed of defrauded them, the stronger is our persuasion of the advantages of granting the privilege in question to our countrymen, because the presence of a considerable number of them in the interior of the districts must tend essentially to secure for our judges and collectors (if not wilfully blind) that information, to the want of which past failures must chiefly be ascribed.

11. We freely admit, that in proportion as European settlers multiply, the necessity of modifying the law relative to the administration of civil and criminal justice will be more urgently felt ; but the changes which the utmost conceivable increase in their numbers would render necessary may, we conceive, be easily made without any essential alteration in the general system established for the administration of affairs. On this subject we shall have occasion at an early period again to address you. In the mean time it cannot, we conceive, be necessary to use any laboured argument to satisfy your Honourable Court that, with suitable laws, the servants of the Honourable Court will, under your directions and control, be found abundantly competent to meet the exigencies of the case, consistently with the best interests of England and of India. To imagine that the European settlers will violently invade the rights and disturb the possession of the natives in the face of established law, would be to admit a supposition equally discreditable to your Government and remote from probability. So far indeed from expecting that the admission of Europeans to the privilege of purchasing and holding landed property will prove injurious to the several classes connected with the land, we should confidently anticipate that the latter will gain decidedly, and in proportion as the competition extends, since every thing by which the land can be rendered more productive, or by which the demand for it is enlarged, must be advantageous to the owners of it ; and of land already owned and occupied, the European speculators must seek to acquire the possession by offering to those who now possess it advantages beyond what they at present enjoy, while their extensive acquisition of it, under the rules that have been prescribed (and independently of those rules), will, we conceive, tend greatly to promote the ascertain-

ment, and consequent security, of the rights and interest of the ryots, and of all classes connected with the land.

12. If it be alleged that the power and influence of a landlord are liable to be abused, we must of course admit the truth ; but we would submit, that in proportion as landlords are enlightened and capable of fully understanding and steadily pursuing their true interests, in the same proportion may it be expected that their conduct will be distinguished by kindness and moderation towards their tenants. We are not aware of any case in which an European possessing lands has been complained against by those holding under him (the affrays and litigation that are complained of have arisen chiefly out of causes which a legalized occupancy of land would obviate). It has been stated to us that instances are not unfrequent in which the tenantry of a village have in a body requested that the planter with whom they had dealings would take the farm of it ; and knowing, as your Honourable Court well does, the oppression often practised by the native zemindars and renters, and still more by their omlah, when the hereditary manager is, as they too often are, imbecile or profligate, we do not surely ask too much for our countrymen when we would have it believed that, by their admission to the privilege of holding land, the agricultural classes would generally be gainers.

13. It is no doubt true that in many places, especially in the Western Provinces, a careful advertence must be had, in all arrangements relating to landed property, to the peculiar local rights and customs connected with the law of succession, vicinage, and the usages of the several village communities. All such laws and usages it is one main object of the settlement now in progress to ascertain and record, on the basis of a detailed census and a field measurement. The result will, we trust, be such as to enable our officers distinctly to comprehend and maintain all the rights which the people possess or justly claim ; and possibly in some cases they may prove to be inconsistent with the admission of Europeans to the possession of any beneficial interest in the soil: in such cases of course the privileges we have proposed to grant would be inoperative. In others, again, the interest which a stranger can acquire from the actual occupant, or from the renter, will be variously modified by the rights belonging to other individuals or to the community. But all such considerations equally apply to Christians born in the country, to Moslems in their relation to Hindoos, and to the different castes, tribes and families of Hindoos in relation to each other ; and as a considerable number of villages in the Western Provinces are already held by gentlemen born in the country, there is no reason to conclude that they will be found to oppose any obstacle to the settlement of Europeans, though few of those probably will desire to settle in the remoter districts.

14. In the case in question, there seems to be no room for the misuse of that superior vigour of character and influence which may be supposed to attach to the British character, unless we admit the supposition of a misconduct on the part of those who have to administer and enforce the laws, inconsistent with all security for the persons and properties of the people. In all branches of commerce and industry, not affected by special restrictive laws, we find the natives and Europeans pursuing their several interests without anything like hostile colli-

sion ; and if in such pursuits as require superior science, energy or credit, the advantage is on the side of the latter, it is an advantage fairly won by the superior knowledge and the higher morals that distinguish our country. This ground of distinction will, we trust, gradually be narrowed, and at length disappear ; and on the other hand, the natives of India have many peculiarities which Europeans can never be expected to acquire, and which in several lines of life already give them the advantage in a competition with the latter. Already, too, landed property bears a high value in the market ; instances, we understand, not being wanting of sales to natives at 20 years' purchase of the net rent. Excepting, therefore, in cases in which an European may see clearly the means of introducing some essential improvement, there can be no prospect of such extensive gains as will tempt to wild speculation. In proportion as the country improves and wealth accumulates, the value of land must be expected to rise, especially if, by an improved administration of the law, all classes shall be better maintained in the possession of their just rights, and in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry ; and the natives of the country may before long be expected to emulate their European neighbours in all improvements introduced by them, especially in agriculture. Supposing, therefore, for the sake of argument, that a large increase of European settlers would be disadvantageous, there is, we conceive, no reasonable ground for the notion that if the land be freely opened to their speculations, a crowd of adventurers of that class will resort to this country. And satisfied as we are that the best interests of England and India will be promoted by the free admission to the latter of European industry and enterprise, our persuasion is scarcely less strong, that with every possible encouragement, the settlement of our countrymen will fall far short of the number which is to be desired, whether regard be had to the extension of commerce and agriculture, to the good order of the country, to the prompt, cheap and equal administration of good law, to the improvement of the people in knowledge and morals, or to the strength and security of our power.

15. With the sentiments above stated, and those more fully explained in our several Minutes, we earnestly hope and trust that your Honourable Court and His Majesty's Government will see reason to relax the restrictions you have judged it necessary to impose on the admission of Europeans to the privileges of holding landed property.

16. We do not understand the orders now under consideration to have any reference to the unoccupied forests and islands of the Sunderbunds, on the subject of which we shall do ourselves the honour of reporting separately. You may of course rely upon our regulating our future conduct in regard to all other parts of the country by the instructions you have now given to us ; and much as we must lament your disapprobation of the measures adopted by us, we have satisfaction in stating that the extent to which the Government is committed by any actual engagements under the proceeding disapproved by you, is altogether inconsiderable.*

* *Ibid*, pp. 280-84.

218. Reply from the Court of Directors to the above. (April 6, 1831).

OCCUPATION OF LAND BY EUROPEANS.

Government of opinion that the grant of long leases would obviate the necessity of Europeans renting lands in the names of their servants, diminish litigation, improve the condition of the ryot, enhance the value of land, supersede the system of advances, bring wastes under culture, keep down prices, avert the evils of foreign competition, and preserve the indigo trade to India. Government anticipate no evils from the free resort of Europeans to India, on the following grounds: that their being under the eye of Government is a guarantee for their good conduct; that education is progressive; that European agency already exists to a great extent; that no complaints have reached Government of the conduct of European holders; and because of the superior knowledge, and "the higher morals that distinguish our countrymen." If a free resort to India were allowed, Government think there would rather be a deficiency than a redundancy of European settlers. On all these grounds, Government urge the Court to relax their restrictive orders.

Para. 1. We shall now reply to your letter dated 1st January 1830.

2. We have given to this letter and its accompanying documents that attention which the importance of the subject demands ; but, on consideration, we are not disposed to suggest any other course than that which we communicated to you in our despatch dated the 8th July 1829 ; you will therefore continue to act implicitly on the instructions therein conveyed.*

219. Petition of the orthodox Hindoos to Parliament against Colonization. (March, 1829).

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the Native Zemindars, Talookdars, or Landholders of Bengal.

Sheweth, that your petitioners are exceedingly aggrieved at learning that the British inhabitants of Calcutta has transmitted a petition to be presented to your honourable House, praying, among other things, for abolishing all the restrictions on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in India, in consequence of which your petitioners beg leave respectfully to lay before parliament their grievances for consideration and redress.

That your petitioners are under great alarm, and humbly declare, that if Europeans (who are not subject to the jurisdiction of the country courts), be allowed to settle in Hindustan, without any restriction, they would spread all over the country and injure the stability of this empire ; for which reason the local government in India was pleased to pass Regulation 38 of 1798, directing that "No European, of whatever nation or description, shall purchase, rent, or occupy, directly or indirectly, any land out of the limits of the town of Calcutta,

* *Ibid*, p. 287.

without the sanction of the Governor-general in Council, and all persons now so holding land beyond the limits of Calcutta, without having obtained such permission in opposition to the repeated prohibitions of government, or who may hereafter so purchase, rent, or occupy land, shall be liable to be dispossessed of the land, at the discretion of the Governor-general in Council, nor shall they be entitled to any indemnification for buildings which they may have erected, or other account".

That in the districts where the indigo-planters and others have in a manner settled themselves, the people are more injured and distressed than in other parts of the country, in consequence of such indigo planters taking possession of lands by force, sowing indigo by destroying rice-plant (which is the cause of diminution in the produce of rice, and dearth of the articles of consumption), detaining cattle of, and extorting money from, poor individuals, whose frequent complaints induced the Indian government to pass Regulation 6, 1823 ; nevertheless, if they be permitted to hold any zemindary, or landed property here, the native zemindars and their ryots must be unavoidably ruined.

That the natives of India, particularly those whose rank or superiority of caste, according to the usage of their tribe or religion, prevents them from going to other divisions of the globe for employment, and from doing any menial duty, work, or trade, have no means of supporting their rank, nor of obtaining any public situation in their native country, the only office of dewan which was left for them, has since been abolished, in consequence of which they have no other means to subsist on than their landed property, which is neither absolutely secure, owing to the enforcement of several regulations of government, especially of the Regulations I. of 1818, II. of 1819, and XI. of 1825. Under these circumstances should their real estate (which is subject to public sale for the recovery of arrears of revenue, &c.) be allowed to be purchased by foreigners, they would inevitably labour under great distress and difficulty for the necessaries of life and for the preservation of their rank and character.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly entreat, that the well known justice of your honourable House will kindly be pleased to pay due attention to this their first supplication, and reject the last prayer in the petition of the British subjects above alluded to, which would greatly affect your petitioners' interests and the prosperity of British India, or grant them such other relief as the wisdom of parliament may deem meet and expedient.*

220. Proceedings of the House of Commons on the presentation of the above. (May 31, 1832).

MR. CUTLAR FERGUSSION.—I have a petition to present, but I will not take up the time of the House by entering into a statement on the subject, which is calculated to give rise to a debate. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a simple statement of the nature of this petition. It purports to be a petition of the

* *Asiatic Journal,* March, 1829.

Zemindars, Talookdars, and native inhabitants of Calcutta and its subordinate districts, praying the House not to deprive the local governments of the power of restricting the residence of Europeans in India, nor to grant any greater facilities to colonization than now exist. It is my intention to propose that this petition be referred to the consideration of the East India Committee. It is signed by 1800 persons, and I can assure the House from my own knowledge that many of the signatures attached to it are those of the most respectable persons in Bengal.

I do not hesitate to say that some of these petitioners are worth, at least, one million sterling. They state that they consider that the British Government are pledged not to allow the general influx of Europeans to India ; they assert that if this is allowed, it would be most injurious to the natives of that great empire, and also that the laws and customs of the natives would be broken in upon by allowing the free access of Europeans to this country. They state that inconvenience has already been felt from this, and they express their strong hopes that this grievance will not be increased.

There is another topic to which I will just allude, and respecting which I do not think that there will be any difference of opinion as to the justice of it. It appears that the duty on the import of the cottons of India, and other articles of manufacturing produce into this country, is ten times the amount of the duty imposed on the import of manufactured goods into India.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.—I certainly must protest against the doctrine laid down by my Honourable Friend. These persons now petition the House against the only possible thing which can make territorial possessions in India of the least value to us.

COLONEL EVANS.—I certainly must say, that the prayer of this petition is of an extraordinary character. I cannot conceive in what respect the residence of Europeans in India can be so injurious to the natives. The observations of the Honourable Member—

MR. CUTLAR FERGUSSON.—I beg pardon ; I did not give any opinion on the subject, but said that I would abstain from stating my own views, in order to prevent discussion on this subject at present.*

221. Article in the "Bengal Herald" on the Prospect of Bengal in 1829. (June 13, 1829).

"Colonization is one of the most likely means for the civilization of India."

—*Sir John Malcolm.*

There can be little doubt that the encrease of wealth in Calcutta, and throughout Bengal, has been rapid within the last few years, and we are naturally led to enquire the reason thereof.

The value of land may be assigned as the more immediate, and the lesser restrictions on commerce and greater introduction of Europeans, as the primary cause of this beneficial change. Many facts may be brought forward

* *Mirror of Parliament*, 1832, Vol. III, p. 2347.

to strengthen each of these assertions, and, as they speak for themselves, need no preface. Land has been purchased in Calcutta thirty years ago for *fifteen* rupees, now it is worth, and would sell for *three hundred Rupees* ! ! ! Many similar examples might be adduced. By means of this territorial value, a class of society has sprung into existence, that were before unknown ; these are placed between the aristocracy and the poor, and are daily forming a most influential class. Previous to their formation, the wealth of the country was in the hands of a few individuals, while all others were dependent on them, and the bulk of the people were in a state of abject poverty of mind and body, which will perhaps form a juster reason for the pervading moral bondage of the Hindoos, than the more specious ones of climate or religion.

The advantages to be derived from this change are incalculable, not merely as regards the Hindoos themselves, but as affecting the prosperity and stability of the British Indian Empire. It is the dawn of a new era. Whenever such an order of men have been created, freedom has followed in its train. Do we need an example?—look at England after the Norman conquest, when the people were Serfs, and the landholders lived as the Zemindars of this country did some years ago ; but watch their progress up to the eighth Henry, when wealth became more equally diffused, and continue the view until the son of a butcher dethroned and decapitated a monarch, and made the Republic of England feared and admired by the world. Do we need an instance of the misfortune of having only two ranks in a country ; look at Spain, where every man that can afford it, lives without either mental or bodily labour, and claims the rank of an *Hidalgo*. Need we go farther—look at unhappy Poland, where the peasantry are sold with the soil. With the many examples of this nature before us, it may not be deemed presumptuous to assert, that this middling class of inhabitants in Bengal, afford the most cheering indications of any that exist at the present period.

Among the beneficial effects already derivable from this new order of things, is the greater circulation of money—this admits of proof. In the first place, the cowries are nearly extinct in Calcutta, and in the course of few years they will scarcely be seen in Bengal. Ten years ago, a labourer in Calcutta received two Rupees a month—now he is not satisfied with less than four or five, and there is even a scarcity of workmen. A cabinet-maker formerly received *eight* rupees a month—now he obtains *sixteen* or *twenty* rupees for the same period. The price of labour is also encreased in the country. Twelve field labourers were formerly to be had for *one* rupee a day—now six men can only be had for a similar sum. Land for paddy was used to be rented for one rupee a beegah now a Zemindar asks from his tenants, three or four rupees a beegah. The rice which was wont to be sold for *eight annas* a maund, may now be averaged at *two rupees* a maund ; and the entire district of a zemindarey is now cultivated, when formerly not one half was tilled ; this is in consequence of the Indigo planting.

Let us now proceed to investigate the causes of this change. We think it may be demonstrated that the throwing open of the trade, and the admission of Europeans, even with all the restrictions that have been imposed, are the leading causes : because, previous to the charter of 1813, the state of the country did not bear those decided marks of improvement which it has done since. A

baneful monopoly checked the exertions of individuals, and, by its magnitude, deterred many from embarking in speculations which have since proved profitable pursuits. The arrival of European settlers has encouraged the manufacture of Indigo, which, while it benefitted themselves, enriched both England and India, and developed, in some degree, the capabilities of both the soil and climate of the latter.

Those who have called out so loudly against the encreased facility for our trade with Liverpool, Glasgow, &c., have adduced, as an argument in their favor, that the India market has become glutted with English manufactures, and that those who have exported them have suffered severely. This event happens in all similar changes, and is productive of the most beneficial effects. The cheapness of the article induces purchasers, and a taste, before unknown, is thereby created, which, on the goods attaining their standard value, will, if possible, continue to be gratified ; hence new importations are encouraged, and the happiness of the provider and consumer encreased. It is, however, evident, that on such an occurrence, a reciprocity of trade must take place, and that if England expects that India will prove a large mart for her produce, she must remove the restrictive, almost prohibitory duties on Asiatic produce, which are disgraceful to a free country. The East India Company alone, it is said, draw annually from India *four Millions sterling, in bullion—upwards of two millions* of which are for the payment of *dividends* to the *share-holders,* and the remainder for the expenses of the home establishment.

We have conversed with very many Native gentlemen who, themselves, are astonished at the encreased value of their property, and when asked to assign a cause, they attribute it to the importation of European produce, skill and energy.

If such effects have been already produced, what may not be expected by the equalization of duties on East and West India Sugars—the importation of Machinery—and the introduction and settlement of Europeans, freed from the odious, overbearing threat of deportation, so repugnant, so palling to the feelings of every man possessed of a spark of liberty.

Of the advantages derivable from unrestricted commerce, Liverpool is a glorious example, and, in our European department of to-day, will be found a list of the Shipping which entered and departed from her magnificent docks, which is more than are numbered for any other port of Great Britain. The revenue produced from which, allowed about one hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds for the improvement and extension of the town.

The late Bishop Heber's writings have been made an argument against the free ingress of Britons here ; but even this amiable prelate has borne the most decided, though, perhaps, unwilling testimony in their favor. If the readers of his "Narrative" will remark, it may be observed that he frequently states in his diary—*"the country looks improved, and the people prosperous and happy ;—passed several Indigo Factories to-day"*. The sequel of the passage will afford a clue to the foregoing part of it.

We shall return to the subject next week, and, in the mean time, we submit to the attention of our Native friends the propriety of their coming forward and dis-

proving the rumour that has been promulgated, namely—that they are averse to further colonization. A Petition to Parliament *from them alone* would have considerable weight at home. If the restrictions that have so long hampered this country be removed, India would become of more worth to Britain than *all* her other colonies put together. The carrying of such a project into effect, is worthy of a great and enlightened statesman.

Since writing the foregoing, we observed that the *Hurkaru* states that it is whispered that the highest authorities in the country are "favourably inclined towards the removal of all restrictions on the settlement of Europeans in the interior". The Editor does not state whether the power of deportation will be relinquished, which forms the most essential part, as no man will sit down to cultivate land if he be liable to be transported at the will of an individual, to whom he may be obnoxious.*

222. Petition of the inhabitants of Calcutta to Parliament in favour of Colonization, &c. (December 17, 1829).

That your Petitioners, British and Native Inhabitants of Calcutta, are animated with sentiments of loyalty to the crown, and anxious to multiply and draw closer the ties of interest and affection which connect the two countries, by the removal of those legal obstructions to the application of British skill, capital, and industry to the commercial and agricultural resources of India, which are no less incompatible with national prosperity, than repugnant to the laws by which all other British Colonies and Dependencies are governed. Your Petitioners prefer no claims to exemptions, favours, or privileges, at the expence of any class or description of His Majesty's subjects ; and seek no other stimulus to the advancement of this country in wealth, knowledge, and assimilation, in all the elements of public strength and private happiness, than would result from a fair participation of the care and confidence of Parliament, from the reception of its products on the payment of equal duties, and from those judicial safeguards of person and property which have ever been esteemed the birth-right of Englishmen.

Your Honourable House must be satisfied from the uniform result of experience in all ages and countries, that trade cannot be profitably conducted by a Government without the unjust and impolitic advantages of a Monopoly ; and that a Government trade in concurrence with that of private Merchants, must not only be attended with a waste of the public revenue, but be liable to come into unequal competition and injurious collision with the operations of individuals. These objections have long been acknowledged to be applicable to the India trade carried on by the East India Company and enforce the expediency of divesting that corporation, while exercising any of the functions of Government, of the few commercial establishments which still remain to them.

The degree in which their Monopoly of the Tea trade contracts the extent of commercial intercourse with China, and enhances the price of Tea, is as equally

* *Bengal Herald*, June 13, 1829.

well known to your Honourable House. The people of England are thus indirectly taxed more than twice as much as they would be directly, if the trade were opened, and the capital stock of the East India Company (the dividends on which are now paid from the extra price levied on the consumer) were added to the national debt. Of the ships that would there be engaged in importing tea into England, some would bring their outward cargoes to this country, whence there is at present a difficulty in procuring return cargoe, but that resource and convenience to both countries is, with many others, prevented by the Monopoly.

The importance of providing reasonable checks on the power of taxation and other local regulation were intrusted to the executive Government, can never be undervalued by a British Parliament ; but your Petitioners content themselves with submitting that all regulations requiring the sanction of the authorities in England, should be previously published so that their representations on matters deeply affecting their interests may be brought under consideration both here and in England before the proposed regulations are enacted.

Your Petitioners therefore pray that your Honourable House will take the premises into your consideration and grant such relief as to your wisdom may appear expedient.*

223. Speeches of Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore at the public meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, to petition Parliament to abolish the restrictions against colonization in India, &c. (December 17, 1829).

Dwarkanath Tagore moved the following resolution: "That this Meeting considering one of the main legal obstructions to the Commercial, agricultural and manufacturing improvements to consist in the obstacles which are opposed to the occupancy or acquisition of land by British subjects, and against their free resort to and unmolested residence within the limits of the Company's Administration, does approve and confirm the concluding prayer of the former Petitions to Parliament for the "abolition of all such restrictions on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in India, as are calculated to affect the Commercial prosperity of the Country".

In moving the above resolution Dwarka nath Tagore said, "with reference to the subject more immediately before the meeting, I beg to state, that I have several Zemindaries in various districts ; and that I have found the cultivation of indigo and residence of Europeans, have considerably benefitted the country and the community at large ; the Zemindars becoming wealthy and prosperous, the Royuts materially improved in their condition and possessing many more comforts than the generality of my countrymen where Indigo cultivation and manufacture is not carried on, the value of land in the vicinity to be considerably enhanced and cultivation rapidly progressing. I do not make these statements merely from hearsay, but from personal observation and experience as I have visited the places referred to repeatedly and in consequence am well acquainted

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* December 17, 1829.

with the character and manners of the Indigo Planters. There may be a few exceptions as regards the general conduct of Indigo Planters but they are extremely limited, and comparatively speaking, of the most trifling importance. I may be permitted to mention an instance in support of this statement. Some years ago when Indigo was not so generally manufactured, one of my estates where there was no cultivation of Indigo did not yield a sufficient income to pay the Government assessment ; but within a few years, by the introduction of Indigo there is now not a Biggah on the estate untilled, and it gives me a handsome profit ; several of my relations and friends, whose affairs I am well acquainted with, have in like manner improved their property, and are receiving a large income from their estates. If such beneficial effects as these I have enumerated, have accrued from the bestowing of European skill in one article of production alone, what further advantages may not be anticipated from the unrestricted application of British Skill, Capital, and industry to the very many articles which this country is capable of producing, to as great an extent, and of as excellent a quality, as any other in the world, and which of course cannot be expected to be produced without the free recourse of Europeans."

Rammohun Roy, supported the resolution and said, "from personal experience I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs, a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity ; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly. I fully agree with Dwarkanath Tagore, in the purport of the resolution just read. As to the Indigo planters I beg to observe that I have travelled through several districts in Bengal and Behar and I found the natives residing in the neighbourhood of Indigo plantations evidently better clothed and better conditioned than those who lived at a distance from such stations. There may be some partial injury done by the Indigo planters, but, on the whole, they have performed more good to the generality of the natives of this country, than any other class of Europeans, whether in or out of the Service".

Dwarkanath Tagore's Resolution was seconded by Prusunnu Coomar Tagore and carried unanimously.*

224. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" in appreciation of the above support given by Rammohun Roy and others to the Colonization question. (December 17, 1829).

The Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta convened by the Sheriff at the Town Hall on Tuesday, fulfilled in every respect the most sanguine anticipations which had been formed by those friendly to its objects. There were indeed some branches of the great Indian question notoriously and avowedly kept out of view;

* *Ibid.*

but the number of important points which may now be considered as settled—settled as far as the distinct expression of public opinion in its most legitimate form can settle them—leaves no room for regret. The Resolutions and Petition which were agreed to without one dissenting voice, may be regarded in two different lights,—either as intended to influence the current of events at home, or as indicative of the progress of opinion in this country. In both respects they are of very high value and importance.

In England the opinions of the inhabitants of Calcutta, thus unanimously and deliberately pronounced, will carry great and deserved weight ; and when the fact is known that the Meeting would not have taken place but for the censure which certain Directors are said to have pronounced on the liberal measures of the Local Government, its effect as a prompt and spirited expression of opinion will not be lessened. One of the speakers stated that the Requisition to the Sheriff was signed by the one hundred and sixteen gentlemen whose names are attached to it, and who may be justly considered as the representatives of the entire wealth and intelligence of Calcutta, within twenty-four hours after the purport of the communications from the Directors had transpired. We are glad that the origin of the Meeting was thus explicitly avowed, and we hold it fortunate that such a circumstance should have occurred to arouse the slumbering zeal and elicit the liberal sentiments of the community. When the enlightened administration of the Local Government is upheld by the public voice in India, His Majesty's Ministers and the two Houses of Parliament will, be hope, know what reception to give to the opposing representations of the gentlemen of Leadenhall Street.

The Resolutions and Petition possess great value also as indications of the growing liberality and strength of public opinion. At some times and in some places the progress of events is so slow and gradual, the stream of time flows past so gently and smoothly, that the advances made in general intelligence, in the perception of important truths, and in the recognition of great public rights, are at first view not easily discoverable or capable of being affirmed with certainty. The Meeting of Tuesday enables us to measure the progress we have already made, and forms at the same time a starting-point from which we may estimate our further advances.

The Inhabitants of Calcutta, constitutionally assembled, have pronounced their unanimous opinion, that all subjects of His Majesty should have "a legal right" to establish themselves and remain in this part of his dominions, subject only to the restraints of just and equal laws duly administered in open tribunals. Hitherto British subjects in India have not enjoyed such a right. They have lived here by the express licence or by the tacit sufferance of the Company, subject not to just and equal laws, but to summary deportation at the pleasure of the Government ; and that power has been exercised not in open tribunals by impartial judges, but in secret conclave by the accusers of the destined victim. This "odious power of transmission", justly so characterised by Mr. John Smith, has not only been assumed and exercised by the Government, but has been justified and defended by some of the professed organs of public opinion in Calcutta. The inhabitants of Calcutta have now come forward for themselves,

and in language which cannot be misunderstood have disavowed this imputation, and have solicited from the Legislature a legal right for all British subjects to establish themselves and to remain in India, subject only to just and equal laws duly administered in the open tribunals. That it has been necessary to make such an avowal, and to claim such a right, shows that we live in a monstrous and unnatural state of society : that such a power was conceded by the Home Government and exercised by the local authority, proves that both have consulted other interests than those of the country they rule. But it is now at least determined that the sense of the community here is against it.

Another important point is the condemnation which the Company's internal trade received from the Meeting. A considerable portion of the revenue derived from the country by the Company as sovereigns, is employed in the production and manufacture of different articles composing the internal and export trade of India. In the opinion of the Meeting, such an employment is an obstruction to the industry of individuals, is prejudicial to good government and to improvement, and is even attended with positive loss to the Company ; and it was accordingly resolved that the entire abolition of that branch of the Company's Commercial transactions in India is desirable. The rulers of this great country, not having enough to occupy their attention in its complex political relations, both internal and external, are monopolist-manufacturers of salt, which they sell to the highest bidder. They are also monopolist-manufacturers of opium. They are manufacturers of silk, and by their exorbitant prices, and by the superior advantages they enjoy, they have driven the private manufacturer out of the field. They are shippers, for they speculate on their own account by shipments made at their own risk to and from England, India, and China. They are shipping agents, for we have lately been told by public advertisement, that if any one is desirous of making a shipment of goods to England, the Company will make the usual advance on the usual security. Thus it is that by their invidious and unequal competition they interfere with almost every branch of public industry, retard the progress of public prosperity, and commit much public and private injustice. The inhabitants of Calcutta have resolved that the entire abolition of this wretched, barbarous, and mongrel system of sovereign manufacturers, merchants, and agents, is the only mode of remedying its recognized evils. We scarcely expect that they will gain all they desire. The salt and opium monopolies will, we fear, survive till a more concentrated attention can be given to their impolicy and disadvantages. But the time will come, perhaps sooner than we anticipate, when they too must yield to the growing sense of public humanity and justice.

A third important matter on which the sense of the Meeting has been distinctly expressed, is, that the occupancy or acquisition of land by British subjects would be attended with benefit to the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the country. The most frightful consequences have been predicted from the free access of Englishmen to India, and their occupancy of land has been regarded with still greater terror. The most incompatible dangers have been apprehended from it. On the one hand we are told that the Natives,

coalescing with the Colonists, will aspire to be placed on a level with them : and on the other hand, that British settlers will insult the prejudices of the Natives, and thus excite disaffection. The former is not an evil, but a benefit eminently to be desired ; for what can contribute more to the happiness and improvement of the country than that assimilation of habits and feelings, rights and privileges, which it implies? The latter is a danger of which the Natives themselves must be the best judges, and by the Resolution which was moved by DWARKANATH TAGORE, seconded by PRUSUNNU COOMAR TAGORE, and supported by RAMMOHUN ROY, three of the most respectable Natives of Calcutta, speaking in the presence of many of their countrymen, it was distinctly affirmed that the obstacles which are opposed to the occupancy and acquisition of land by British subjects, constitute material obstructions to the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing improvement of the country. The strong and decided manner in which this Resolution was enforced on the attention of the Meeting by the mover, made a deep impression, and will be long remembered. That such a Resolution should be moved, seconded, and supported exclusively by Natives, whose rights, it is considered by some, are especially endangered by the proposition it contains, was well arranged ; but it was evidently not a mere matter of arrangement. The support given to the Resolution by those public-spirited and intelligent Native gentlemen was cordial, clear, and convincing ; and the facts they adduced deserve the serious consideration of those who have hitherto opposed the more general settlement of British subjects in the country.

We shall return to the subject of this Meeting, which presents ample materials for reflexion and remark.*

225. Letter of an Impartial Zemindar in the "Sambad Cowmoody" in refutation of certain misrepresentations of the "Samachar Chundrika" re : the above colonization meeting. (January 1, 1830).

To the Editor of the Sumbud Coomoody.

Sir,—By inserting the following remarks in your Journal the intelligence thereby diffused will destroy the cloud of misrepresentation and reveal the truth to all persons.

In the 572nd page of the *Chundrika* the Editor thereof, inserted an account of the meeting at the Town Hall on the 15th December, 1829, in which there are many misrepresentations.

First, it is stated, "we fancy that of the Natives of India, only Baboos Dwarkanath Tagore, and Prusunnu Coomar Tagore, were present."

This circumstance is erroneously represented, because Baboos Chundra Coomar Tagore, Sib Chunder Sircar, and many others, were present, but being unacquainted with their names I cannot communicate them. Did the Editor of the *Chundrika* not look upon them? The aforesaid Baboos are Zemindars and have

* *India Gazette* (suppl.), December 17, 1829.

transactions in Indigo &c. if therefore they had understood the objects of the meeting to be injurious to their prospective benefit they would not have hesitated to oppose them.

2ndly, the *Chundrika* states that "none of the Hon'ble Company's Civil or Military Servants attended the meeting, and we cannot learn from any paper what is their opinion on the subject."

This observation is also very incorrect because about *thirty* of the Hon'ble Company's Civil, Military, Medical and Clerical Servants, of rank, attended the meeting in question; among whom I observed Mr. H. T. Prinsep the Secretary to Government; Mr. T. G. C. Plowden the Collector and Salt Agent; Mr. Richardson of the Bengal Army; Dr. Strong and the Revd. Padre * * * *; these names are particularly known to me. None of the Company's Servants having expressed their opposition, they of course acquisced in the propositions laid before the meeting.

If the free resort of Europeans were esteemed unfavourable by the Company's Servants they most certainly would have expressed their opinions, as Mr. C. G. Middleton the Civil Servant, did at a late similar Meeting at the Cape of Good Hope.

The reason of the Company's Servants not speaking their favourable sentiments on the subject at the meeting, was only from the fear they entertain of the Court of Directors, because they signed a Petition about the Sugar Trade, and Free resort of Europeans to India in 1827 ; therefore I think the objection that these gentlemen have to sign the present Petition is, on account of the late order from the Court of Directors.

3rdly, the *Chundrika* asks his Native subscribers, "what advantage" this Petition, "will bring to the Natives who have signed or may sign" it.

The Editor of the *Chundrika*, is not a Zemindar, nor has he any transactions in Indigo or in Trade, neither does he possess any knowledge of affairs in the Mofussil ;—had he (the Editor) the slightest knowledge of any of these three, he would not have asked such a question. He may speak to any Ryut, who has been engaged under Indigo Planters, and who has lived in the same place, and been employed there, before the cultivation and manufacture of Indigo, and by the information he will thus obtain his forgetfulness or error may be removed :—previous to this period, no person has perceived the Editor of the *Chundrika's* ignorance ; however, it is absolutely necessary to fulfil the desire of a questioner.

In answer to this query, I begin by enquiring of him whether a Zemindar ought to be intelligent and a Ryut industrious?

It is generally acknowledged that wherever the peasantry are numerous and clever in their several occupations, the land will be the better tilled, and the rents of the Zemindars will be increased, by which means no land will finally remain uncultivated ; whence it is certain that industry, skill and a numerous population are required for the improvement of the country ; on such a subject the colour of the Inhabitants is perfectly immaterial, whether they be white or black. From this assertion, I may infer, that by the intro-

duction into this country of the industry and skill of Europeans, and by permitting them to reside freely in it and superintend the cultivation of land, there will be great benefit to the community at large.

Behold, by the free residence in, and cultivation of, the land by Europeans its value will be materially enhanced; for, in proportion to the number of purchasers, will be the encrease in price ; as at auction sales, where, by the resort of many persons, goods are better sold. It is known to all that where many inhabitants are congregated, the rent of house land is augmented ; by which the Zemindars, Izaradars, Kutkinadars, &c. are considerably benefited.

Again, in consequence of the encreased cultivation of the land, the husbandmen will receive better pay, and it is already well known that by the residence of Indigo factors in the district of Jessore and its vicinity, and on account of their skill in manufacturing, &c. the wages of labour have encreased from 1 rupee, and 1 rupee 8 annas to 3 Rs. 8 A. or 4 rupees, per month. Even the bearers and servants formerly received their wages in cowries, that is, calculated by the *kahon ;* now how *many* rupees do they receive? I know for certain that in those parts of the Hoogly district, where Indigo or other valuable productions of the soil are not attended to, that the wages of the labourer do not even at the present day exceed 2 R. 4 A. to 2 R. 8 A. per month ; and indeed it is a fact, easily ascertained, that into whatever Zillahs an influx of Europeans takes place, the natives thereof are always enabled to obtain a comfortable and in many instances a most respectable livelihood.

At the Decennial settlement of the land in this country, the value of estates was exceedingly depressed ; many extensive Talooks having been bought at the value of 2 or 3 years produce ; whereas at the present period several of such Talooks have been disposed of for the equivalent value of 20, 25, and even as high as 30, years produce. What is the reason of this extraordinary encrease in the value of landed property? Why, by the resort of Europeans into the country, by their instructing the native husbandmen and manufacturers ; by their improved mode of preparing Indigo, &c. &c. &c. and lastly, by purchasing land under assumed names.

I ask every unprejudiced man to consider, that *two crores* of *rupees* are annually expended in this country in the production and manufacture of Indigo, the greater part of which passes into the hands of the natives, who never even dreamt of such a mine of wealth, previous to the arrival and residence of Europeans in the Mofussil ; I do then ask every unprejudiced man to consider this substantiated fact, and if he can to deny unattended that the free resort of Europeans to his country, would with extensive future benefit to this country.

Is it not evident to the *Chundrika,* how much the price and rent of land and houses in Calcutta, exceeds that of the Mofussil, and also how the native community of Calcutta excel their brethren in the interior, in intelligence, Mercantile experience, and by laying aside their former habits of meanness and other defects ; whence then is this amelioration but by the settlement of Europeans amongst us? Indeed there are but a few malicious and self interested persons,

who although aware of the benefits resulting from the invigorating skill and industry of Europeans, (and who on by their residence in the Mofussil and their frequent association with the natives, would be naturally desirous for the prosperity of all around them,) there are I say, but few individuals who are not zealous in this good cause.

The Editor of the *Chundrika* has stated that in page 586 that "by the residence of Europeans in the Mofussil and their cultivation of land, our caste may be endangered". To this I reply, how can such a result be imagined, when Europeans have for many years settled in Calcutta, and yet no Hindoo loses his caste on that account? Why therefore should the natives of the Mofussil suffer a deprivation of theirs by mixing with Europeans? The *Chundrika* again asserts that "by the residence and cultivation of the land by Europeans our usual food may suffer in its culture". This is also a very mistaken notion, because by skilful and regular management it is possible that the produce of grain may be much encreased ; and the abilities of the English in this respect are known to all.

The *Chundrika* also observes that "perpetual disputes will always arise between the Europeans and Natives in the Mofussil respecting land, &c." To this I reply, when did the Editor of the *Chundrika* know the mutual disputes of the natives themselves to decrease, that he should suppose that by the free residence of Europeans among them disputes should arise? Business and disputes go hand in hand, that is, no business is carried on without occasional disputes. With whom are the Europeans residing in Calcutta, Entally, &c. continually engaged in quarrels? I draw the inference from the Europeans living in harmony with the natives in this city, that they will not engage in disputes with my countrymen in the Mofussil, who too frequently foment dissention amongst each other.

As the Europeans are well acquainted with the regulations or laws of Government, what reason have they to quarrel with any person.

The free resort of Europeans to this country would be highly advantageous and without the least injury to any class of persons, whether high or low, rich or poor, Zemindar or Cultivator ; particularly to Mootsuddees or Superintendants, head Sircars, Gomashtas, &c. who will derive their support from them:—this may be observed in Calcutta.

Perhaps the *Chundrika* is not a well wisher of others, consequently he may be desirous of preventing the promotion of any thing which tends to the public benefit ; but upon slight consideration his misconceptions can have no weight. It is to be hoped this will be found sufficient.*

AN IMPARTIAL ZEMINDAR.

Enclo :

Re: Chundrika's objection to Colonization above referred to:

"Colonization. A meeting was held at the Town Hall to petition that Englishmen should be at liberty to settle in this country, and cultivate it. On receiving this intelligence, all the great and the little, the rich and the poor, the Jumeendar and the Izardar are overwhelmed in perplexity ; for if colonization be introduced into this

* *Sambad Cowmoody*, quoted by *Bengal Chronicle*, January 7, 1830.

country, the natives will be subject to many disadvantages. Our general impression is that if the English come into this country as Jumeendars and Agriculturists there is a great reason to fear, that the natives will lose caste, that the means of subsistence will be destroyed, and that continual disputes will arise with the English relative to lands. From the acquisition of the country by the English to this present time, the natives have lived in tranquility. There is no doubt that while the English govern the country, equity will prevail. But if they begin to share our lands and our property, much distress will follow. How shall we describe the anxiety which these measures have created?"*

226. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Chronicle" on the above. (January 7, 1830).

Our daily contemporary has, we observe, inserted in his editorial column, an article from the *Chundrika,* in which all the ills that beset this afflicted community are arrayed in numerical order and deplored with infinite pathos. Our readers will find in another page, the article to which we allude, and some remarks upon it from other Native Papers of higher character and more influence we believe, in the Native community. Our right trusty and well beloved contemporary, admits indeed, that he knows very little about the *Chundrika,* and we are led to infer therefore, that the all-sufficing law of *expediency* has induced him to honor the production in question, by permitting it to occupy so large a portion of that space in which we are accustomed to look for his own luminous lucubrations on some of the "multifarious topics" which engage the attention of newspaper Editors. It may be however, that the happy concurrence of opinion between himself and his worthy brother of the *Chundrika,* has insured for the lugubrious effusion of the latter, the distinguished honor of supplying the place of a bright emanation of Tauric intellect. Indeed on the great question of colonization, the two journalists are *par nobile fratum* and considering the badness of their cause and the daily decreasing number of its advocates, we rather congratulate our bovine opponent on the acquisition of such a coadjutor. There is neither merit nor gratification in triumphing over the despairing ebullitions of the vanquished, and satisfied as we are, that their case is past praying for, we shall not be at all sorry to see the anti-colonists rally a little: it may afford sport to our readers in these "piping times of peace" and we have ceased to feel any anxiety for the result ; meanwhile the logic of our native friend will amuse them. "All the great and the little, the rich and the poor, the Jumendar and the Izzedar", says he, "are overwhelmed in perplexity". It entirely escapes the writer that he is here proving or rather asserting too much ; for if *all* the great and the little, the rich and the poor, the Jumendar and the Izzardar, are overwhelmed with perplexity on receiving the intelligence of the meeting, why did any of these attend it? and why is it feared that any will sign the petition voted. We leave our native friend however, to his native opponents who have placed this matter in its true light. We know that industrious efforts were at one time made to instil into the minds of natives, a

* *Ibid.*

notion, that the only colonization of India ever advocated, actually meant the importation of ship loads, of the lowest orders of the people of England, who would plunder the native Jumendars and Izzedars *ad libitum*, while we suppose, what our *Chundrika* friend terms the equitable English government was complacently looking on ; but the labours of the respectable native Editors have, we believe, in a great measure disabused their countrymen of this mischievous error, and that among sensible men of every class, the true nature of colonization is now understood, and they begin to smile at their own credulity in having leant an ear to a doctrine so absurd, as that which inculcates, that an increase of the number of competitors for the purchase of land, would *deteriorate* its value, a notion most zealously urged by our orthodox brother of the *Bull*, tho' we do not remember to what school of political economy he assigns it, whether to the old or new. We know his aversion to any thing *"new schoolish"* is insuperable, but this favorite dogma of his was undoubtedly *new* to us, until he broached it, in the course of his labors in defence of things as they were.*

227. Another editorial of the same on the same. (January 21, 1830).

A daily Journal here which has signalized itself chiefly by a uniform opposition to every improvement, which has endeavoured to sow the seeds of jealousy and strife between the Native and European Community, to bring the British character into disrepute and to excite envy and discontent among native and christian subjects born in the country, informs us apparently with great glee, that an Anti-colonization petition is to be got up, to which 12000 signatures will be obtained in two days. The *possibility* of getting up such a petition we do not deny. It is an easy thing for those who think it no shame to libel our national character for a party purpose, to spread dismay among the ignorant and credulous. We dare say also, that a petition against the abolition of the Suttee would soon find as many signatures and that the very men who would sign the one would be found putting their names to the other: indeed it is worthy of remark, that in the native paper which has been quoted with evident satisfaction by our English *Anticolonist Journal*, these measures are associated together, as equally hostile to the happiness of the people! *The fact is instructive.* Yet we do remember, easy as the task appears, that the anticolonists shrunk from the test on a former occasion and their petition, the draft of which we believe is now lying by us, obtained not a signature at all! If reflecting natives would weigh the nature of the arguments employed to induce them to sign such a petition, they must evidently view with suspicion, any European who could make use of them. It is perfectly certain that if all restrictions on European resort to India were removed to-morrow, none of the lower classes the "starving manufacturers" would come out, the expence of such a voyage precluding the possibility of it. The men who alone would and could come out, would be men of some capital and skill—what then must the natives think of

* *Bengal Chronicle*, January 7, 1830.

that Briton who would declare that such men would inevitably be robbers and spoliators?

* * * * * *

The address in favor of colonization it is said has only 300 signatures, we trust the information will stimulate the exertions of the friends of the measure Native and European, and with this view we announce it. We are not in the least alarmed about the efforts of the Anti-colonists. How many of their 12000 are capable of forming any judgement on the question?*

228. Letter of the Impartial Zemindar in the "Sambad Cowmoody" in refutation of Chundrika's objections against colonization in India. (January 10, 1830).

To the Editor of the *Sumbud Kowmoodee.*

Sir,—Some groundless objections have been brought forward against Colonization, in a letter published in the *Sumuchar Chundrika* of the 12th Poush, and in the observations made by the Editor of that paper. To these, I will make a brief reply. A Zemindar observes, that the poor women who sold thread spun in this country, find themselves placed in great distress by the importation of thread made in Europe ; and, that the trade of flour venders has been stopped in consequence of the setting up of European Machinery in this Metropolis, for the grinding of flour, and he is therefore apprehensive, that Colonization will be attended with such injurious effects. I answer, while we are witnesses to the fact, that the women who sold thread and the flour venders still continue their respective trades, we cannot admit the destruction of those trades. The only change has been, that an an abundance in the above articles has effected a reduction in price. This, far from being injurious, ought rather to be considered a beneficial result. The poor class of people are now enabled, in consequence of the reduced price of good cloths, to obtain what they before only wished but could not afford and the same may be said with respect to flour. To feel aggrieved therefore by the mere apprehension of some slight injury accruing to a few individuals, while the community at large is greatly benefitted. is, in fact, wishing ill to society. It is the sincere wish of traders, that the articles in which they deal may be lessened in quantity, and consequently raised in value ; but this wish of a few self-interested persons can by no means be considered praise-worthy. For instance, the introduction into this country of the different kinds of English Machinery for printing has been no doubt productive of disadvantage to a certain number of copyists ; but what sensible man will, from this consideration, shut his eyes against the great benefits which have arisen by procuring livelihood to many, by multiplying books, and by diffusing knowledge.

In the 448th number of the *Chundrika,* the Editor remarks, that "the state of Ireland is an instance of the happiness of Talookdars and Zemindars". From

* *Ibid,* January 21, 1830.

an acquaintance with the History of Ireland, we are led to doubt the truth of this assertion of the Editor. If he should, however, tell us whence he has obtained the information, we might let the public know whether it is correct or not. The Editor of the *Chundrika* instances five cases—that of house-builders, carpenters, goldsmiths, tailors, and boatmen, and observes, that the profits accruing to people engaged in the above occupations have considerably diminished from the present competition of Europeans, and that many natives who formerly followed the same callings, had made their fortunes. In adducing this instance to support the favorite opinions of the Editor, he has not considered the real circumstances of the case, but has looked to the mere surface of things. The truth is, that when a large body of Europeans came into Calcutta and established themselves in different trades, people began to learn their business, and after acquiring sufficient skill, were employed by these Europeans on advanced wages. Before this an individual or two, who excelled in their profession, had monopolized the whole business from the absence of suitable competitors, and had thereby made an immense profit. Let us only consider the numbers of house-builders living in each division of Calcutta ; how many carpenter's, goldsmith's and tailor's shops have been established, and to what an extent boats have multiplied,—and all these people are not in want of business—far from it. When we have occasion to employ any of them, we find them seldom agreeing to any terms which fall short of what they wish to get. The number of workmen in this town is not easily calculated, and even with this increase in their number, the present lowest rate of tailor's wages is from 7 to 8 rupees, and the highest not less than 16 rupees a month. Fifteen years ago their rate was four rupees, and the highest not more than eight rupees. Formerly carpenters made large pestles and mallets, and at the most were able to earn 3 or 4 rupees only ; whereas from the extensive business now carried on by Europeans, some of the carpenters earn 40 others 50 rupees ; and the case is the same as to goldsmiths, house-builders, boatmen, and others.

The Editor further observes, that "the establishment of Gibson & Co. as tailors, of Rolt & Co. as carpenters, and of Hamilton & Co. as jewellers, has impoverished the natives who were engaged in those occupations". I beg of the Editor to go a little about the shops of those gentlemen and see how many hundreds of natives are employed by them at fair remunerations. Such a large portion of the community were never so well supported even in the times of the greatest princes, nor have we heard of an instance. The fact is, that formerly the whole business having been engrossed by one or two persons, they made the greatest profit. At present the trades being left free to general competition, there is a numerous body of competitors, and each of them cannot of course be expected to make the same degree of profit as was done before. All of them, however, find employment owing to the extensive business of Europeans, and on the whole they earn more now. Their earnings are comparatively greater now than before. We hence conclude that no one will after ascertaining the general opinion on the subject, and making proper enquiries

into the matter, be disposed to enter into such a perverse dispute about the benefits which will arise from the free settlement of Europeans in this country.*

Jan. 10. AN IMPARTIAL ZEMINDAR.

229. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" on the above. (January 22, 1830).

We beg to call attention to a very sensible letter on the subject of Colonization, originally addressed to the Editor of the *Sumbud Cowmoodee,* and both written and translated by a native gentleman without any assistance or correction from others. We are glad to learn that the native paper we have mentioned, is extending its circulation in some degree corresponding to the encreased ability with which it has been lately conducted.†

230. Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Chronicle" on the same. (January 30, 1830).

In any petition to the legislature from the natives of this country, nothing can be more clearly consonant with reason and justice than that the *degree of intelligence* possessed by the Petitioners should be taken into consideration. If therefore we find that the majority of the most intelligent native gentlemen here unite in soliciting the removal of those restrictions which impede the resort to and residence of Europeans in India, we may fairly treat with little respect the appeal of ten thousand of the mere ignorant Mass of those men who are still completely the slaves of their own prejudices, that they have a horror not only of Europeans but of every thing which would approximate them to the latter—and who would go much further than a mere appeal against colonization—who would ask for the expulsion of those already settled in the country, if they thought they had a hope of success. They are instructed indeed, in the draft of the Petition to which we alluded the other day, to declare "that in the District where British subjects following the occupation of Indigo Planters have been permitted to settle themselves even under the present restrictions the native population is more injured, harassed and distressed, than in the other part of the country". Now this we know to be untrue. We know very well that instances of Indigo Planters taking the law into their own hands owing to the defective judicial system of the Company do occur and these are evils requiring to be remedied—but still on the whole, it is a notorious fact, that the people on the Indigo districts exhibit infinitely greater proofs of prosperity are not near so poor and miserable as those in which there are no Europeans. The reason is to be found in the undeniable fact that Europeans pay them much higher for their land than they ever were paid by the Native Zemindars who are now invited to coming forward and calumniate our

* *India Gazette,* January 22, 1830.
† *Ibid.*

countrymen, merely to serve the purpose of party: and it is equally true, that if some Indigo Planters do resort to force to obtain their rights, that is the land or the produce for which they have paid in advance, they have often great provocation in the attempts of the ryuts to defraud them by every possible means of what they have fairly purchased. We do not at all doubt that in the Indigo Districts, Petitions might be got up signed by thousands not against colonization merely, but praying the removal of the Indigo Planters already settled, for all of them have outstanding balances due from natives who would be glad in this way to wipe off the score. We quote a sensible letter on this subject from the *India Gazette* of Thursday, and repeat that the fact is instructive, that the Native Paper which is the most vehement opponent of colonization is also as hostile to the abolition of Suttee and mingles the two measures in the same numerical account of grievances of which it complains against the government, while this very Paper is the very one which finds special favor in the sight of the *only* English Journal in Bengal—in India, we believe, that lifts its voice against the further settlement of Europeans in the country, and aids as much as it can, (tho' fortunately its power is limited by its most limited circulation) in spreading the libel on the European character, on which the appeal against Colonization is founded.*

231. Another editorial of the same on the same. (February 4, 1830).

It is stated in a contemporary Journal, that the Anti-colonization Petition, to which we have been directing public attention, was drawn up by Natives, who have changed their views on the important question to which it adverts, and are now converts to the very doctrine which they opposed when that petition was drafted. We are very glad to hear of this proof of the march of intellect among natives, and feel satisfied, that left to their own unbiassed decisions, few of them indeed, competent to form an opinion upon the subject, will join in any appeal against a measure which will tend to the increase and improvement of the productions of the country, to augment the value and promote the security of their property and to accelerate the diffusion of knowledge among the people.†

232. Letter of a Villager in the "Sambad Cowmoody" in support of colonization in India. (June 4, 1831).

To the Editor of the Cowmoodee.

Last year you wrote abundantly in favour of Colonization, yet please to insert the few observations I now send. Some persons fear that if Englishmen settle in our villages they will oppress the poor and needy. This however is a mistake ; for what advantage could they expect from such conduct? And who causelessly inflicts suffering upon another? It is not the case that white people

* *Bengal Chronicle,* January 30, 1830,
† *Ibid,* February 4, 1830.

beat the natives : and the natives are by no means deficient in quarrelling. An inspection of the records of the Police will easily shew how many causes have originated with Europeans, and in how many the natives have been engaged. Every one on seeing a European thinks how he can deceive him ; now consider on whose side there is the greatest injustice. A few days ago, some natives so beat a Captain of a ship in the water, that he was able to save his life only by swimming. Were our timorous gentlemen ignorant of this? The Bengalees in Calcutta transact business with the English on perfectly equal terms ; for they meet with many Englishmen every day. In the villages there are no English ; and therefore the people are afraid when they see one : did they meet with many English they would be freed from alarm—it is not because of injury. We have heard from some the groundless assertion that Europeans will engage in the labours of the field : but such labourers could not live for less than 30 or 40 Rupees, whereas native cultivators can be had at a very low rate. Why then should European labourers be brought? And what Indigo planter has ever employed English labourers? The advantages of colonization are that the cultivators of the soil will receive larger pay, and yet have their labour diminished ; they will be better instructed in many employments, and may expect additional rewards for super-excellence. Hence all are desirous of employment with Englishmen : and omitting other things, there has been much eagerness to be even employed in making leather amongst the English, and by such means celebrity is readily acquired. I shall hereafter write what more may appear necessary.*

A VILLAGER.

233. Remarks of the "Banga Doot" on Colonization. (June, 1831).

We publish in to-day's *Doot* a letter signed "A Subject" ; but we must say something respecting the charges our correspondent brings against the present Indigo-planters, in connection with the subject of colonization ; for it is not proper to charge the whole body of planters with crimes in this manner. It would be but justice in the writer to discriminate between the bad and the good. When, instead of this, one assertion is made of the whole alike, flagrant injustice is done. But in the Mofussil great benefit has arisen from the establishment of European Indigo factories ; for much land that was never before cultivated now yielding rent to the Talookdars, it is impossible to state the advantage which has accrued to them. And many excellent persons who were incapable of other employments, having obtained situations in the factories, have thus risen to wealth. Besides, they benefit even the ryots ; for such as were without resources and were incapable of carrying on their business, have obtained abundant gain by the cultivation of Indigo ; and the situation of labourers is so improved that those who formerly by a whole day's hard labour could get only three puns of cowries, now with ease earn two and a half, or three annas. Therefore it is our opinion, that by the farther extension of European

* *Samachar Durpun*, June 4, 1831.

cultivation in the country, a great increase of advantage to the people generally may be expected.*

234. Another letter in the "Sambad Cowmoody" on Colonization. (August 20, 1831).

To the Editor of the *Cowmoodee.*

At the time when the petition against Colonization was signed, to whatever Zemindar's house we could go, the chief topic of conversation was the good or evil to be expected from the English settling in the country and engaging in agriculture. Some said that evil was certainly to be anticipated from it : "Sir", said they, "what injustice the Indigo planters are doing!" But the Zemindars replied to this with a laugh, "You think only of the injustice of the Indigo planters, but cannot regard the injustice which they experience from our countrymen. How shall we describe that which happens at a distance! At the end of 1824, there was a trial for the murder of an Indigo planter, first before the magistrate of Nuddea, and then before the Circuit Judge: and whose was the wrong in that business? And in a late trial of the same sort at Hoogly, what sort of injustice on the part of the natives was not discovered?" The opponents on hearing such things observed, "We suppose then, you will not sign the petition ; are you not aware of the evils that will arise from their coming?" The Zemindars replied, "We do not anticipate any evil whatever from their coming ; on the contrary the landlords will receive more rent ; more labourers will be required, and they will receive higher wages ; the land will be improved, and we shall see many other improvements. When there is a deficiency of rain, the cultivation will be carried on by raising water by machinery: knowledge will be promoted in the country villages: now the people are afraid whenever they see the sahebs, but then they will be familiar with them: the poor receiving higher wages, there will be a great diminution of robbery in the country. If all this good is to be expected, why should we pray for its prevention?" The opponents replied, "such and such Baboos will intreat you on this business". The landholders said again: "Those who make such intreaties cannot surely be proprietors of land: they must be some Calcutta traders or public officers. What do they know of what is good or bad in the mofussil, that we should be diverted by their opposition from supporting what will be productive of so much advantage?" Thinking the publication of this conversation expedient, I have sent it to you.†

ONE DESIRING THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY.

235. Remarks of the "Reformer" in support of Colonization. (January, 1832).

Connected as this country is with England, everything passing there, as well as the rest of Europe, must of course interest us as more or less affecting the

* *Banga Doot,* quoted by *Calcutta Monthly Journal,* June, 1831.
† *Sambad Cowmoody,* quoted by *Samachar Durpun,* August 20, 1831.

prosperity of India: We are therefore particularly anxious that nothing either of our internal or external nature may arise to divert the attention of the British Ministry and the Parliament from a subject so deeply interesting to us as the future policy that is to be followed in ruling India. It is true the committee appointed by Parliament to receive evidence and examine witnesses on India affairs, have had ample information laid before them; but that information has been of a very contradictory nature, and a great portion of the evidence given by very interested witnesses. We think therefore the present time is very appropriate for drawing up and transmitting to England a petition to Parliament detailing at length, fully, boldly, and undisguisedly the present condition of the country, taking especial care to exaggerate nothing but to state facts only. Such an appeal to the sympathies and good feeling of the British public cannot fail to interest them in our behalf ; for as abundantly proved in evidence before Parliament and by numerous writers on India, the present system and the present restrictions are found to be injurious to the inhabitants of both countries. No time therefore should be lost in appointing a committee to procure information by corresponding with different parts of the country and adopting other means with the view of drawing up the draft of a petition to be remitted to England at as early a period as possible.

Among other contemplated changes is a more unrestricted admission of Europeans to this country. Colonization is a subject that has undergone ample discussion, and is certainly deserving of great consideration. We cannot say we participate in the fears of some of our countrymen on this subject. India wants nothing but the application of European skill and enterprize to render her powerful, prosperous, and happy. The resources and capabilities of India are incalculable, and were European skill and improvements more generally diffused throughout the country the change would be so great, both in the condition of the people, and the appearance of the country, as to bear no more resemblance to what it does at present, than it does now to the wildest parts of Africa. The idea therefore that the introduction of a few thousand more Europeans into India among 80 millions of people would be injurious to their interests and detrimental to their welfare is perfectly absurd. The reverse would be the case, some of the warmest friends of the natives of India have so expressed themselves.

The opponents of colonization oppose it for reasons very different than because it would be injurious to the Natives. We will state one advantage amongst others. Why has the manufacture of cottons in this country been entirely destroyed? Because cheap as labour is here compared to what it is in England, they are enabled to manufacture it, and sell it in our markets cheaper than we can afford to do ; though the raw cotton must be first sent to England and again brought out here, incurring all the charges of freight, shipments, &c. Would this be the case if it were manufactured here precisely in the same manner that it is in England? Certainly not. And what is to prevent it? Nothing ; and this is the true secret why so much alarm has been felt about the establishment of Europeans in India. The idea of the Natives of India suffering oppression from an additional number of European settlers, is equally absurd. They would be subject to the same laws, and would enjoy no *peculiar privileges* what-

ever above the Natives: "amenable to the same courts of justice, living on the fruits of their industry, under the protection of the same laws, and subject to the payment of the same taxes as their Native brethren ; they would diffuse a spirit of industry, improvement, and emulation, which could not but make the sources from which it flowed objects of esteem, gratitude and attachment." Our brethren should bear in mind another thing, the invidious, unworthy, and humiliating distinctions between European and Native are daily diminishing and will be still more so as the natives of India are admitted to higher offices in the state than they have hitherto been permitted to hold, and as knowledge and information becomes more generally diffused.

Besides it should be remembered, if we have been kept at a distance by the Europeans, they too have been kept at a distance by us, deeming ourselves polluted by sitting together and regarding them as an inferior caste. Time however and more general diffusion of knowledge and intercourse, will remove these unworthy prejudices on both sides, and nothing is more likely to effect it than colonization.*

236. A letter on Rammohun Roy and Colonization. (June 27, 1832).

To the Editor of the India Gazette.

Sir,—The candour and justice of your remarks upon Rammohun Roy's exposition of the Revenue System, induce me to believe that you will readily give insertion to a correction of what appears to me an error into which you have (no doubt unconsciously) fallen. You observe in your Editorial notice of my letter, that the opinions of Rammohun Roy upon the subject of colonization are inconsistent with those which he was induced publicly and formally to express in Calcutta.

I must observe in the first place, that when a man has opportunities of examining a question with the aid of fresh lights, it is highly probable that his opinions may undergo some modification, without in the slightest degree impeaching his judgment or his character. You will find, however, upon a reference to Rammohun Roy's speech delivered in the Town Hall, 15th December 1829, that the sentiments he then expressed are in the most perfect accordance with those delivered in reply to the queries of the Committee.

"Rammohun Roy supported the Resolution, and said, 'From personal experience I am impressed with the conviction, that the greater our intercourse with European Gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in Literary, Social, and Political happiness ; a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of my countrymen, who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity: and a fact which I could to the best of my belief declare on solemn oath before any assembly. I fully agree with Dwarkanath Tagore in the purport of the resolution just read."—*Bengal Hurkaru*, December 17, 1829.

Now, although the purport of the resolution was to remove the obstacles to the occupancy of land by British subjects, and to their free resort to the Company's territories, it is very apparent from Rammohun Roy's speech, that he

* *Reformer*, quoted by *Calcutta Monthly Magazine*, January, 1832.

had in his mind's eye the *respectable classes* alone, such as could, in the words of the resolution, "occupy and acquire lands". He certainly does no where admit the propriety of indiscriminate colonization. But were it even otherwise, you cannot but admit that a maturer reflection, and subsequent observation of the labouring classes at home, might produce that change in his sentiments which you indicate, without in the least impeaching his character as an honourable man. Nay, so much the reverse, that you will agree with me it is more honourable to announce such a change, than to conceal it merely to preserve an appearance of consistency. Opinions must not in this respect, be confounded with facts.

I confess I am at a loss to discover in what particulars the evidence upon this subject is self-contradictory. The leading principle appears to me too clear to admit of self-contradiction.*

FIAT JUSTITIA.

237. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" on the above. (June 27, 1832).

When the question is not what is right or wrong, but what is the opinion of a particular individual, on any given subject, we are little disposed to waste our own time or our readers' patience by a prolonged discussion; and in the case of Rammohun Roy, we are still less inclined to protract a useless controversy when we are equally convinced with our correspondent whom we have joined in defending him, that, as far as yet appears, he has been influenced by the most upright and honourable views, and by an ardent and sincere, if not the most enlightened, desire to promote the welfare of his countrymen. The quotation from his speech in the Town Hall on colonization establishes a greater consistency than we had supposed to exist between the opinions he then delivered and those which we find expressed in his evidence ; but still, at the Town Hall he said nothing like what is distinctly implied in his evidence, of the propriety of adopting measures to prevent certain classes of Europeans from settling in this country. It is here that we think him most in fault. He had an unquestioned right to alter his opinion as better information and more mature reflection might dictate; but from the communications he has held with colonizationists in Calcutta, he ought to have known and recollected that they do not recommend or desire the settlement of the labouring classes of Europeans in India, and that this misrepresentation of their sentiments, in which he virtually joins by arguing against such an assumed opinion, is a mere *ruse* to divert attention from the main question, and to form a plea for the imposition of restrictions which are as unnecessary as they are unjust. How are European labourers to obtain the means of transporting themselves hither? If they possess such means, why should they be debarred from proceeding to any part of His Majesty's dominions? Who is to draw the line of distinction between the "higher and educated classes of Europeans and the lower and uneducated classes?" There is no such line either in law or in fact, and no such line can be attempted to be drawn without the exercise of arbitrary

* *India Gazette*, January 27, 1832

and undefined powers which experience has shown will be abused. But this is just what the men desire whose views Rammohun Roy is, unconsciously we believe, aiding by the nature of the evidence he has given on this subject.*

238. Remarks of Rammohun Roy on the settlement in India by Europeans. (July 14, 1832).

Much has been said and written by persons in the employ of the Honourable East India Company and others on the subject of the settlement of Europeans in India, and many various opinions have been expressed as to the advantages and disadvantages which might attend such a political measure. I shall here briefly and candidly state the principal effects which, in my humble opinion, may be expected to result from this measure.

2. I notice, first, some of the advantages that might be derived from such a change.

ADVANTAGES.

First.—European settlers in India will introduce the knowledge they possess of superior modes of cultivating the soil and improving its products (in the article of sugar, for example), as has already happened with respect to indigo, and improvements in the mechanical arts, and in the agricultural and commercial systems generally, by which the natives would of course benefit.

Secondly.—By a free and extensive communication with the various classes of the native inhabitants the European settlers would gradually deliver their minds from the superstitions and prejudices, which have subjected the great body of the Indian people to social and domestic inconvenience, and disqualified them from useful exertions.

Thirdly.—The European settlers being more on a par with the rulers of the country, and aware of the rights belonging to the subjects of a liberal Government, and the proper mode of administering justice, would obtain from the local Governments, or from the Legislature in England, the introduction of many necessary improvements in the laws and judicial system ; the benefit of which would of course extend to the inhabitants generally, whose condition would thus be raised.

Fourthly.—The presence, countenance and support of the European settlers would not only afford to the natives protection against the impositions and oppression of their landlords and other superiors, but also against any abuse of power on the part of those in authority.

Fifthly.—The European settlers, from motives of benevolence, public spirit and fellow-feeling towards their native neighbours, would establish schools and other seminaries of education for the cultivation of the English language throughout the country, and for the diffusion of a knowledge of European arts and sciences ; whereas at present the bulk of the natives (those residing at the Presidencies and some large towns excepted) have no more opportunities of acquiring this means of national improvement than if the country had never had any intercourse or connexion whatever with Europe.

* *Ibid*, June 27, 1832.

Sixthly.—As the intercourse between the settlers and their friends and connexions in Europe would greatly multiply the channels of communication with this country, the public and the Government here would become much more correctly informed, and consequently much better qualified to legislate on Indian matters than at present, when, for any authentic information, the country is at the mercy of the representations of comparatively a few individuals, and those chiefly the parties who have the management of public affairs in their hands, and who can hardly fail therefore to regard the result of their own labours with a favourable eye.

Seventhly.—In the event of an invasion from any quarter, east or west, the Government would be better able to resist it, if, in addition to the native population, it were supported by a large body of European inhabitants, closely connected by national sympathies with the ruling power, and dependent on its stability for the continued enjoyment of their civil and political rights.

Eighthly.—The same cause would operate to continue the connexion between Great Britain and India on a solid and permanent footing ; provided only the latter country be governed in a liberal manner, by means of Parliamentary superintendence, and such other legislative checks in this country as may be devised and established. India may thus, for an unlimited period, enjoy union with England, and the advantage of her enlightened Government ; and in return contribute to support the greatness of this country.

Ninthly.—If, however, events should occur to effect a separation between the two countries, then still the existence of a large body of respectable settlers (consisting of Europeans and their descendants, professing Christianity, and speaking the English language in common with the bulk of the people, as well as possessed of superior knowledge, scientific, mechanical, and political) would bring that vast empire in the East to a level with other large Christian countries in Europe, and by means of its immense riches and extensive population, and by the help which may be reasonably expected from Europe, they (the settlers and their descendants) may succeed sooner or later in enlightening and civilizing the surrounding nations of Asia.

3. I now proceed to state some of the principal disadvantages which may be apprehended, with the remedies which I think calculated to prevent them, or at any rate their frequent occurrence.

DISADVANTAGES.

First.—The European settlers being a distinct race, belonging to the class of the rulers of the country, may be apt to assume an ascendancy over the aboriginal inhabitants, and aim at enjoying exclusive rights and privileges, to the depression of the larger, but less favoured class ; and the former being also of another religion, may be disposed to wound the feelings of the natives, and subject them to humiliations on account of their being of a different creed, colour and habits.

As a remedy or preventive of such a result, I would suggest, 1st. That as the higher and better educated classes of Europeans are known from experience to be less disposed to annoy and insult the natives than persons of a lower class, the European settlers, for the first twenty years at least, should be from among

educated persons of character and capital, since such persons are very seldom, if ever, found guilty of intruding upon the religions or national prejudices of persons of uncultivated minds ; 2dly. The enactment of equal laws, placing all classes on the same footing as to civil rights, and the establishment of trial by jury (the jury being composed impartially of both classes), would be felt as a strong check on any turbulent or overbearing characters amongst Europeans.

The second probable disadvantage is as follows : the Europeans possess an undue advantage over the natives, from having readier access to persons in authority, these being their own countrymen, as proved by long experience in numerous instances ; therefore, a large increase of such a privileged population must subject the natives to many sacrifices from this very circumstance.

I would therefore propose as a remedy, that in addition to the native vakeels, European pleaders should be appointed in the country courts in the same manner as they are in the King's courts at the Presidencies, where the evil referred to is consequently not felt, because the counsel and attornies for both parties, whether for a native or a European, have the same access to the judge, and are in all respects on an equal footing in pleading or defending the cause of their clients.

The third disadvantage in contemplation is, that at present the natives of the interior of India have little or no opportunity of seeing any Europeans except persons of rank holding public offices in the country, and officers and troops stationed in or passing through it under the restraint of military discipline, and consequently those natives entertain a notion of European superiority, and feel less reluctance in submission ; but should Europeans of all ranks and classes be allowed to settle in the country, the natives who come in contact with them will materially alter the estimate now formed of the European character, and frequent collisions of interests and conflicting prejudices may gradually lead to a struggle between the foreign and native race till either one or the other obtain a complete ascendancy, and render the situation of their opponents so uncomfortable that no government could mediate between them with effect, or ensure the public peace and tranquillity of the country. Though this may not happen in the interior of Bengal, yet it must be kept in mind, that no inference drawn from the conduct of the Bengalese (whose submissive disposition and want of energy are notorious) can be applied with justice to the natives of the Upper Provinces, whose temper of mind is directly the reverse. Among this spirited race the jarrings above alluded to must be expected, if they be subjected to insult the instrusion—a state of things which would ultimately weaken, if not entirely undermine, the British power in India, or at least occasion much bloodshed from time to time to keep the natives in subordination.

The remedy already pointed out (para. 3d, art. 1st. remedy 1st.) will, however, also apply to this case, that is, the restriction of the European settlers to the respectable and intelligent class already described, who in general may be expected not only to raise the European character still higher, but also to emancipate their native neighbours from the long standing bondage of ignorance and superstition, and thereby secure their affection, and attach them to the government under which they may enjoy the liberty and privileges so dear to persons of enlightened minds.

Some apprehend, as *the fourth probable danger,* that if the population of

India were raised in wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, by the accession and by the example of numerous respectable European settlers, the mixed community so formed would revolt (as the United States of America formerly did) against the power of Great Britain, and would ultimately establish independence. In reference to this, however, it must be observed that the Americans were driven to rebellion by misgovernment, otherwise they would not have revolted and separated themselves from England. Canada is a standing proof that an anxiety to effect a separation from the mother country is not the natural wish of a people, even tolerably well ruled. The mixed community of India, in like manner, so long as they are treated liberally, and governed in an enlightened manner, will feel no disposition to cut off its conexion with England, which may be preserved with so much mutual benefit to both countries. Yet, as before observed, if events should occur to effect a separation, (which may arise from many accidental causes, about which it is vain to speculate or make predictions), still a friendly and highly advantageous commercial intercourse may be kept up between two free and Christian countries, united as they will then be by resemblance of language, religion, and manners.

The fifth obstacle in the way of settlement in India by Europeans is, that the climate in many parts of India may be found destructive, or at least very pernicious to European constitutions, which might oblige European families who may be in possession of the means to retire to Europe to dispose of their property to disadvantage, or leave it to ruin, and that they would impoverish themselves instead of enriching India. As a remedy I would suggest that many cool and healthy spots could be selected and fixed upon as the head-quarters of the settlers, (where they and their respective families might reside and superintend the affairs of their estates in the favourable season, and occasionally visit them during the hot months, if their presence be absolutely required on their estates), such as the Suppatoo, the Nielgherry Hills, and other similar places, which are by no means pernicious to European constitutions. At all events, it will be borne in mind that the emigration of the settlers to India is not compulsory, but entirely optional with themselves.

To these might be added some minor disadvantages, though not so important. These (as well as the above circumstances) deserve fair consideration and impartial reflection. At all events, no one will, I trust, oppose me when I say, that the settlement in India by Europeans should at least be undertaken experimentally, so that its effects may be ascertained by actual observation on a moderate scale. If the result be such as to satisfy all parties, whether friendly or opposed to it, the measure may then be carried on to a greater extent, till at last it may seem safe and expedient to throw the country open to persons of all classes.

On mature consideration, therefore, I think I may safely recommend that educated persons of character and capital should now be permitted and encouraged to settle in India, without any restriction of locality or any liability to banishment, at the discretion of the government; and the result of this experiment may serve as a guide in any future legislation on this subject.*

London, (Signed) RAMMOHUN ROY.
July 14th 1832.

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 8, pp. 341-43.

239. A letter of a Hindoo on the Salt Question. (October 22, 1830).

RESPECT US! WE ARE YET A PEOPLE—A NATION.

To the Editor of the India Gazette.

Mr. Editor.—I had dictated a rough copy of the following ere your ably written and highly honourable remarks were read to me by a kind European gentleman, who sometimes asks how we live, and who has embodied my remarks on the Salt controversy in English. I cannot refuse *you*, as one of our advocates, the pleasure of reading *our* remarks. It may be of some gratification to you, at your discretion, to submit them or not to the public, as those of

ONE OF "THE PEOPLE".

I proceed without further preface to address the COVENANTED SALT OFFICER, TIMS, senior, junior, &c. &c.

My name is Ram Horee Doss. I pay annually to Government a sum of 120 rupees. I am therefore a ten pound freeholder, as you would call it. *My son was one of those who assisted to thrash the palkee of an honourable Covenanted Salt Officer,* and returned home triumphant to tell how he had seen the Topee Walla run for his life. Why did he do all this? Why should more of us not repeat it? If *we* find that insult is added to injury, may *you* not one day find *that the worm will turn when it is trodden upon*!

Let us leave declamation and come to facts. Did it never occur to you that 325 Rs. per 100 maunds, or 3¼ per maund, was *somewhat* too dear when the smugglers would furnish it at 1 rupee 8 annas? And then, too, *your* 3¼ per maund of *Salt* was augmented here to 8 Rs. per maund of two-thirds salt and one third sand. Do you doubt the fact? I will send you some of the compound, and, if you will furnish me with a bill of indemnity, will *contract* with you to deliver 100 maunds of salt at 1-8 per maund, purchased from the . . . of the Company's Golahs at . . . at any spot between Calcutta, Jessore, and Kishangur. Did it never occur to you, Sir, while sporting with our miseries, that it might be *therefore* the H. C.'s Salt Golahs contained so many maunds of unsold Salt? And did it never strike you, Sir, amidst your heartless gibes, that when a people so notorious for submission as we are, even to the very shadow of power, were driven (I say *driven*, for I aver that the Bengalee *must* be driven ere he ventures on such remedies)—*driven* then, to attack a Company's officer of high rank, and one so generally beloved for his many excellent qualities, in the manner we so notoriously did in the very suburbs of Calcutta,—I may say under the guns of Fort William—did it never occur to you, that there must have been some pressing demand for that which could render its smugglers so bold in its defence as to make the very women offer *a reward "for the head of the Topee Wallah?"* Have you, with all your esprit, so little judgment as not to discern something in this? Is it a sign of the times? May we not be like those of whom your traveller Humboldt speaks as, "talking of an excursion of five miles in a hammock as a fatiguing day's work, and of firing a cannon as an exploit", and who, some few years after,

astonished the return troops of Spain by their activity, boldness, and patient endurance of privations? I trust for the sake of humanity we are not—that my countrymen may seek amelioration by other means— that there is sense enough amongst you to check the insulting tone which might drive us to it. But it is upon you, Sir, and upon such as you alone, revelling as you have revelled all your life in ease, perhaps in luxury, that lessons like these are lost.

Let us return again to facts. You assert that, as we do not purchase more, we have *therefore* enough! Was there no professor, Sir, in the College in which you were reared (at *our* expence) to teach you that in an argument we should never *assume* that which it is the object of the argument to *prove*? You wish to prove that our supply of Salt is ample, and to do it you *assume* that it is so *because* we do not buy it at your monopoly price! Fie upon you, Sir! to call this argument. Show us the period when Salt has been sold at its natural price. Supply ten families in any village with it. Give your starving workmen at home a full supply of bread and meat, at the price they would obtain it without your Corn Laws, and see *then* if they would consume more of it or not. If you have made no better use of your time than these shallow arguments indicate, I am sorry that our money has been so wasted. *On a prejugés de son siecle, de sa secte, de sa profession—et puis les siens propres,* says one of your European writers. Is this your case, Sir? Do you conceal prejudice beneath the mask of levity as some do wisdom beneath that of gravity? Or how is it that you *dare* to sport with the wants of that people who pay you, and whom it is your first duty to cherish and protect according to your master's orders. You have not felt, I dare say, the pressure of that time when at home (*your* home), societies were formed "to promote the use of potatoe flour in making bread". But it may be that you can suppose there were thousands *who gave the children a little less bread for dinner that they might have a bit for supper,* and the monopolists might say then as you now say, "There is no more purchased, though we have plenty for sale", it is only the sixty-fourth of a guinea more per month, &c., *therefore* there is enough.

To facts again. When you next mean to sport with our sufferings, let me counsel you to ask your medical adviser if he thinks the miserable ryot and his squalid children have a sufficient supply of salt. Ask him if he does not believe that to the want of it is probably to be attributed much of the mortality and suffering which prevails amongst them from worms and mesenteric obstructions. And when you have obtained his answer, it may be that you may blush. I should hope (if you have not been pampered till you are spoilt) that you might retract. And bear ever in mind that at fifty miles only from Calcutta, one-third of what is sold to us as Salt is dirt, and is swallowed as salt. If you continue your mistimed levity I will publish an analysis of it according to your science of Chemistry, *and one of the smuggled salt with it.* You will find the difference to be about as three to one against the Monopoly Salt, so that at a distance of fifty miles only, your price of 325 Rs. per 100 maunds is augmented to 975 Rs. or 9¾ Rs. per maund. The lady of the European gentleman who writes for me *sends to Calcutta* for fine Salt at 10 Rupees per maund, and finds it cheaper to do so! Is this an ample supply? If your masters seized upon the supply of

beer and sold it at 32 Rupees per cask, under monopoly restrictions, which would have the effect of raising it to 97 at Moorshedabad, would you still assert that the supply was ample because their godowns were stocked? I am but a poor Bengalee, but I think I could show you that it *therefore* was not so. And if I saw some of your suffering from want of it, some of your children pining because their mother could not afford it while nursing (it is then, I am told, necessary for them), I should not give them as you have done us, *who cannot reply to you.*

To our facts again. You have cited some years in which the sales were *less* though the price was lower, and, certes, say you, this is a proof that the supply is ample. The *India Gazette* has well enquired "Were not the smugglers more active?" I will assist *you* and him. Do you know in what year it was that defalcations to the amount of Sa. Rs.................. were discovered in the accounts of the................. that................. and................. were involved in this affair—that they and their Dewans.................. —that it was................. gross negligence................. Well, Sir, in that year the smugglers bought Salt cheaper from the Company's Dewan at................., for the natives knew that the affair must blow up soon and made hay (Salt) while the hot weather lasted. It may be that some of them now assert 'that the supply is ample'. Will you favour us with *all* that is upon record, and the accounts of that year, and I will tell you all I remember. I do not believe that you or any man knows what the supply is. I am sure you do not know what it costs us to obtain it.

I close here, for I do not mean to combat all your arguments. I fully agree with you that there must be taxes—by no means as to how they are to be spent, or collected. I am of those who look upon the whites as intruders into our country, and who think they might in decency refrain from mockery of our 'miseries Molunghian'. I am ready indeed to do them the justice to allow that they generally are very far from doing so. I am sure they partake largely of our feeling as to the tone in which your talented letters are written. You *have* talent, Sir. Believe me there are far better ways in which to employ it than this which you have chosen, even if you consulted your interest only. *Is it not possible that you might receive an order to be silent*? If you do not, there are those amongst us who *may* solicit one.*

Gureebpore, Oct. 22, 1830. RAM HOREE DOSS.

240. Reply of Tims to the above. (October 30, 1830).

My Good Friend Ram Hurry,

So then, after all, *yours* was the dear little boy, with a squab nose and protuberant forehead, *"who assisted to thresh the* PALKEE *of an honourable Covenanted Salt Officer"*. I have admired the spirit of the young Hurry ever since—says I, to myself, this must, of a surety, be an Avater of William Tell ;

* *Government Gazette,* November 1, 1830.

Heavens! how he shower'd his blows upon the Palkee, how his club whistled about its ears, and the beast of a Palkee all the time, far from making any resistance, bore the drubbing in the most sneaking manner, I must say, that I ever saw Palkee behave in my life: It did not even turn when it was trodden on, as you say the worms do, though, poor creatures, I believe they always endeavour to get away as fast as they can—but, oh my friend! what a jewel of a son you possess in that precious child who, in defence of his countries smugglers, not only opposed himself single handed to a Palkee, but if I understand the matter thoroughly, did it under the "very Guns of Fort William", which warlike creatures maintained a silence on the occasion that might have been consider'd a little unkind by the Palkee, only that the base wretch must have felt conscious that his submitting to be thresh'd in so ignominious a manner deprived him of all claim to be consider'd as a gentleman and man of honor.

But in truth, my friend, yours is altogether an enviable lot: not only does it appear that your son bang'd the great lubberly brute of a Palkee, but your excellent wife was so liberal as to offer *"a reward for the head of the Topee Wallah"*—this was spirited, and as it should be—to be sure, there might have been some objection on the part of the "Topee Wallah" to resign so necessary an appendage in the present day as a head, but I still think that, considering it was the wish of a lady, a little negotiation might have brought the matter about ; I am sure if I had been the fortunate "Topee Wallah" whose head was requisite to the happiness of so amiable a creature, I should have made a point of laying it at her feet without delay.

You ask me, my kind and considerate monitor, whether, with "all my esprit, I have so little judgment as not to discern something in this (to wit, the pummelled Palkee and the craving for a Topee Wallah's head on the part of your gentle spouse). Is it a sign of the times?" Upon my word I cannot say, but I rather think that I do discover in it a sign that the times are undergoing a very favourable alteration for Palankeen makers, while many heads which have, heretofore, not been considered as worth much, will now begin to look up (as we say of the Indigo), since there is money bid for them: but, my dear fellow, I have lived too long in a land where it is their pleasant practice to shoot an Exciseman once a week (in the matter of the Potsheen), to think it at all extraordinary that an obnoxious "Protective" should be now and then put out of the way by the Boys of the free trade, and I do assure you that, if, in the course of my Salt rounds, I were to find myself at the bottom of a ditch, with a brace of Bullets on the wrong side of my ribs, however unpleasant such an adventure might be, I should consider it as entirely in the way of business—Ah, Ram! if you only knew *our* happy country, why, bless your chubby face, the lads there make nothing of whipping a Gauger over the cliff, or slapping off half a dozen carbines at the Preventive Service Men, in order that they may land their little cargo of Brandy, Lace, and French Gloves quietly and decently—one certainly must allow that those articles are not quite so essential to man as Salt ; but then their illicit introduction is not so hazardously accomplished ; for, notwithstanding a few perforated Excisemen, or Expended Preventive Servicers,

who exhaled for the promotion of free trade, I confess that I never *did* hear of so daring and furious an exploit as that of threshing a Palkee under the Guns, a Fortress with five faces regularly fortified: the only parallel act of desperation which ever fell under my own notice, was six men bearing a carpet under the Guns of the Tower of London, but that was during a period of extreme Political Excitement.

As you order'd me, I have enquired of my medical adviser touching the little matters you mentioned, and his replies put me in a fluster, because I am convinced that, contrary to the replies of practitioners generally, they actually meant something. He ask'd me if Salt was dear in England, and if I had ever walked down Long Acre?

I am truly grateful to you, my friend, for a curious fact in the history of the human nature of which you are so good as to apprize me, you say "I should hope (if you have not been pamper'd till you are spoilt) that you might yet retract", from which I infer that a well-fed man never changes his opinion. You also desire me to "mind that fifty miles only from Calcutta what is sold as Salt *is dirt, and is swallow'd as Salt"*. All I can say in the matter is, that people must have very curious faculties of perception to swallow dirt and mistake it for any thing else—but you talk of fifty miles from Calcutta; why, my poor innocent, they have not the decency to remove any thing one yard from London, before they adulterate it, and you will find in every part of that sprightly City, the retail dealers favoring their customers with Sugar half sand, Tea half sloe leaves, Gin compounded of Vitriolic Acid, Thames water and grains of Paradise Bread, agreeably ameliorated by Plaster of Paris ; and a thousand other eccentricities, for which I refer your Chemicality to Accum—Oh, Ram! Ram! how can you be such a spooney as to imagine that your own dear countrymen would not adulterate the Salt, if it cost them no more than half an anna a maund—but Heavens! what do you threaten me with if I "continue my mistimed levity",—as I live, with an analysis! an analysis!! pray spare me *that,* I suppose it is something even worse than threshing the Palkee: but above all things, my dear friend, do not perpetrate your analysis under the Guns of Fort William, as it is impossible to say how they might take it.

You are so pleasant as to asseverate, that the price of Monopoly Salt at only fifty miles from Calcutta is augmented to 975 rupees per 100 maunds—so that of course its cost, including interest, cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, be less than 10,000 rupees per 100 maunds at Patna, that is to say, 100 rupees per maund—bless me! no wonder the people can't afford to eat it. Why, it would be like masticating gold dust—But what are you all about, Gentlemen of the Houses of Agency? You may bring Salt here from any part of the earth by paying the custom duty of 3 rupees per maund. Why, then, in the name not only of humanity, but of interest, do you not put an end to so dreadful a state of affairs? Surely 3,000 per cent. profit ought to content any moderate trader. What the deuce are the wholesale Salt merchants about, that *they* don't clear their Salt from the Company's Golahs? and above all, what are you about, you old chuckleheaded buffalo, that you don't buy all the Salt in the world, bring it to Calcutta,

and at once make a fortune sufficient to redeem the Land Tax of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, for ever? Excuse me, Ram, if I am warm, but upon my word, your blindness to your own interests is enough to provoke a saint.

Your assurance, that "the Lady of the European Gentleman who writes for you, *sends to Calcutta* for fine Salt, at 10 rupees per maund, and finds it cheaper to do so!" is highly gratifying, in as much as it proves Mrs. Muggins's devotion to the Monopoly. Nothing can be more magnanimous than her paying ten rupees per maund in Calcutta for an article which can be procured in this lively Metropolis for Five. Oh my friend! if every one would do the same, how speedily would the Government be relieved from all its present difficulties: by the way, give my best regards to the Muggins's, and ask Peter if he recollects our making an extensive application of Cobler's wax to the seat of the head Usher at old Tills'? Heavens! what a catastrophe ensued when he of the Ferule, stretched eagerly forth to chastise master Peter for spelling Physician with an F.

You are so good as to assert that I gibe those "who cannot reply to me",—now why, my dear Ram Hurry, will you persist in forming so unworthy an estimate of your own talents? Why, my dear fellow, you are in yourself a million of tongues in one ; eloquent and highly gifted as *you* are, can any cause require an abler advocate? or if it were possible that your own arguments should fail to demolish those of your adversary, is there not the junior Ram ready to enforce conviction on the most obdurate minds by Threshing their Palkees under the Guns of Fort William?—but did it never occur to you, over your morning Pot of Ghee, that when the Native Officers of Government are abused or gibed, they also cannot reply to *their* revilers or mockers, and alas *they* have no Ram Hurry, potent as Doorgah, and eloquent as the Idol of the Women, to defend them. To be sure they ought to consider the matter as provided for in their pay and allowances, but still fair play is a jewel, a fact with which you are probably unacquainted—But alas! you have touched the tenderest chord of my soul. Ah, Ram! Ram! who is there to reply for the poor Salt Monopoly, exposed as the dear dishevelled innocent is to a great deal of bad language from all quarters? Only Tims, the unhappy Tims—opposed to 1, Ram Hurry, 2, Justus, 3, Pepper, 4, Ingy Gazette. 5, T. V. 6, The Hurkaru. 7, Amicus, 8, Justus's Friend. 9, Anti Monopolite. 10, R. 11, Noodle. 12, Doodle—13—but I will count no more, lest extreme alarm should accelerate a catastrophe which I feel fast approaching—I must speak to Mr. Llewellyn, I foresee that the last of the Tims's will speedily become a rosy and winged creature like his lamented brother. Ram Hurry, when I am gone. you will perhaps discover to your great surprise that you have some bowels of compassion: however it is impossible to say.

But as you observe "to our facts again", you ask me "do you know in what year it was that defalcations to the amount of Sicca Rupees * * * were discovered in the accounts of the * * * —that * * * and * * * was involved in this affair—that they and their Dewans * * * —that it was * * * gross negligence * * *?" so clear and perspicuous an interrogatory demands a candid and explicit reply. I will therefore frankly and unhesitatingly confess to you, Ram Hurry, that when * * * made up that * * * with those * * * —who told * * * and * * * —that

it was * * * there can be no doubt but that * * * implied no less than * * *— you are of course satisfied, that the affair could only terminate in that manner. Your concluding sentence however is, after all, the cream of an Epistle, which should be written in letters of gold: you kindly and sagaciously remark, my excellent friend, as follows—"You" (that's me) *have* Talent Sir—believe me there are far better ways in which to employ it than this which you have chosen, even if you CONSULTED YOUR INTEREST ONLY. *Is it not possible that you might receive an order to be silent ?* if you do not, there are those among us who *may* solicit one !!!!!!" very proper, my dear Ram, very spirited, indeed. In those gallant words I at once recognize the Sire of him who slew the Palkee—very smart and spirited, as I am a Tims! whenever you happen to be a little short of argument, or find yourself coming second best off ; the most approved mode of proceeding is, doubtless, to tie your adversary to a tree and gag his mouth, after which you may safely address him with "now you rascal, what have you got to say for yourself?" "See, he has not a word to urge in defence!" or some equally appropriate sentence. If your adversary expresses the least reluctance to submit to the by no means unpleasant operation of binding and gagging, then you may call on the executive to silence the obnoxious individual by any process that may be in fashion ; either by cutting off his head, hanging him, starving him to death, pouring melted lead down his throat, or sending him to Melville Island ; and there can be no manner of doubt, but that so reasonable a request will be immediately complied with. There is still a third mode, by which you may convince all mankind that you are in the right, and your antagonist in the wrong, which is by threshing his Palkee under the Guns of Fort William.

Adieu, my dear Ram Hurry ; commend me kindly to thy Judith, whose Holifernesish propensities deserve all commendation. Give the demolisher of Palkees an anna and a half on my account, and believe me,*

Calcutta, Your sincere Friend,
30th October, 1830. M. A. T. TIMS.

241. Answers of Rammohun Roy to Queries on the Salt Monopoly. (March 19, 1832).

Question 1. Are you acquainted with the retail price of salt in Calcutta and the neighbouring districts?

Answer: The price of adulterated salt in Calcutta, at the time of my departure, was at the rate of between seven and eight seers for a rupee, or about 2s. for 15 lbs., if my memory be correct ; and of pure salt, like the English, between four and five seers for a rupee, or about 2s. for 9 lbs. It was of course proportionably higher in districts such as Nuddea, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, &c. more remote from the place of production and sale.

* *Ibid.*

Q. 2. Have the poorer classes of natives in the places you have mentioned been prevented at any time from procuring a sufficiency of salt by its high price?

A. As salt has by long habit become an absolute necessary of life, the poorest peasants are ready to surrender every thing else in order to procure a small proportion of this article ; though the dearth of the salt is felt by the whole community, and the people in general are therefore obliged to make use of a bad quality, and few comparatively are able to incur the expense of procuring it in a purer form.

Q. 3. Do you consider salt as necessary to the food of the natives, and that the want of it is a great deprivation of comfort to them?

A. As the food of the people in Bengal consists chiefly of boiled rice, which is by itself a most insipid kind of food, salt and ingredients dressed with salt are used to season the rice and render it palatable. The rice is usually eaten with what the Hindoos call *byunjun* or *turkaree,* and the Moossulmans, *salun ;* that is, something such as a little fish or *dal* (a kind of dressed pease), or vegetables, according to their ability to procure these articles. But as they have been long accustomed to the use of salt, the high cost of this ingredient sometimes obliges the poor people to give up their *byunjun* or *salun* to procure it, and eat their rice with salt alone, as noticed in my reply to the "additional query" 4th.

Q. 4. Do you suppose that a reduction in the price and an improvement in the quality would tend to any very considerable increase of consumption?

A. Salt being, as I already observed, an absolute necessary of life, is now purchased even by the poorest individuals, at the sacrifice of every other kind of seasoning and eatable but rice, that staff of life. If salt were rendered cheaper and better, it must greatly promote the common comforts of the people. I do not know that it would immediately cause a very considerable increase of consumption, but to a certain extent it would undoubtedly; and from its cheapness, its use may be again extended by the people in seasoning the food of cattle, for which purpose formerly large quantities were used. The poorer classes at any rate would not in this case be compelled to sacrifice any other comfort in order to procure it.

Q. 5. Are you aware that the price of salt in England is much cheaper than in India; and such being the fact, do you conceive there would be any objection on the part of the natives of India, arising from religious scruples, to eat salt imported from England—the preparation of English salt being free from all impurity?

A. I understand that the price of salt is here about one-fourth of what it is in India; therefore there is no doubt that the natives of India would be very glad to purchase English salt if imported; excepting perhaps a very few professional Brahmuns. The bulk of the people would make no distinction between the salt which is home made, and that which is imported. One-fourth (if not one-third) of the soda-water manufactured in Calcutta by Europeans, is, I think, used by the natives residing in Calcutta and its suburbs; and also a considerable proportion of the liquors imported from Europe.

Q. 6. Supposing that Salt from England could be imported cheaper than it is manufactured in Bengal, do you apprehend that much distress would fall upon the molungees from the want of employment?

A. The molungees would still be employed to a great extent in the khalarys by Government (if it be permitted to carry on the salt monopoly in future), or by those who farm them from Government, and the rest could be beneficially employed in agriculture and other occupations, as gardeners, domestic servants and daily labourers. Since common labourers among the Bengalese, such as gardeners, &c. not being equal to the demand, the natives of Orissa are generally encouraged to come to Bengal in great numbers to fill up these occupations.

Q. 7. Is the manufacture of salt attended with any suffering to the persons engaged in it, from exposure to unwholesome situations and tigers ; and do you consider them in a better or worse condition than the ryots employed in agriculture?

A. Since the Sunderbuns have been partially cleared, the danger from tigers is not considerable. But the molungees suffer chiefly from the humidity of the soil and the dampness of the atmosphere where they are obliged to continue during the manufacturing season. The agriculturists are better situated than the molungees in respect both to health and to personal freedom, from not being, like the latter, liable to be detained during the working season, though the agriculturists are not equally sure of regular employment and wages.

Q. 8. Are you of opinion that the molungees are liable to ill-usage from the subordinate officers of the salt agencies?

A. In proportion as the head molungees suffer extortion from the salt officers, they indemnify themselves by defrauding the inferior molungees in respect to the wages allowed to them, and the work exacted from them.

Q. 9. Have not regulations been passed of late years to protect the molungees?

A. Regulations have been passed, but the combinations of officers, superior or inferior, render them almost inoperative; to say nothing of the insuperable difficulties under which a humble individual generally labours in endeavouring to get redress against those in power, or superior to himself in wealth and influence, as already explained in my answers to the "Judicial Queries."

Q. 12. To what extent is the salt of the Bengal monopoly adulterated before it reaches the consumers?

A. The adulteration of the salt is carried to an enormous extent, by mixing it with one-third or even one-half of earth, until, instead of being like salt, it more resembles the earth of which it is composed. Persons in comfortable circumstances generally purify it by manufacturing it over again before they use it, or purchase it already refined, often at double the common price; but the poorer classes cannot afford the expense of either.*

London, March 19, 1832. RAMMOHUN ROY.

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831-32, Vol. 11, pp. 685-86.

242. Letter from Bengal Government to the Court of Directors on the subject of Salt Revenue, &c. With Enclo. (April 2, 1832).

Honourable Sirs,

With reference to the observations communicated in paragraphs 6 to 25 of your Honourable Court's despatch in the separate department, dated the 23d of February, No. 1 of 1831, we have the honour to transmit a copy of a report, dated the 26th of January last, from the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, and copies of its enclosures, on the subject of the existing mode of managing the salt Revenue, and on the question of opening the Government golahs to the public at fixed prices for the article.

2. The Board have taken great pains in their report to place before your Honourable Court the data on which the quantity of salt to be disposed of in the year at the Calcutta sales is regulated, according to the system now pursued, and have brought forward a succession of able arguments to show that it is sufficient for the consumption of the provinces which draw their supply from those sales, and that the price at which salt is obtained by the poorest classes is not felt in any degree burthensome to their means of subsistence.

We concur in the objections of the Board to the proposition of selling salt from the sulkea golahs at fixed prices, and are of opinion that while the present plan works so well, it would be a questionable policy to hazard the prosperity of so valuable a branch of the public resources by experiments of which the result is uncertain, as affecting either the comfort of the people or the realization of the State Revenue.

4. We consider the Board to be entitled to great praise for their zealous and able discussion of this subject.*

Fort William, 3d April 1832.

We have the honour, &c.,
C. T. Metcalfe.
J. W. Blunt.

Enclo :

Report from the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, to the Hon. Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart., Vice President in Council, dated 28th January 1832.

Honourable Sir,

We have the honour, with reference to Mr. Officiating Secretary Bushby's letter of the 4th of October last, to submit a report on the subject principally discussed in the extract from the Honourable the Court of Directors' letter of the 23d February 1831, which accompanied that communication, and on the expediency of opening the salt golahs to the public at fixed prices for the article. In discussing these questions, we have to solicit the indulgent consideration of Government to the necessity which we shall be under of repeating some of the arguments already urged, but as from their neither being admitted nor controverted, we presume that their tendency cannot have been sufficiently clear, we shall endeavour in our present report to free them from any chance of being misapprehended.

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831, Vol. 6, (Appendix No. 141), p. 687.

2. We commence with the Honourable Court's letter in the order in which it is written; and first, with reference to the observations contained in the paragraphs quoted in the margin, we must beg permission to repeat our opinion that six seers of salt, on an average for each person, is a liberal supply for the consumption of the people in our Bengal provinces, limited as that is to mere alimentary consumption, for it is well known that in the arts little salt, if any, is employed by the natives of India.

PARAGRAPHS 8, 9 & 10 OF COURT'S LETTER, DATED 23 FEBRUARY, 1831.

Para. 8. "We shall first advert to a position of theirs, which they had urged on a former occasion; viz. that the population supplied with salt from the Calcutta sales consume as much as they have occasion for, and would not increase their consumption if the price were reduced. We offered some remarks on this supposition in our despatch on this department, dated 4th November 1829, to which we have not yet received your answer, and to which we again direct your attention.

9. "It is stated in support of this opinion, in the correspondence before us, that six seers of salt is the annual consumption of one man, and that according to the most probable estimate of the number of inhabitants, this quantity is actually supplied to each. This, however, does not appear to us to be sufficient. The Board may know that six seers only are consumed at the present price, but we distrust their inference, that more would not be consumed at a lower price.

10. "As little satisfactory is their annual returns of golah clearances to show that the increase of supply has kept pace with the increase of population. This has no tendency to prove that at every one of those dates, the same population would not have taken off a greater quantity at a smaller price."

3. We hoped in former reports, especially in that of the 9th July 1829, to have made our reasons for adopting the above opinion sufficiently intelligible, but we are led to apprehend, from their not being met by any thing beyond a bare expression of dissent on the part of the Honourable Court, that we have not been explicit enough, or entered into sufficient detail, on a point, upon the right understanding of which, it appears to us, the whole question depends. We are most anxious to place this subject in a proper light, and we have the less difficulty in recurring to our arguments on it, because the more we have considered the question, the more fortified have we become in believing those views to be accurate, which we never hastily adopted, and which are now, to the best of our judgment, confirmed by a mass of facts and information such as we confess ourselves quite unable to discredit.

37. With respect to the 11th paragraph of the Honourable Court's letter, we beg permission to observe, leaving for future remark the subject of opening golahs at fixed prices, that we are now proceeding on the principle of adding a small quantity annually to the amount of salt sold.

16. "The Board give it as their opinion, that the tax on salt, as now paid by the people, is little felt. Inferences of this sort, however, should be very cautiously admitted. The sum paid by each individual is indeed inconsiderable, but when we compare it with the small amount of the earnings of a poor ryot, the proportion does not appear to be small."

67. We shall proceed to offer a few observations on the 16th paragraph of the Honourable Court's letter, quoted in the margin.

68. We are unable to persuade ourselves that the poorest individual in the Rowanah Provinces (exclusive of course of such as are in all countries supported by charity) feels the salt-tax so onerous an impost as the paragraph quoted would seem to imply. Neither do we perceive how the impost would be rendered more bearable by an increased

supply, if (as assumed) that extension would lead to an increased consumption ; for although the salt would be cheaper, yet, if each individual's consumption increased in proportion to the fall in price, the amount of taxation on each individual would remain just as at present. The only difference would be, in point of comfort, to the consumer ; the deduction from his gains as a labourer, for the use of the State, would continue the same ; in other words, the proportion which the tax would bear to his earnings would not be reduced by his consuming 12 seers of salt per annum at half an anna per seer, instead of six seers at an anna per seer.

69. We must, however, be permitted to doubt, first, whether, considered with reference to the ryot's means, (the wealthier class it is not necessary to take account of in such a question) the salt-tax is burthensome ; and secondly, to submit that it is in reality less burthensome than at the introduction of the monopoly.

70. The salt-tax is, we believe, almost the only tax which a labourer receiving a monthly or daily stipend cannot avoid paying, or can only avoid paying by denying himself a necessary of life ; we mean that hired labourers *not* residing in towns, and using few articles, the prices of which include custom duties ; in short, the mass of the poorer class pay very little, either directly or indirectly, towards the expenses of the State, beyond their contribution through the salt-tax . . . .

72. Assuming, then, that a common labourer or cooly receiving three rupees per mensem (which is about the average rate of cooley hire in the Lower Provinces) consumes six seers of salt per annum, subject to an impost of three rupees per maund (which the tax may be said to be), or one anna two pice per seer, his contribution towards the expenses of the State is about the 82d part of his income, or less than one and a half per cent. Now, we are not prepared to believe, that in any part of the world a taxation of double that amount would be considered burthensome, if the payer was subject to no further impost, in any shape ; and we believe that the great bulk of the poorest class in the Lower Provinces are not, for the reasons already assigned.

73. It must be much the same thing to a poor man in whatever country he resides, that a certain *proportion* of his earnings goes towards the expenses of the Government under which he lives . . . . . .

75. But if we could find any reason to believe that the salt-tax was burthensome to the people at large, or we should rather say to that class who could alone feel it onerous, we should still have abundant grounds for thinking that it has become decidedly less so since the first establishment of the monopoly on its present footing.

76. In corroboration of the correctness of this assumption, we have the honour to submit the accompanying copies of letters and statements from Land Revenue officers in various and far divided portions of those provinces through which the monopoly extends its operations. The statements adverted to exhibit so remarkable an increase in the rate of wages since the year 1790, that if we had obtained the information from one quarter alone, we should have been dubious of its accuracy ; we have, however, made personal inquiries amongst intelligent

native landholders and others, and their reports are entirely corroborative of the facts stated by the several collectors.

77. While we refer generally to the fact that the rate of wages has advanced out of all proportion to the increase in the price of salt, we shall select a single instance, as best calculated, in our opinion, to show the effect of such increase with reference to the salt tax and its payers amongst the most humble classes of society.

80. Thus in the early period of the monopoly, when established on the footing maintained since 1790, it would appear that the salt-tax, or to speak with great accuracy, the price of salt, including the tax, absorbed one anna out of every 55 earned by a common cooley in the district of the 24 pergunnahs ; in the latest period during which the same tax has been in operation, or from 1826 to 1830, inclusive, it has absorbed, including the production price of the salt, one anna in every 72 of the same earnings. We respectfully submit, that in the face of these facts it is not easy to assume that the salt-tax has become *more* onerous, or that it is *more* difficult for a poor man to procure salt now than it was 40 years ago. It is always to be remembered also, that the production price of the salt, with all the expenses attending the manufacture and transportation of the article to the place of ultimate sale, which the ryot would have to pay whether the monopoly existed or not, are to be deducted from the amount of actual taxation.

82. We have another fact to advert to, which appears to us worthy of consideration in connection with any opinion, that the monopoly has become more burthensome to the people since the period when it was resorted to for the collection of the salt-tax.

83. From the records which we have had examined of the greatest hauth, or native market, in Calcutta, it appears that the price of many necessaries of life have doubled, or more than doubled, even since 1805 . . . . . .

84. We see no other inference to be drawn from these facts than that the cost of salt itself would have increased in the same proportion as the other articles had the price been left to find its natural level in the market, and that consequently the real price per maund, the tax continuing the same, would have been twice as great now as it was in 1805, instead of selling at the advance we have quoted ; the further conclusion would naturally follow, that this enhancement had been prevented by the market being overstocked, through our anxiety to prevent the tax from being burthensome, as there is no fact better established than that a small excess of quantity operates very powerfully on price, and more especially when the excess is in an article which can be, or is, only turned to one use.

85. After all, we look in vain for any facts corroborative of the opinions which have been so freely advanced against the salt monopoly. While its adversaries assume evils, its defenders are called upon to prove negatives, and even the difficulty of that process is enhanced by the vague generalities with which the tax is assailed. Where, we would respectfully ask, does it appear on the records of Government that the people of the Rowanah Provinces have ever felt it, or considered it, an oppressive tax? To say that they would suffer in silence, even if they *did* consider it in that light, is to assert what experience in analogous cases does not warrant. Wherever a custom or a town duty is felt to be burthensome,

little time is lost before it is brought either to your Honourable Board's notice or our own. We believe we are justified in making the same assertion with respect to the land-tax in provinces where it is not settled. The instant that even opium (a mere luxury) is considered to be fixed at too high a rate in the Abkarry department, the fact becomes known to the collector, and through him to this Board, or it is frequently brought direct to our own notice by petitions. A more remarkable circumstance, however, is that from the natives themselves, we mean those of intelligence and reflection, and who are perfectly acquainted with the whole machinery of the salt Revenue, we have never heard, nor do we hear, any opinions with respect to this monopoly corroborative of the views taken by some Europeans in India, and by the party writers in England, who are inimical to the Honourable Company's Government.

86. On the last point we may confidently refer your Honourable Board to the newspapers published at the Presidency in the native languages, and to the English papers edited by, and the property of, natives. They are characterised in general by an evident leaning to what are denominated liberal opinions, and are not sparing in their remarks upon real or supposed abuses. The defective state of the police is constantly assumed and animadverted upon. The delays in the administration of civil justice, and the general corruption of native officers in all departments, are standing topics ; the oppressions and vexations attending our system of custom transit duties and town duties is justly noticed, as is the bad conduct of the subordinate salt officers. The stamp laws are viewed in an equally unfavourable light ; but (what would be an unaccountable circumstance indeed, if half the imaginary evils of the salt-tax were well founded) there has been very little if any notice taken of the monopoly, either as stinting the supply of salt, or as placing it beyond the reach of the poor. The charges against that tax proceed from Europeans alone, who are least likely to possess any practical knowledge of its effects, and who are still ignorant enough to imagine the molunghees to be a species of bondsmen, without being aware that the greatest difficulty we ever find in reducing the manufacture of an agency or aurung is the outcry it creates amongst those very molunghees, whom it throws out of employ.

87. If now and then a native of talent and education, as Rammohun Roy, for instance, raises an objection to the monopoly, it is weakly urged as compared with the strong mode in which other assumed evils are commented upon, and then not from any actual experience or observation of the mischief it is said to produce, but because it is contrary to some general principle of political economy ; but on the same account similar objections are urged against the opium monopoly, though it is not pretended to include any of those grievances to the people at large which are charged against the tax upon salt, and charged too by persons who never probably entered a bazar where it is sold, or took the trouble to make a single inquiry on the subject from that class of people who are alone able to determine whether it is burthensome or otherwise.

88. To contend that the salt monopoly is not chargeable with many imperfections, would be to contend that it is free from those objections which may be urged against all taxes in all countries, and it is not to be supposed that we claim for it an exemption from the evils and abuses which are more or less inherent in

every description of impost ; we merely think that it is, as a tax, as unobjectionable as most others, certainly as little vexatious to the contributors as any which could be carried into effect in this country, and that it presses on the people in its present form as little as any tax by which an equal amount of Revenue could be realized. If we thought otherwise, we should, we repeat, conceive it our duty to recommend an immediate departure from the principles upon which it has hitherto been conducted, at whatever risk to the public resources, for we feel assured that your Honourable Board would not hesitate a moment between a decreased Revenue and any possible distress or vexation of the people which might arise from its being maintained at its present height.

89. With our existing impressions, however, we confess that the excise on salt is one of the last taxes administered by our Board which we should desire to see relinquished, or in the mode of collecting which we could suggest any immediate improvement. . . . . . . In fact, we know not where we shall look for an instance of any Asiatic Revenue producing net annual assets to the extent of a million and a quarter sterling, the machinery of which is so simple, the amount so certain, and the burthen, according to our opinion, so light upon the people.

91. On the value of this theory, as opposed to the facts we have collected, we have deliberately formed our own opinion, but this conviction does not render less embarrassing the situations in which we are free to confess we feel ourselves placed.

92. We should be entirely indifferent to any odium which theorists, either here or in England, might attempt to cast on the administration of the salt Revenue, because in nine cases out of ten, its alleged evils are merely employed as political instruments against the Honourable Company's Government generally, and, being once assumed, are treated of as undeniable truths exemplificatory of the defects of the whole system. Pamphlets have been written to show the oppressive nature of the monopoly from the fact, as assumed, that the molunghees are compelled to labour in the pestilential marshes formed by the estuary of the Ganges, and are exposed at once to the attacks of ferocious animals, and the evils of a fatal climate. It is almost a waste of time disposing of such absurdities ; but to show the true nature of the arguments ordinarily used on this subject, we need only refer to the following truth: That our tables are covered at the commencement of the manufacturing season by petitions from molunghees, whom the agents are unable, or think it inexpedient, to engage with, all complaining that to deprive them of the salt manufacture is to ruin them ; that the molunghees are, owing to the precautions adopted for their safety, not a tithe so much exposed to the attacks of wild beasts as the thousands of persons voluntarily engaged in the same districts as woodcutters, wax-gatherers, hunters or fishermen ; that one-tenth of the salt made by molunghees is manufactured in or near the Sunderbunds, (a fact of which the writers adverted to appear to have been utterly ignorant); that the rest is produced in the midst of cultivation and in districts as salubrious as those of Lower Bengal generally ; that the very pestilential marshes themselves have been parcelled out amongst, and very cheerfully taken possession of by European and other grantees, who are now clearing their estates, and extol the soil and climate, while some of them have actually

commenced, as Government contractors, the manufacture of that very article, which it was assumed could only be produced by a system of force and terror being adopted towards the unfortunate molunghees. But it is needless to multiply instances, especially as the charge of oppression towards the molunghees has in this country at least. . . . . . completely died away, and been replaced by another in perfect keeping with the whole system of the antagonists of the monopoly ; for it is now asserted that the molunghees are too well off ; that they are the oppressors instead of the oppressed ; in short, that they are fostered at the expense of the other ryots. It is certainly not easy to reconcile opinions so opposite, though it is perfectly easy to understand the motives which lead to their expression, particularly at the present juncture.

93. We have already observed, however, that such crude notions would afford us very little uneasiness, but this is not the case when we find our views almost directly opposed to those of the Honourable Court of Directors, and if not rejected, yet only half adopted by your Honourable Board. We feel (and it must be admitted that such a position is a disagreeable and a disadvantageous one for a subordinate authority to occupy) as if we were conducting the administration of the salt monopoly against the better judgment of the home and local Governments, when our sole desire, as it is our duty, is to submit our views, leaving to the Honourable the Court of Directors and Your Honourable Board to determine whether they shall be followed or not.

94. We trust we may be excused for referring your Honourable Board to the 22d paragraph of the extract from the Honourable Court's letter, on which we have ventured to submit our present remarks ; we are not aware of any bias attending our views on the subject of the salt Revenue beyond an anxious desire to administer it in that mode which shall combine the comfort of the people with a regard to the exigencies of the State. We do not claim for ourselves more than a conscientious desire to form just opinions ; we may be mistaken, or as the Honourable Court observes, biassed, though unconscious of a leaning on any side. It is for your Honourable Board to preserve us from such a bias, and what is of more importance, the people from its effects ; and to this end, we trust we shall be pardoned for entreating that we may now be favoured with a decisive opinion of your Honourable Board on the subject.*

We have the honour, &c.

Board of Customs, Salt & Opium, (Signed) G. CHESTER
26 January 1832. H. SARGENT

* *Ibid* (Appendix No. 142).

ADMINISTRATIVE

243. Letter in the "Samachar Durpun" inviting opinions on the likelihood of good resulting to the country from Rammohun Roy's evidence before the East India Committee. (September 17, 1831).

To the Editor of the Durpun.

A dispute arose amongst some intelligent persons on perusing the Durpun of last week ; for, respecting the opinions expressed by Baboo Ram Mohun Roy to the Gentlemen of the East Indian Committee at Liverpool, some said, that much good would result to this country if those opinions of the excellent Baboo were carried into effect, whilst other highly respectable individuals maintained, that no good could result to this country from the Baboo, for, "the good that springs from evil, is no good." Thus a dispute arose, and nothing accurate having been determined, I beg, through the Durpun, that the several Editors of papers, both natives and foreigners, would discuss both sides of the question, and that you would kindly give us the substance of the discussion in your Durpun, and thus put an end to the disputes of all who are now in doubt.*

AN INQUIRING BISHWAS.

18th Bhadra, 1238.

244. Reason for refusal of the "Samachar Durpun" to publish a letter communicating opinion re : the above. (September 24, 1831).

We recently published a letter from a Bishwas enquiring whether Ram Mohun Roy's journey to Europe was likely to be beneficial to India or the reverse. We have received a very long reply to this query, which the writer requests us to publish *without omissions*. This we are unable to do. The letter contains many slanders on Ram Mohun Roy's private character, which we do not think it right to publish. We have received from time to time numerous letters, touching the private affairs of the Editor of the Chundrika, which we have invariably refused to publish. On the present occasion, knowing as we do the writer of the letter, we must adopt the same rule. If he will permit us to omit those parts which refer to the Baboo's domestic affairs, we will cheerfully give insertion to that part which refers only to his public conduct.†

245. Letter of a Native in the "Samachar Durpun" on the same. (October 15, 1831).

To the Editor of the Durpun.

A letter was published in the Durpun of the 17th of September, signed "An Inquiring Bishwas", the object of which was to enquire, whether Ram Mohun Roy's visit to England would be auspicious to this country, or the reverse? A reply to this question, he requested from the Editors of all the newspapers. It

* *Samachar Durpun*, September 17, 1831.
† *Ibid*, September 24, 1831.

is proper therefore that each one in reply should state his own judgment. Hence I write:—

There cannot be the slightest advantage to our country from Ram Mohun Roy's visit to England, for he does not seek the general good of the country ; it being generally known that he is more particularly opposed to the welfare of Hindoos. Whether his visit will be advantageous to the five or ten individuals who are of his opinion, or to his sons and other relatives, I cannot say, but that the country generally will not benefit by his voyage is certain ; for by his various attempts to destroy the holy actions to which the people of this country are greatly attached, he has wearied and disgusted every body. In proof of which I would remark, that before Ram Mohun Roy displayed his knowledge, the inhabitants of this town lived happily ; that is to say, every man, even to the very chundal, exerted himself for the performance of the actions commanded in the shastras and their hereditary duties, and he himself walked in the paths of the national habits and manners. While thus following the practices of the Hindoos through the favour of some English gentlemen, more particularly of Mr. Digby, a civil servant, he obtained a fortune. After that he came to this town and was in the habit of visiting some rich and respectable men, and by the courtesy of his speech made friends among them ; some of them he succeeded in bringing under his influence. Thus emboldened, he shortly after established a society called the Society of Friends, to which a number of individuals for a time resorted under the impression that through the Society some good might arise to the country. But after a time they discovered that he was only sowing the seeds of destruction, that is to say, that nothing was agitated there, but that which was injurious to the shastras and brahmuns ; this put them on their guard, and in fact respectable men gave up their connection with the Society ; it therefore melted away. It was also discovered that his habits and customs were not in conformity with Hindooism. From that time Ram Mohun Roy was deserted by the Hindoos, a proof of which I proceed to give you.

It will be in the recollection of many, that when the former Chief Justice Sir Edward Hyde East established the Hindoo College, the majority of respectable men in this city at the request of that gentleman, and under the idea of its being beneficial to the country subscribed largely to it. Sir Edward was greatly pleased with this, and proceeded to fix the rules of the College, by which the best qualified native gentlemen were appointed Governors of the Institution. Ram Mohun Roy was not received among the Governors, because such was not the will of the Hindoos.

My second proof is this, so far from Ram Mohun Roy's being received into society, the son of a most respectable man, gifted with learning, and strong through his benevolence, from the mere stain of his living with Ram Mohun Roy, was unable to obtain a seat among the Governors. Mr. Harington, the Judge of the Sudder Dewannee, used many intreaties to secure his reception among the Governors, but did not succeed. Such misfortunes have befallen those who lived on terms of intimacy with Ram Mohun Roy. What would have befallen them if they had eaten and drank with him, I cannot say. This fact will be confirmed by enquiring of Sir Edward Hyde East in England.

For a long time Ram Mohun Roy was in the habit of publishing works in the native languages, and giving them away ; but the moment they reached the holy, instead of being pleased with them, they indignantly rejected them, as they would have done the books of the Missionaries ; for their object was to recommend a life of abstraction and to discommend the worship of the gods and goddesses, and to maintain that there was no harm in discontinuing the funeral obsequies, &c. of deceased ancestors, which even the very children would not believe.

Through his frequently publishing these doctrines in his books, some poor ignorant fellows, and some who were his dependants became converts to his opinions.

Ram Mohun Roy unable to rank among the Governors of the College, distressed with the disappointment of his expectations, under the idea of disgrace, to solace himself in his affliction opened a seminary for teaching English. His object was, since his doctrine was rejected by men advanced in years, by the instruction of children to bring them under his influence. By degrees children of low caste, educated in his seminary, adopted his opinions. Those among the wealthy who have come over to his sect, have through the contagion of unholiness, lost their religion, their wealth, and their honour. Of this some are already aware ; others will not learn it till they are entirely destroyed. If any man should reject this fact calling it superstition, I care not.

Ram Mohun Roy is also well known as the advocate of colonization. His object is by every means to colonize the country ; hence, his partizan Kaleenath Roy, the enemy of female immolation, has persuaded a number of persons to sign the petition in favour of colonization. But it is not the wish of the great body of the Hindoos that the English should come and cultivate the ground, and become landholders. The evils likely to arise from this, are fully developed in the petition against colonization which has been sent to England. Hence he can by no means be considered as a promoter of the general welfare of India.*

A NATIVE OF CALCUTTA,
A READER OF THE DURPUN.

246. Editorial remarks of the "Samachar Durpun" on Rammohun Roy's evidence before the East India Committee. (March 24, 1832).

We learn from the India Gazette that a series of questions has been addressed to Ram Mohun Roy, in writing, on the Revenue, Judicial, and Commercial systems of India, to which he has been preparing replies. Those on the Revenue system have been given in, and are said to have afforded the highest gratification. His answers to questions on the Judicial system of India were nearly finished in the beginning of September. The whole, when complete, will present a complete view of the Civil, Criminal, and Financial system of the country. He is said to have suggested various improvements, such as the Trial by Jury, Native Judicial Assessors, Joint Judges, Regular Public Registers, Codes of Civil and Criminal law, the use of the English instead of the Persian language, &c. &c.

* *Ibid*, October 15, 1831.

The title of Raja which Ram Mohun Roy received from the King of Delhi, has been recognized by His Majesty's Ministers, and it was in his capacity of Envoy from the head of the House of Timor that he was presented to His Majesty, and on the grand occasion of the Coronation took his seat in the box appropriated to the Ambassadors of the various Kings of Europe.

Our readers will thus perceive, that the assurance we held out some months ago, that the Raja's journey to England would be productive of benefit to India, is likely to be realized. Whatever difference of opinion may exist in the native community regarding his religious principles, all will admit that he is one of the ablest men of the age, and that no one is more capable of advising measures for the benefit of India. We deem it fortunate that he has undertaken his journey to England just at the time when the momentous question of the future settlement of Indian affairs is under discussion, and his profound knowledge and sound judgment may prove of the highest service to this country. In none of the remedies which he has proposed do we see any thing which could lead his countrymen to suspect him of being an enemy to the welfare of India ; on the contrary, should he be instrumental in securing those advantages to the country, not only the present, but every future age will justly consider him a benefactor to the country.*

247. Editorial remarks of the "India Gazette" on the same. (June 13, 1832).

We are happy to perceive the interest with which Raja Ram Mohun Roy's replies to the Parliamentary queries on the revenue system of India has been received by the native community. We have now before us the queries made to him and his answers regarding the judicial system now prevalent ; but as it would occupy too much of our space to give them entire, we propose to form an abridgement of them, and in our paper of next Saturday to insert the opinion he has given upon the existing system, and in a subsequent paper the suggestions which he has made for its improvement. The fact of a native of India's appearance before Parliament to give his opinion upon the character of the system of Government in this empire, is so novel, and the opinions he has expressed are so important, that we feel it unnecessary to apologize for devoting the columns of the Durpun to the subject.†

248. Further remarks of the same on the same. (June 13, 1832).

Our readers are already aware that Rammohun Roy has not been publicly examined by the Committees of Parliament on East India Affairs, but that he has communicated the results of his experience and observation in the form of answers to written interrogatories. His answers have been prepared with great care, and he is about to publish them in a separate work, together with certain papers on the Revenue and Judicial Systems of India, which, at the request of the Governor General, he is understood to have prepared before his departure from

* *Ibid*, March 24, 1832.
† *Ibid*, July 7, 1832.

Bengal. We have been favoured by his London publishers with a copy of his work, as far as it had gone through the press ; and we this day publish, for the information of our readers, the questions and answers on the Revenue System of this country. We do not at present dwell on the important views he presents ; but we must express the conviction, that it would have been better if he had abstained from saying any thing of the Madras Revenue System, of which, we believe, he has no personal knowledge, and that the opinions he advances respecting colonization are not distinguished by his usual comprehension and discrimination. He amply redeems, however, every blemish of this kind by the generous and disinterested appeal which he had made to the humanity and justice of the British Legislature in behalf of the oppressed and injured Ryots of Bengal whose rights and property have been sacrificed to the class of Zemindars to which Rammohun Roy himself belongs. We shall embrace an early opportunity of recurring to this subject.*

249. Critical remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the same. (June 20, 1832).

We have re-published from the *Asiatic Journal* of March, Rammohun Roy's replies to queries on the Revenue System of India, and we think most of our readers will agree with us in saying that it is not what might have been expected from one of his known talents and professed principles. There are in many parts marks of a tendency to soften, a sort of 'velvet condemnation', of "sarcenet surety", that, had not his name been attached to them, we could never have supposed the replies to be his. There is no want of clear and explicit information on many heads, but on others we are grieved to find him committing himself sadly. But it will be better to adduce instances of what we are advancing and to comment on them as we proceed ; here is the first :—

19. Q. In the event of the tenants falling into arrear with their rent, what means do the proprietors adopt for realizing it ?

A. They distrain their moveable property, with some exceptions, by the assistance of the police officers, and get it sold by means of the judicial authorities.

This reply is utter trimming ; we will not say it was *intended* to mislead, but in truth we are at a loss to say for what it could be intended, and more particularly when we find it again referred to in queries 28 & 29, and the same shuffling, misleading answers given.

28. Q. When a cultivator fails to pay his rent, does the proprietor distrain or take possession of the tenant's moveables by his own power, or by applying to any legal authority?

A. Already answered. (See Ques. 19.)

29. Q. Does the legal authority seize upon both the moveable and immoveable property, and the person of the tenant for his rent ?

A. 1st, On a summary application to the police, the moveable property of the tenant, with some exceptions, is distrained by the help of the police officers ; 2ndly, by the ordinary judicial process, the immoveable property of the tenant may be attached, and his person arrested for the recovery of the rest.

* *India Gazette*, June 13, 1832.

We say this is a shuffling and a misleading answer ; it is the answer of an *unwilling witness ; of one not inclined to say all he knew of "his order", and thus calculated to mislead the committee and indeed almost every man who had* not given the subject his special attention ; for it utterly glosses over that which Rammohun Roy *must* know (and no man better knows it) to be the very Plague-Spot of our administration ; the *curse* on the land ; the bond by which the unfortunate ryot is held, and bought, and sold, as the thrall and the serf of the farmer of the revenue for the time being ; and through the abuse of which the whole of the *settlemented* provinces are at this moment racked with illegal exactions to an amount utterly incredible to those unacquainted with the details of the subject. How could Rammohun Roy in these replies, *forget* the seventh Regulation of 1799? How could he gloss over the frightful, we add, the infamous, fact that by this act, which alone is a volume against the continuance of the political power of a trading Company, the Mofussil courts are bound to issue an order for The Instant Arrest ! of any ryot against whom a complaint for arrears of rent may be made, *and this without any previous enquiry*? How could Rammohun Roy *forget* to state that it is through, and by, a frightful power (arrest ; and imprisonment of an unfortunate ryot worth perhaps 100 rupees at the suit of his Zemindar worth a lac) and no other, that rents are raised ; that *Moroosi* (hereditary) pottahs are forcibly taken from Kodkasht ryots and *Meadee* pottahs (pottahs for a term of years) substituted for them ; so as eventually to make the whole of their tenants almost tenants at will, and enable the Zemindars, through the authority of the gulled Cornwallis Government, who supposed they would "endeavour to promote the welfare and prosperity of their tenantry", to rack them to their last rupee.

How could Rammohun Roy go so far into details as to say that the property is distrained "on application to the Police?" when he *must* know that all applications of the kind if we are rightly informed, must be made to the Dewannee Adawlut through this very regulation, and not to the Foujdary; and why did he gloss over the nature of this *application* which is neither more nor less than what we have described it, an 'application' for an order for instant arrest—the grounds which are to be looked into another day. If he does "deeply compassionate both", (reply to No. 30) why does he not broadly and honestly say that *because* of this enactment they are *therefore* placed at the mercy of the Zemindars ; and not generalise, and soften down, and divide the wickedness between them and "the surveying and other government revenue officers?" This would have been fulfilling the purpose for which, in the hope, and with the blessings, of every good man, he left the country. And he would have best fulfilled it by denouncing to the world a government boasting of itself as English and Christian holding a whole people in such frightful thraldom ; that, forsooth "there may be no delay in the payment of the dividends of your Honourable Court" : if we are truly informed, he has often enough denounced it here.

After what we have said, it is needless to enquire, how he could, in his suggestions for improving the state of the cultivators, (queries 31, 33 & 34) pass over all the evils arising from this source ; it is plain that, like the *"non miricordo"* evidence of a certain member of the Sudder, which we regret not having had

time to comment upon when it reached this country, there was much which he could not, or did not, or would not, recollect ; we leave it to those who are acquainted with the man and the matter, to say which.

He states in reply to query 37, that, where estates have been held *khas*, i.e. under the immediate management of Government, the rents have fallen off. Why did he not at once honestly call this by its right name? the immediate *mis*-management of Government, and tell the Committee, what every one in this country knows, the *true* cause of the falling off, viz. that estates of a lac of rupees gross revenue, are placed, *risum teneatis*! under the management of Collector's officers, or at most, as in a recent instance, a person is employed at a salary below that of a common clerk! This, and we grieve to say it of Rammohun Roy, is exactly telling that half of the truth, which could benefit no one, but his own "order" ; we will tell him and the Committee, if our voice can reach them in time to be of service, that whenever estates have been held Khas by Europeans, having a due interest in their prosperity, or a pay placing them above petty temptations, the consequence has always been an *increase* of the revenue. Are not the Soondurbunds filling with ryots as fast as they are cleared? and from where do these come?

In reply to query 43 he says "it gives him the greatest pain to allude to the melancholy condition of the labourers". Why does he not then endeavour to alleviate it, by boldly showing, the causes at least, if he cannot suggest the remedies? *He has kept both out of sight*, and, when he might have done the greatest good, contents himself with this maudlin sympathy.

Query 47 is another instance where, with the best opportunity, he passes over almost every thing which is essential : and contents himself with a reply more worthy of a Company's Dewan than of an independent and enlightened Hindoo standing forward, as he has done, the advocate of his oppressed countrymen.

In his reply to query 49, he has committed himself on many points. He seems first to assume that all India is a hot country, forgetting the vast tracts of hills, of which we now know nothing but they *are* hills, and next, that if a native subsists at a tenth of the expense of the European, he does only about the twentieth part of the labour which the European, working for himself, would do. Indeed the first part of his reply seems almost dictated in Leadenhall Street by Mrs. Company herself, at whose tea-table, we supposed such nonsense was exclusively allowed now-a-days. It is the very cackle of imbecility to talk of "entirely supplanting the native inhabitants and expelling them from the country by the admission of labouring Europeans". Does he suppose then that *labouring* Europeans are to *fly* here? Does he not know that *the expence* of emigration renders it impossible to carry it to any large extent? and that thus it must be the *gradual* Colonization of the country, by the descendants of these labourers forming, as they have done in South America, a labouring coloured population, which will, in the course of time "supplant the native population", that is, they will, *when the country is full*, render provisions dearer and oblige the native population to work somewhat harder than they now do, teaching them

at the same time the useful lesson of their forefathers, HELP YOURSELF. All this may happen about 1932—it cannot be much before.

We have extended this notice, we fear, almost too far for the patience of our readers, and though we may be thought to have been too severe, we have felt ourselves obliged to mark, as we have done, in clear and distinct terms the mischievous tendency of this portion of the evidence ; for, coming from Rammohun Roy, it must have almost the weight of admissions from the complaining party. We see but too clearly here, that he is not of that party. "One must be hammer or anvil in this world", says an old Spanish proverb ; Rammohun Roy it is clear, belongs to the hammers, and his evidence is taken at home for that of the anvils.*

250. Further remarks of the same on the same. (June 22, 1832).

We commented at some length in our paper of Wednesday, upon the Evidence given by Rammohun Roy before the East India Committee, and we have this day reprinted his paper marked A, referred to in query 31. Like the replies to the queries it furnishes matter of deep regret to the friends of the *people* of India ; to those who looked with anxious interest to see the condition of the labouring, the tax paying classes, clearly described, the shameful evils which press upon them, to a degree which paralyses all spirit of enterprize fully expressed, and such remedies as men of his knowledge and experience could easily suggest, honestly and boldly brought forward, without respect to persons, or classes, or interests. Alas! there is none of this ; his evidence is that of a mere Zemindar, and his suggestions, which are utter milk and water (we use the mildest term which suggests itself) tend to perpetuate rather than remove abuses. The evidence of A RYOT, and the suggestions of one fearing and hoping nothing from Companies or their Governments, are yet wanting, before the *true* causes can be shown which arrest the progress of civilization and of agricultural prosperity, by making the mass of the people the trembling dependants on the will of the tax gatherer. Rammohun Roy left this country as the apostle of his suffering brethren ; and, grieved as we are to say it, his evidence and his suggestions are alike unworthy of him and of his mission ; they are both, an utter betrayal of the cause which he was expected to advocate. We say this too with the more regret, for our personal feelings towards this distinguished individual are such as would have led us to pass over in silence, though not without sorrow, any thing that we could overlook without a dereliction of duty. But when, as in this case, the rights and the wrongs of the whole people of India are matter of discussion ; when the interests of *every* class and of every rank of society, European as well as Native, are in jeopardy ; it is our imperative duty to raise our voice against such gross abandonment of them by one whose evidence, or rather whose *silence* will be appealed to, the more triumphantly, as he is considered so peculiarly the advocate of his countrymen. It would be no difficult matter to show how the oppression and consequent degradation of the main body of the people affect us all, commercially as well as morally, but this is not the place so to do. We proceed to notice some of

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, June 20, 1832.

his suggestions, for so we suppose they must be called, though the paper has not this title.

No. 3 alludes to the enormous augmentation in the price of land, which, he says, is principally attributable to the cultivation of wastes and the rise of rents (he has in his reply to *the queries* faintly alluded to this rise being obtained by extortion from the people) and he concludes by saying *"and not from any other cause that I can trace!"*

We want words to express our indignant feeling at this shamefully wilful concealment of his unfortunate countrymen's wrongs, nor will we trust ourselves to comment upon it, but we will tell him the *other* cause ; that cause which he *must,* and we add, he DOES know as well as any Zemindar and Izardar in the country. THE FACILITY WITH WHICH EXACTIONS TO THE AMOUNT OF AT LEAST 40 TO 60 PER CENT BEYOND THE LEGAL JUMMA ARE WRUNG FROM THE UNFORTUNATE RYOT. This is the *other* cause, and it is one fully adequate to account for the rise in the value of estates. The Izardar well knows that armed with the seventh Regulation of 1799 (complaints under it have a cant-name amongst the ryots)—none dare resist him ; and he claims one exaction after another ; we could name them, if necessary ; till the screw of oppression has reached its utmost turn ; and the Zemindar, while he is "deeply compassionating" the situation of the cultivators, is farming out his villages at a rent, which *he knows,* includes both the legal jumma, the *illegal* exactions, and the profits of the Izardar. The extortion becomes shortly "a dustoor", and the rent *to be obtained* from the estate—no matter how, —is the criterion by which its value is in reality determined.

In paragraph 8, we find him talking of "the augmentation of the incomes of proprietors, derived from the extension of cultivation"; why does he not add, "and that derived from new sources of oppression",—he finds it to be only "a subject that requires examination", whether the proprietors are to have the power of raising their rents ; we can tell him of another "subject which requires examination", and that is, how long the ryots will bear the intolerable exactions they are now subjected to. They want but some one to teach them their rights, and the channel through which redress is to be obtained, and Government might hear strange truths from them.

It was Rammohun Roy's bounden duty to expose all this; it was his especial, his noble mission, to have shown, that because the trading and ignorant Government of 1799 could find no means of supplying their fiscal wants but by delivering the cultivator of the soil, the only tax-*payer ;* bound, hand and foot,into the merciless fangs of the tax *gatherer,* they had done so ; and that because succeeding ones *realised the revenue,* for the payment of the dividends, he has been so left, bent, and bowed, and crushed, beneath this Juggurnath of extortion, till, forgetting that all human motives to exertion are blank to him, we taunt him with his apathy and his indolence and his want of spirit to make "improvements",—which would expose him to new extortion. This was Rammohun Roy's duty to his oppressed countrymen but how has he fulfilled it? We look in vain throughout this paper, as throughout the replies to the queries, for any honest exposure of the causes of their abasement ; we are told in general terms that the ryots are oppressed, and that the Zemindars, or proprietors as he carefully styles them, have oppressed

them ; we even find in Para. 9 though it is so worded as to induce a belief that it is an abuse long past, that "proprietors very often oppressively extorted from them sums of money in addition to their rents, under the name of abwabs or subscriptions", but nowhere is it honestly said that these are of every-day occurrence ; and that the right to extort them is as much matter of bargain and sale as any other part of the legal Zemindary rights; and so covenanted for, in the sale of the farming of the revenue. No where do we find that, to such a pitch has the power of this class grown, that one of them could for months, though living within a few miles of a station, and not fifty from Calcutta set the whole power of the Supreme Court at defiance! What chance a ryot would have had against men of this kind we should like to know. All this, and it was all relevant to the matter ;—it was in fact *the* matter—is passed over, and kept out of sight as if it never existed. "The ruin of millions of their tenants" is adverted to in Para 10, but *how* this was accomplished is not worth telling. He has, with due attention to the interests of the *Government,* who were listening to him, concluded by saying "and it is productive of no advantage to Government", could he not have substituted one little word here for the ryots, who had none to listen, or to plead for them; and said "the ruin of millions of their tenants through the power so carelessly left in their hands by Government?"

Paragraphs 15 and 16 are the best in the paper; he clearly enough shows them, what indeed every one knows, that the Government have the power to make such enactments as may be necessary for the protection of the ryots, but his suggestion for relieving them, Par. 19 to 21 by substituting Native Collectors for European ones, is utterly puerile, and would be a mere drop in the ocean; of which moreover the ryot would never feel the benefit.

We must close here, and we cannot do so without expressing our unfeigned regret that one so talented and so situated as Rammohun Roy, should have lost, why or how, we cannot pretend to guess, such an opportunity as he has here had. He went to England as a "voice from India" to tell the wrongs, and the sufferings, and to assert the rights of her children, we find him in these papers a mere Zemindar.*

251. Reply of the "Reformer" to the above. (June 25, 1832).

We regret to find that our liberal contemporary of the *Hurkaru* has treated our countryman in England so harshly, for even granting that some of his opinions are not quite correct, he ought not to have been so treated: for whatever opinions he has expressed, there can be no doubt they are the sincere dictates of his mind, uninfluenced by sinister motives or party feeling.

For some years before his departure from India, Baboo Rammohun Roy had devoted all his time to theology and literature, and paid but little attention to what was passing around him in the political world and to the changes which the ever varying regulations of the local Government had undergone within that period. It might therefore be naturally expected that our countryman when situated at so great a distance from us and isolated from those to whom he could refer in

* *Ibid,* June 22, 1832.

doubtful cases, would be liable to errors on subjects which depend more on the accuracy of information than on correct principles or right judgment. We shall refrain from entering into the merits of the difference between Baboo Rammohun Roy and our contemporary of the *Hukaru*, till our next, when we shall find room for the attacks of the latter, and when he who has discovered so many inconsistencies in the evidence of our countryman, will perhaps find that he himself was somewhat inconsistent.*

252. Further remarks of the "India Gazette" on Rammohun Roy's evidence. (July 5, 1832).

We have received the continuation of Rammohun Roy's Evidence on the Judicial System of India, and we hope to find room for it in to-morrow's paper. In the mean time, as we remarked upon Rammohun Roy's apparent unwillingness to pronounce an opinion on the disputed question relating to the Press of India, we may state that in judicial matters at least he concedes all that freedom which is, or has ever been, desired. He recommends that every person who choses should have a right to be present during the trial of causes in any Court; that the Court, as is generally the case at present, should be so constructed as to afford facilities for a considerable number of persons hearing and witnessing the whole proceedings ; and that "any one who chose should be entitled to make notes of the same and publish them, or cause them to be published in any manner he may think proper, for general information, subject to prosecution for any intentional error or misrepresentation that might be judicially proved against him before a competent tribunal, and to incur such penalty as it might award". Under the same check of trial before a competent tribunal, for offences of the press, including in the idea of a competent tribunal the use of a jury, why should a blind and arbitrary restriction be put on the discussion of any class of subject whatever? The remaining part of the evidence yet to be published contains much that is excellent with some things that are objectionable, and which we may hereafter more particularly notice.†

253. Editorial remarks of the "John Bull" on the same. (July 6, 1832).

The discomfiture of our liberals by Rammohun Roy is as laughable an affair as can well be imagined. The *soi disant* Rajah has really given some very sensible evidence before the House of Commons, and we regret its length prevents our republishing it. The *Hurkaru* abuses him in terms which would do honor to the fairest damsel that Billinsgate can boast, while the *India Gazette*, still mindful of "auld lang syne", regards the backslidings of its quondam idol rather in sorrow than in anger, imputing Rammohun's errors to his ignorance, and suggesting that when he talked so glibly about colonization, &c. he was only a tool in the hands of the Town Hall orators. Poor Rammohun! he is not the first man who has cut a foolish figure from falling into bad company.‡

* *Reformer*, quoted by *Bengal Hurkaru*, June 25, 1832.
† *India Gazette*, quoted by *Indian Register*, July 5, 1832.
‡ *John Bull*; July 6, 1832.

254. Strictures of the "Samachar Chundrika" on Rammohun's evidence. (July 7, 1832).

The Editor of the Durpun has given his assent to our representations about the appointment of Natives of rank to the Legislative Council, and also to the expediency of appointing a person so well qualified for being a member of the Council as Baboo Radha Kanta Deb, the object of our choice. Being acquainted likewise with the opinions of many intelligent Gentlemen respecting the Baboo's qualifications, he has united in the sentiments we have expressed. We therefore duly acknowledge our obligations to him. To what he has said in connection with his praises of the Baboo, about Female education, the rite of Suttee, and the Christian religion, we shall give no reply at present; but we shall answer his concluding remarks: "We trust the Chundrika will be equally courteous in supporting our nomination. We beg leave therefore to propose Baboo Rammohun Roy, against whose learning, ability, and patriotism the Chundrika can say nothing: and if any subject be brought before the Council which can have two sides, both will be most ably elucidated by the labours of these two Baboos, both of whom we highly respect, although in religion we differ entirely from them both."

In reply, we make no objection to the opinion of the Editor of the Durpun about Baboo Ram Mohun Roy's learning, for we have heard that he has been a great student. But we have many objections to his nomination of him to the Legislative Council: for the proposal that has been made is that Hindoo Natives of the highest rank should be appointed to the Council. Now the Roy-jee is a Native, it is true; but he is not a follower of the Hindoo faith. Is not the Editor of the Durpun aware of this? Or, can he prove him to be a Hindoo? The Editor has therefore committed a fundamental error. Moreover the Editor is mistaken if he is led away by any thing he has heard of the patriotism of the Roy-jee. We shall make some observations for the purpose of rectifying this mistake.

Many have heard of the answers which he has given in England to the questions proposed to him respecting the affairs of Government. We shall, however, give a few of them, and add our own observations thereupon.

Question to Ram Mohun Roy.—

"Has the condition of the proprietors of land improved under the present sytsem of assessment? " *Reply of the Roy-jee—*"Undoubtedly: their condition has been much improved; because, being secured by the permanent settlement against farther demands of revenue, in proportion to the improvement of their estates, they have in consequence brought the waste lands into cultivation, and raised the rents of their tenantry, and thus increased their own incomes, as well as the resources of the country."

By this answer of Ram Mohun Roy, all will understand how he speaks the truth, what sort of a patriot he is, and how well acquainted with business. Alas! how could he make such an abominable statement! He ought to have been well informed on every subject, before he gave his answers. Would it have been any discredit to his understanding to have said, when a question was proposed to him,

"I am not acquainted with that subject." For the sake of preserving his fame he spoke just what came to his lips. Yet, observe, the gentlemen there did not credit his assertion; for after hearing this reply of Ram Mohun Roy, they farther asked him: "Why are lands so frequently sold for arrears of revenue, and transferred from one set of hands to another?" From their putting such a question as this after hearing Ram Mohun Roy's answer, we infer that they thought, if the owners of land make a large profit why are their lands sold in default of revenue? It is manifest therefore that they did not believe the statement of the Roy-jee. Be that as it may, we shall also give his answer to the above question.

"For ten or twelve years after the introduction of the permanent settlement, the old Zemindars, from adhering to their ancient habits of managing their estates by agents, and neglecting their own affairs, very soon lost a great part of their lands, and some the whole; the purchasers, by their active exertions and outlay of capital improved many of their estates, and increased their own fortune: but many of their heirs and successors again becoming less active and more extravagant, by rivalry with each other in nuptial entertainments, funeral rites, and other religious ceremonies, frequently ran into debt, and brought their estates again into the market."

The Roy-jee has not gone over any part of the causes why Zemindarees are sold up. We shall therefore mention a few of them : please to listen.

1. As to all the uncultivated, marshy, waste, and jungul lands contained in Zemindarees, which the Zemindars at great expense and trouble either have redeemed or are redeeming, the Company have passed the Second Regulation for the purpose of taking them from the Zemindars. If any person wishes to know how many Zemindars have been ruined, or are now sinking, through the provisions of that Regulation, we can satisfy him.

2. The Zemindars are overwhelmed by the inroads of rivers. For how many villages are swept away by the irruption of rivers in some Zemindarees ! Yet the Company makes no abatement of their rent: and if any land is thrown up in any Zemindaree it is claimed by Government.

3. It is ordered respecting the collection of the public revenue from the Zemindars, that if they are not able to pay up the money according to the terms of their agreement, they must give two per cent. upon the deficiency: that is, one rupee for interest, and one as a fine. But from the ryots they cannot take a cowree.

4. The Zemindars are not allowed to collect their rents from their ryots, by the same means by which their own arrears are collected. Although the Seventh Regulation exists, yet much time is spent in obtaining a decision by a complaint in Court according to its rules. Hence many of the ryots take to flight, and some also remove their property. The Zemindars cannot by their own authority confine any ryot, nor take his property; and hence the collection of rents is exceedingly difficult. Without therefore having recourse to violent means, they use the best expedients they can. For this reason, the Zemindars occasionally borrow money in order to pay their revenue; and so they have interest to pay to

two parties—two per cent. to Government, and at least one per cent. to the money-lender, or whatever it may be more.

5. If the crops in a Zemindaree fail through drought or inundations, the ryots are unable to pay their rents; and then the Zemindars are without remedy. But in whatever way the rent may be obtained, it must be paid to Government. Such a misfortune has occurred to some individuals for two or three years in succession, and is now a common occurrence. If the ryots are dealt hardly with, many of them think of absconding: the Zemindars themselves therefore must bear nearly all the loss from drought or inundation: and their only means of realizing their revenue is to obtain a harvest by assisting the ryots with food and seed.

6. Zemindars are subject to many incidental expenses. Thus if a Zemindar hold lands in five Zillas, he must appoint five agents in those Zillas: and to send the rents to the Cutcherries in those places, much money is spent in the wages and travelling charges of Areeuda paeks, peyadas, and coolies. If the Government revenue had to be paid in one place it would be well enough. But that is not the case; and by this means the Zemindars suffer great loss. Sometimes when they are bringing in their rents, the dacoits plunder them of it; and therefore they must employ a larger guard. For a multitude of reasons of this sort, the Zemindars are too poor to make good the Government revenue, and their lands are sold off. The Roy-jee without giving those compassionate Gentlemen the slightest information on these subjects, has made the strange reply, that they are reduced to poverty by nuptial entertainments, funeral rites, and other religious ceremonies. From this we obtain one conclusion, that it is his wish that Hindoo religious ceremonies should come to an end, or that the Sahebs may be pleased with him for such language. And certainly by strenuous endeavours they may issue orders for abolishing all those observances. We cannot see any other reason for his conduct. He may have spoken a few words according to their wishes to ingratiate himself with the Honourable Company: and what will he be the better or worse for that? We are perfectly certain, that it is impossible they should put firm faith in his answers ; for are they not acquainted with the concerns of this country? All the questions which were proposed to Ram Mohun Roy respecting the welfare of the country were in substance proposed to the Ray-rayan Muha Raja Raj-Bullubh Bahadoor, and Muha Raja Nubu Krishnu Bahadoor, in the times of Mr. Hastings the Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, and Sir John Shore ; and their accurate replies are kept in the public records. They will pay regard to nothing which Ram Mohun Roy has said. By all that he has said, he has merely made a display of himself. If they have any inquiries to make they may obtain full information of the former and latter state of matters by consulting the principal, intelligent, ancient and religious Zemindars of the country. Or they can obtain their information by referring to the public functionaries in whose custody the old records are kept.

We do not wish to say any more about Ram Mohun Roy's answers in a newspaper. If we can learn that it is the wish of many, we shall publish a book containing a reply to each of his assertions.

The Editor of the Durpun may now abstain from recommending the Roy Baboo for the Legislative Council. We believe that the Editor of the Durpun is

aware of every thing, and his nomination of him we take to be nothing more than a joke. For what is there concerning Ram Mohun Roy of which he is ignorant?*

255. Reply of a Villager to the above strictures of the "Chundrika". (July 21, 1832).

To the Editor of the Durpun.

There is no propriety in giving a reply to each of the rejoinders of the Editor of the Chundrika respecting Raja Ram Mohun Roy, which appeared in his paper of the 20th Asharhu, for "when an insignificant creature talks big", &c. &c. Yet as without instruction such a person cannot lose the lowness of his character, I now send a few observations, being much concerned for the good of the Chundrika.

1st. There is no need of our offering any remark upon his acknowledgment concerning Raja Ram Mohun Roy's learning ; "We have heard that he has studied knowledge of various sorts ;" for the learning of the Raja is not to be revealed by our mentioning it ; the whole community every where know it.

2d. Respecting the Raja's assertion, that the Zemindars had profited from the cultivation of their waste lands, and the increased rents of their tenants, when the Chundrika accuses him of falsehood, and speaks of his opinions being despised in England on account of the inquiries afterwards proposed to him respecting the sale of Zemindarees, he only displays his own sense. For were we to understand that by asking questions, previous statements are brought into contempt, then all the catechisms respecting the difficulties in the Hindoo shastras must be improper. Had either the Editor of the Chundrika himself, or his ancestors possessed any Zemindaree, he would have been able to write on the subject better than this. Let me now ask the Editor, whether there has been no increase above the revenue from which Maleekana was deducted, according to the accounts of each village at the time of the perpetual settlement? Would the Zemindars depend upon that Maleekana? And was all the land then in cultivation, and no fraction of it lying waste? Has he ascertained that its revenue is not now fixed? I used to think that the Editor of the Chundrika was acquainted with business: I must now conclude that he has never seen a Zemindaree. For neither he nor his ancestors possessed a Zemindaree ; but he has not even heard any thing of the matter from any Zemindars. I need say nothing more to establish this. Were he to ascertain the fact respecting one pergunna in the Mofussil, he would learn how great has been the increase upon the Maleekana, and how much land then lying waste has been brought into cultivation.

3d. The Editor of the Chundrika has committed a great blunder in what he says about the distress of the Zemindars when the Company first exacted revenue from the redeemed waste lands. We believe that what the Zemindars have redeemed from the deep jungul and Soonderbuns they have let to ryots at two Rupees, or two Rupees and a half the bigga, and possess it without paying any revenue to Government. What injury does the Editor of the Chundrika think it

* *Samachar Chundrika,* quoted by *Samachar Durpun,* July 7, 1832.

would be to the Zemindars, to pay eight annas the bigga for this land to the Company Bahadoor? Were he a man of business and sense, he would not bring forward such a representation. Again, let me ask the Editor, what injustice the Company Bahadoor have done, or intend to do, to the many Zamindars not of the Soonderbuns but of Burdwan, &c. who have brought into cultivation the lands in their estates which were lying waste at the time of the perpetual settlement, and have thus gained? Has he been told of such a thing as will be an injury to the Zemindars, or injustice in our Rulers? I was not aware that the piety of the Dhurma Subha consisted in hatred, malice, contempt, and envy: its Secretary has made it known.

4th. Whether all the causes of loss to the Zemindars which he has mentioned be correct or not, some of them at least are worthy of attention ; but they should be brought to the notice of our Rulers. By abusing others on such an account, he only displays his own disposition. Be that as it may ; every one may be fully satisfied whether the Editor of the Chundrika is a fool or a wise man respecting Zemindarees, or whether he is generally acquainted with business, by his reckoning of interest. He says that the Zemindars have three per cent. interest to pay ; and he makes it out in this way, which a child would instantly reject. The Zemindar must pay at the rate of one per cent. interest to the Company, one per cent. fine, and one per cent. to the person from whom he borrows the money to pay his revenue! Now Gentlemen reflect: if by borrowing money he pays his revenue at the stated time, must he also pay interest and fine to the Company? Or if he pays the money by borrowing after some delay, has he to pay, besides the interest of that delay and the fine, likewise the interest of the loan to the time of borrowing it, and must he again pay interest and fine? I cannot comprehend how the Editor of the Chundrika makes up this account of three rupees.

5th. Even if his representations of the boundless loss of the Zemindars from drought, inundation, and maintenance of their tenants were true, yet he has not a word to say about the profit they made since the perpetual settlement. I can confidently say that even if Government were to make allowances to the Zemindars for all their loss by drought and inundation, yet none of them would give up the gain he now enjoys to receive the Maleekana of the perpetual settlement. If the Editor of the Chundrika can persuade any Zemindar to do so, let him mention his name and residence. He may use his pen and ink to write what he likes, but did he never feel any anxiety lest he should make himself a perfect laughing-stock to all who are acquainted with such matters?

6th. From what the Raja has said respecting extravagant expenditures at marriages and funeral obsequies, the Editor of the Chundrika has concluded of his own fancy that it was his desire that funeral obsequies, and marriages, and the like, should no longer continue part of the Hindoo religion. No one would have thought that the Editor of the Chundrika would be the first mover in the abolition of the Hindoo religion. For determining of his own imagination that of which the slightest mention had not been made, with the view of promoting his own temporal advantage, and concealing the fact that he himself is the first actor in the overthrow of religion, he publishes in his newspaper the most improper things, the inventions of his own brain. Some one answers him, and then he is defeated.

Thus no one to this time supposed that he was the beginner of the ruin of religion, but he is reckoned amongst the holy. What marvellous craft!*

A VILLAGER.

256. Editorial remarks of the "Samachar Durpun" on the above. (July 21, 1832).

We have given insertion to a letter containing some remarks on the observations made in the Chundrika on the subject of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. The Editor of that paper has fallen into a most palpable error in his calculations, which our correspondent very ably exposes. Ram Mohun Roy obtains little credit for his evidence. The Hurkaru rates him for being too favourable to the Zemindars; the Chundrika on the other hand is perpetually decrying him for having injured the Zemindars in his evidence. We offer no opinion on the subject. Great good will, we have no doubt, flow to the country from Ram Mohun Roy's visit to England, and from the exertions he is making. If we had any doubts on this subject, they would be dispelled by his having succeeded in displeasing both parties in India. The truth lies between them.†

257. Further remarks of the same on the same. (September 22, 1832).

It will be in the recollection of our readers, that Raja Ram Mohun Roy in his answers to the queries put to him had stated that many of the "heirs and successors of the Zemindars becoming less active and more extravagant, by rivalry with each other in nuptial entertainments, funeral rites, and other religious ceremonies, frequently ran into debt, and brought their estates again into the market." The Editor of the Chundrika in commenting on these words says, "The Roy-jee without giving those compassionate gentlemen the slightest information on these subjects, had made the strange reply, that they are reduced to poverty by nuptial entertainments, funeral rites, and other religious ceremonies. From this we obtain one conclusion, that it is his wish that Hindoo religious ceremonies should come to an end, or that the Sahebs may be pleased with him for such language. And certainly by strenuous endeavours they may issue orders for abolishing all those observances. We cannot see any other reason for his conduct." He afterwards declares regarding the answers of the Raja, that he is not worthy of belief. We therefore conclude that the assertion above made that many Baboos are reduced to poverty by the expensiveness of their marriages and other religious rites.

It was not therefore without some surprize that we beheld in a late number of the Chundrika an article (republished in the Durpun of last Saturday) that the natives of India spent all their wealth in acts of religion, except that which was necessary for a bare subsistence. From this we gather the opinion of the Chundrika as to the extent to which the natives carry the expenses of their religious ceremonies, and are happy to perceive that there is after all so little difference of opinion between the Editor of the Chundrika and the Raja.‡

* *Samachar Durpun*, July 21, 1832.
† *Ibid.*
‡ *Ibid*, September 22, 1832.

258. Further critical remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on Rammohun's evidence. (November 22, 1832).

We have received amongst our late arrivals, a copy of Rammohun Roy's *Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India ;* we opened it with some eagerness in the hope of finding something new, of which there is, however, but very little ; for it consists only of his evidence before the Indian Committee, which we have already printed and commented upon—and of a third part, entitled 'Additional Queries', with his replies to them, and an Appendix. These last have not yet appeared, and we print the additional Queries to-day.

Whether it be from the Committee's not knowing what questions to ask, or from the circumstance of Rammohun Roy's having been allowed to reply to their questions in writing, we know not ; but the first impression, which the infinite *niaseric,* with which some of the Queries are drawn up, and the very obvious neglect of the further inquiries, which must have suggested themselves to the mind of any commonly educated English gentleman really gives rise to, is, that the Queries were suggested by the author of the answers ! If they were not, then it is time, the Committee was remodelled for the most obvious, and often the most essential, parts of a question, and entirely left out ; and, from their brevity, one would suppose, that witnesses were examined by contract, at so much per hour—or, at all events, that they were the questions put by Mrs. Company herself, over a dish of her best Hyson, to one of her children. In a word, they are utter namby-pamby, commonplace generalities ; to each of which, at least, a dozen more questions ought to be added, if eliciting any thing worthy to be called *information,* for those who are to legislate for the millions of India, and the millions at home, was the object in framing them. If the object was to gloss over, it has been fully attained, both in the questions and answers ; for whatever might sound rude to ears polite, is carefully avoided—and grieved as we are, to repeat it, the whole belongs to the same class, as his replies to the questions on the Revenue System.

We can only account for this in part, by supposing that he has adopted the singular notion of some of his friends here, who have an idea, the parliamentary committees which sit for the purpose of hearing details are not to be troubled with them. He is either ignorant too of much on which he confidently replies and his evidence is so far worthless, or else from fear of wounding, or inability to appreciate the true value of relevant matter, it is smothered in the polish of a period, or kept wholly out of sight. He has been, in fact, here as before, any thing but the bold uncompromising advocate of his wronged and too patient countrymen ; any thing but the keen, straightforward, and willing witness in their cause ; and his evidence but too often reminds us of the information given by Zadig to the great officers of the Court of Babylon—it always prefaces any thing bordering on the disagreeable with an apology ; 'and even slightly lame, if I may venture to say so of her most sacred majesty's lap dog'.

At the risk of rendering our editorial somewhat heavy, we have reprinted each

query and reply, with our remarks beneath them. The subject is, we hope, one of sufficient interest to induce our readers to follow us:—

1. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

The Rajah has, in his reply, pointed out what must strike every one in reading this question, its almost absurd generality ; and, had the framer of it read Bishop Heber's book, he would have exactly found the correction there, which is very properly given him in the reply ; which, however, is very far from being what it might have been. Early marriages, and above all, the *want* of nourishing food, are never adverted to, still less is the prevalence of disease in infancy and youth, from the scarcity of Salt and salted provisions—had these facts been stated, as, if he knew them, they ought to have been ; had he, instead, as he says in his replies to the Judicial Queries, of 'not consulting with any person, or even referring to any work which treats on the subject of India ;' read amongst others, that able work *Reflections on the present state of India,* published in 1829, he would there have found the hideous truth told in the honest language of a benevolent and indignant mind. We reprint the quotation, which has indeed already appeared in our pages of the *Hurkaru,* but it cannot be too often told:—

"In short, throughout the whole provinces, the crowds of poor wretches who are destitute of the means of subsistence are beyond belief: on passing through the country, they are seen to pick the undigested grains of food from the dung of elephants, horses, and camels ; and *if they can procure a little salt,* large parties of them sally into the fields at night, and devour the green blades of corn or rice, the instant they are seen to shoot above the surface ; such, indeed, is their wretchedness, that they envy the lot of the convicts working in chains upon the roads, and have been known to incur the danger of a criminal prosecution, in order to secure themselves from starving by the allowance made to those who are recommended to hard labour."

With facts like these, before him, and with a knowledge of the pernicious effects of early marriages, far better reasons might have been assigned for the physical degradation of the Natives of many parts of India. To how much information might the simple fact have led, that in a country like this the population at times suffer from want of food, if stated and its causes shown by Rammohun Roy, to the British nation! His concluding fact too on which he seems much to rely for a confirmation of his theory, can, we are informed, be contradicted by cases where exactly the reverse has happened :—

2. Q. . . . . .

Ans. . . . .

This has the defect of almost all the Rajah's evidence in a high degree—verbosity ; or if we may coin a word *Persianity ;* how much circumlocution is here used to say that men's early impressions, their ignorance, incapacity, or prejudices, must influence their opinions ; and with what holiday terms he ventures to differ from 'a considerable number of those gentlemen'. It is lamentable to see a man of Rammohun Roy's power of mind so completely beset with the prejudices of courtesy, (for such they must be termed when so misplaced) as, when pleading such a cause to waste paragraphs in such a manner. We had looked and hoped

to see every line of his evidence a hometold truth, every paragraph a brand of fire to scathe the hypocritical brows of the canting crew, who have so long trampled on the helpless millions of India, and every conclusion a trumpet-call as well as to the honour and the humanity of Englishmen as to the interests of England. Alas ! there is nothing of this. He has gone home it would seem but to bandy compliments, and the tale of his countrymen's wrongs has yet to be told.

The assertion which we have marked in italics is a deviation from his usual cautious line of writing, but it is a pardonable oversight arising from his wish to speak well of his countrymen. *He has never seen,* still less can he say that he is *acquainted* with the peasantry of any other country. How then can he establish any comparison? We believe that those parts where his eulogy may be just, but as a general proposition it is somewhat startling. The debasing effect of their whole religious system seems so entirely to have escaped him, that he absolutely talks of their religious opinions being shaken, as tending to *increase* their morality, he forgets surely, that, if gifted few can, like himself, see in a degrading system of idolatry, nothing but the typical representation of a pure system of ethics, the bulk of the population are indeed far from doing so. Education he seems to forget also as the great ground-work of all morality, but the text of education might have led to points from which the honourable court might have winced had they been probed. He is right enough in supposing that habitual mistrust generates disregard for character, but he might have added too, that from the utter want of education —we mean useful education—very few indeed of his countrymen have, as yet, qualified 'for situations of trust and respectability'.

3. Q. . . . . . .
   Ans. . . . . .
4. Q. . . . . . .
   Ans. . . . . .
5. Q. . . . . . .
   Ans. . . . . .

There are very many additions which might be made to these questions and to their replies we will give him as a sample a small addition to his reply to Question No. 5.

'The house which a native inhabits is considered in India, more perhaps than in any other country, an index to his share of the world's goods, and in India as in Turkey such an outward demonstration of wealth would expose a ryot to increased exactions from the Zemindars, Izaradars and Kinnedars, from the Daroghas, Seristadars and Amlahs of the Court ; from all the vermin, in short, which abound in every country where, as I have already shown the committee, *there is no protection for property against the petty exactions which stifle industry in its germ.* Hence, until a native's accumulations can afford him, not only the means of building a comfortable and wholesome brick dwelling (which may be done at a very small expence) but the means of resisting or supporting all the extortion to which it would expose him, he prefers braving the chances of distant evils—disease, robbery, fire, and the like—to the certainty of those which he knows to be inevitable. They are well aware of the superiority and comfort of brick dwellings, and in bazars for instance, where an immense amount of property

is annually destroyed by fire, will pay high rents for them; but they will not build them themselves from the fear of being thought rich, which would infallibly subject them to extortion against which they have no protection.'

This, and much more, is a specimen of such a reply as we should have wished to have seen Rammohun Roy give on such a subject; and this would have been a true and an honest one, but it would have been insinuating that Mrs. Company's most sacred system was, if we may so say, a little mischievous ; and her sacred self with her most sacred *porphyrogenited* offspring a little ignorant of the state of her devoted subjects and slaves:—

7. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

There are many other checks. The want of salt in sufficient quantities, including disease in infancy. The want of medical knowledge amongst native practitioners, which ought, years ago, to have been ten times more widely diffused than it will be in half a century by the petty means which are now employed. The want of plain useful knowledge of matters relative to food, clothing, air, &c. amongst the people which it was the bounden duty of an English and a Christian Government, to have diffused. The want of comfortable lodging which the peasantry dare not provide themselves with—and many other checks which will readily occur to our readers.

But the passage which we have marked in italics is perfectly astounding from the pen of Rammohun Roy. We will say nothing of the absurdity of talking of a surplus population! in a country like this; or of his injustice towards of Lord Hasting's government, whose humane efforts to check the ravages of cholera deserved special notice; but we will give him for his next examination an addition to this passage which he will thank us for—and perhaps find a Persian quotation to suit:

And it is to be hoped that the economy of the honourable the court of directors, in so reducing the allowances of their medical servants as to place it utterly out of their power to fulfil one of the first duties of their noble profession, the affording advice and medicine to the indigent, and, above all, their late beneficent abolition of the Vaccine establishments, will much improve the condition of the labourer *by diminishing the surplus population.*

8. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

9. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

10. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

The reply to queries 9 and 10 might have afforded, we think, some remarks from Rammohun Roy even for the information of a committee of the house of Commons on the singular anomaly of a hundred millions of a people, generally highly intelligent, being yet sunk in the lowest barbarism as far as regards useful knowledge. Has not this arisen mainly from the old fallacy of considering as learning that which was scarce, and despising that which was useful? Has not the whole Brahminical system in a tenfold degree the main defect of all priestly

systems 'the prostration of the understanding and the will' so earnestly recommended at home, and so memorably lashed by our lamentable Bentham? and has not the whole tendency of the Company's government been, till within a very recent period, to shut out the light which might, long ere this, have been diffused, had another line of policy been pursued? But this might have reminded the house that they were inquiring into the affairs of a Company who are members of Bible societies, who express the greatest interest for the spiritual welfare of India—and carefully count up, Dr. and Cr. sides of their account current with the abominations of Juggernauth:—

11. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

How much it is to be regretted that in replying on this deeply interesting topic the Rajah has confined himself to such a tea-table reply as this; which might have been written home, to quiet a testy old uncle, by any intelligent young man three months after his arrival. Education! the pivot on which the whole moral and political welfare of his countrymen must turn, despatched in such a paragraph as this by Rammohun Roy, is indeed melancholy. Was there no account to be given of what has and what has not been done by past and present governments? of what has been done by individuals, himself honourably distinguished amongst the number?—of what *might* have been done under a better system?—of what ought to be done in future? and nothing to be claimed as the *right* of his countrymen—his *poor* countrymen we mean—from their dividend-fed sovereigns? He has not forgotten in his replies on the Judicial and Revenue questions to ask place and power for the better classes—for his own class—how is it that he has so strangely and so Brahminically forgotten the Soodras? where his voice, where a single line even, might perhaps have obtained for them this first and best of moral gifts from their rulers? It is sad indeed to have such questions to ask, but in such a cause we cannot allow our respect for the individual to stifle the claims of a nation ; and in as much as Rammohun Roy is looked up at home as the advocate of his brethren, by so much is it our duty to point out how ill he has fulfilled his task.

12. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . .

There must surely be some mistake in this reply ; and what was intended to be said was, I have already *passed over* this in reply to query 2, and in reply to query 11—where it might have been introduced. We will furnish the committee with one, written in haste, but in which they may find, if they read it, much matter for reflection.

'Superstition, I regret to say, has so interwoven itself with every atom of Indian institutions, morals, and manners, that it may be boldly said that there is no one action, or thought, of a native which is not in some way tinctured with it; and education, which I have just now and again do so earnestly claim for my unfortunate countrymen as their right, is the only effectual remedy for the frightful physical and moral evils which their dismal superstitions at every moment inflict upon them. To those who would urge that our superstitions are part, or the whole of our religious system, and that there may be danger

in releasing us from one set of moral restraints until another be substituted for them, I would reply that for one instance of what may be called moral restraint ten thousand direct encouragements to immorality of the most hideous kind may be cited. I would urge too on the attention of the committee that the direct encouragement which has been held out by the Company's government to much of this system, by their open patronage of the idol Juggernath and of other temples, for the sake of the revenue which is derived from them, (and which, I should observe, might at least have been applied to the purposes of education so as thus to make the evil destroy itself,) has been no small means of perpetuating the darkness in which we are, with all its consequent evils; since it is notorious that every place of idol worship in the country has fallen into decay when not supported by the government':—

13. Q. . . . . . .

Ans. . . . . . .

We fear that in this, as in his other replies, the Rajah has mistaken the opinions and views of the rich, and the well-doing, for those of the poor ; who, we should say on the contrary, are never oppressed by their superiors but they are told, and believe it is '*Kumpany ka hookum*' in some shape or other. Surely the Rajah does not mean to say that in his own province of Burdwan, the people, and still less the educated classes, have forgotten the Mahratta *Chout*? that the natives of the Boglepur district have no recollection of Cleveland ! or that before the downfall of Bhurtpore the European was not greeted in the streets of Agra with the cry of *Kumpany ka raj ho geea*? These, and hundreds of others, which will occur to our readers are indices to the popular feeling which no one surely would think it right pass over, and it would have been no waste of time to have pointed out, as he has done for one class, not only what their feelings were, but *why* they were so. In his assertion that 'the mass of the population of India are quite ignorant of and indifferent about former or present masters', be as correct as we think it incorrect, he has inadvertently passed the severest of censures on the government ; for how sunk in misery and ignorance must they be if this really be the case !

Our remarks have already, we fear, extended too far ; we have indeed much more to say, for the subject is one for which a volume would scarcely suffice, but we fear that we may have already wearied many, and for the present close. There is an Appendix containing some interesting statements which we hope soon to find room for.*

259. Remarks of the "Bombay Courier" on the same. (December 22, 1832).

Already are we in a condition to appreciate the advantages likely to result from the visit of the intelligent Hindoo who is domiciliated with us. In his answers to some series of questions proposed by the India Board, Rammohun Roy has expressed frankly his sentiments respecting a variety of very important points connected with the internal administration of British India. This evidence,

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, quoted by *Indian Register*, November 22, 1832.

probably the most valuable which has been hitherto recorded on Indian topics, is printed in one of the voluminous Appendices to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, where it is not likely to attract the attention it deserves. The Rajah has, therefore, judiciously printed his answers in a separate work, with a few notes and elucidations.

The first series of interrogatories relates to the judicial system. Rammohun Roy considers the system established by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 as well adapted to the situation of the country, and to the character of the people; but that its practical operation is defective, owing to the want of a sufficient number of judges and magistrates, and of adequate qualification in many of them, which entails a variety of evils. Other obstructions to the administration of justice in the interior arise from the want of a better code of laws; from the administrators of the law, and those who are subjected to it, having no common language; from the want of publicity in the proceedings of the Mofussil courts; from the great prevalence of perjury and forgery; and from the proceedings being conducted in Persian—a language foreign to the judges, the parties and the witness. The Rajah bears honourable testimony to the character of the European judges; he states his opinion that the judicial branch of the service is, "almost pure", and that there are among the judicial servants of the Company gentlemen of distinguished talents. The subordinate native officers, owing to their trifling salaries and consequent temptations, are often prone to avail themselves of their official influence to promote their own interests.

The remedy which Rammohun Roy suggests for the defects in the judicial system is a more extensive employment of natives: the only remedy, he says, is "to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and firmness of the European". He is also of opinion that the ancient Hindu *Punchayet*, a sort of rural tribunal, having some faint analogy to our trial by jury, might be beneficially employed if reduced to a regular system, guided by proper checks and dignified by judicial forms. He also points out an obvious inconvenience resulting from a recent change, which has transferred the duties of circuit judge from the judges of the provincial court to the revenue commissioners. The absurdity of uniting the functions of a judicial officer, who is invested with the power of life and death, with a revenue commissioner, whose attentions is unnecessarily engrossed by commercial matters, is flagrant. The Mahomedan Government, with great good sense, never suffered any judicial officer empowered to try capital crimes, to become a collector of revenues.

The sources of delay in the decision of causes, which the Rajah says may be on an average 2 or 3 years in the Zillah courts, and 4 or 5 in the courts of appeal in India! he ascribes to the irregularity in the discharge of the judicial duties, and the want of proper discipline and control over the judicial officers. For these defects he suggests suitable remedies, one of which goes at once to the reduction of the number of appeals, which overwhelm the superior courts. The right of appeal to the King in Council, he thinks (most justly) to be a great source of evil, in the absence of a specific court of appeal at home for Indian causes, and a proper medium of translating the proceedings in the court below.

An important *desideratum*, in the opinion of Rammohun Roy, and in that of

every sensible witness which has spoken upon the Indian judicial system, is a code of laws, which would not only enable the people to become familiar with them, but would render European judges independent of the suspicious aid of native interpreters. It is only necessary to read the description of the laws, given by competent witness before the parliamentary committees, to estimate the mischief arising from the want of such a code.[1] Local regulations or enactments, he suggests, should be submitted, previously to promulgation, to the different judges and other public functionaries, as well as to the principal Zemindars and native merchants—a measure we own, of rather questionable expediency.

Rammohun Roy was not, of course, aware at the time he prepared his work for the press, of the extensive changes introduced into the judicial system of British India by the regulations passed by the Bengal Government in November last, which embody some of his suggestions. One of them, (Reg. V.) the preamble of which sets forth that "it is desirable to employ respectable natives in more important trusts connected with the administration of the country", provides for the appointment to various judicial offices, such as moonsiffs, Sudder Ameens, Vakeels, &c. of natives "of whatever class or religious persuasion with salaries and allowances which appear liberal. Another establishes a Court of Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut (that is, a chief court of civil and criminal jurisdiction), for the western provinces ; which Court is to be an open court. A third empowers the Governor-General to invest three Zillah judges with power to hold sessions and gaol deliveries, so as to expedite criminal justice. The commissioner of revenue, however, is still clothed with the functions of circuit judge.

On the subject of the revenue system, the answers of Rammohun Roy (which we restricted to the Bengal provinces) develop a variety of evils of which that system is the source.

Nothing is more difficult than for a mere European reader to form accurate notions respecting all matters connected with land in India, which has ever been the chief source of taxation in that country. The tenures are of endless diversities, varying not only in different villages, which are rural corporations ; the customary rights of landholders, of cultivators, of even slaves are infinitely varied. Even the terms usually employed would convey wrong notions to him, because they embody European not Asiatic ideas. To two prevalent systems of collection are the zemindary, or permanent settlement ; which is the last, or, to speak with more precision, which is the least onerous to the cultivators, is a question which has not been, and pledges never will be, settled. The truth is, that whilst so large a portion of the soil is extracted in the shape of direct government-tax, any mode of collecting it will be pregnant with evil. Under the Zemindary system which is considered to be the most merciful to the cultivation (in theory), half the gross produce goes to the Zemindar, of which he pays nine-tenths, or ten-elevenths, to the Government, reserving one-tenth or one-eleventh to himself, and the cultivator has to disburse the whole expense of seed and labour, and to subsist his family out of the remaining moiety. But this is too favourable a view even of the zemindary system, which, in its practical

[1] A code has already been formed at Bombay, under the Government of Mr. Elphinstone.

operation bears heavily upon the cultivator, whom it was especially designed to relieve ; whilst Government is debarred by the terms of the settlement from raising the amount of the tax due from a given portion of land however productive. In some recent sales of a zemindary, it has appeared that, in one estate (or talook) the moiety claimable from the cultivators was 74,000 rupees, whilst the amount of revenue due to Government was only 36,000 rupees, just half of what would have been its due ; whilst the Zemindar's share was 38,000 rupees, instead of 74,00. On the other hand, the effects of the ryotwar system, though it has been more productive than the other, have been painted in colours truly fearful. "Under both systems", observes Rammohun Roy, "the condition of the cultivators is very miserable ; in the one they are placed at the mercy of the zemindars' avarice and ambition ; in the other, they are subjected to the extortions and intrigues of the surveyors and other Government revenue officers". The condition of the cultivators, he says, is not improving in any degree within his recollection and belief. He suggests, as a means of protecting these poor people, the disarming revenue officers of magisterial powers, which was an essential part of Lord Cornwallis's plan, and the immediate investigation of charges against revenue officers by the judicial courts.

Besides the judicial reforms to which we have previously alluded, the Supreme Government in India has also recently passed several regulations for the amelioration of the revenue system, which seem likely to be beneficial, as far as they go ; but which do not sever the magisterial from the revenue functions, nor make any very essential changes in the system, which would require, perhaps, a revision of the permanent settlement itself.

Some additional queries, respecting the condition of India, have afforded Rammohun Roy an opportunity of expressing his opinion concerning the moral character of his own countrymen. Without overlooking the delicacy of the question, he has frankly avowed the conclusions formed by him "from a careful survey and observation of them in various parts of the country, and in every condition of life". The result of this observation is, that the peasants, who reside "at a distance from large towns, and head stations, and court of law", are "as innocent, temperate, and moral, in their conduct, as the people of any country whatsoever" ; that the further you go to the west, the greater is the honesty, simplicity, and independence of their character. The inhabitants of cities, who have intercourse with court of law, and with foreigners, and such natives as pick up a precarious livelihood in the employ of Zemindars and attornies, form a class whose morals are deteriorated; but of these many are upright and honourable in their principles. In short Rammohun Roy's estimate of his own countrymen is highly favourable, both as respects their intellectual and their moral character: the literary men, who are about the courts of the native Princes, he says are not inferior, in point of education and accomplishments, to the respectable and well-bred classes in any other country.

It is scarcely necessary formally to recommend this "exposition": the importance of the author for discussing them, are ample recommendations.*

* *Bombay Courier*, December 22, 1832.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

Remarks of the "Calcutta Journal" on the Unitarian Controversy in India in connexion with Rammohun's publication: "Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus". (February 27, 1823).

The great interest that has been already excited both in Europe and in Asia by the writings of this most learned Brahmin and excellent Man, renders it incumbent on us to lose no time in bringing to the notice of our Readers the above volume, which has just issued from the Press,—The "Final Appeal to the Christian Public," is the last of a series of essays published by the same Author, in reply to the strictures made upon his Religious Creed by the Baptist Missionaries, through the Friend of India, a publication conducted by them. These Gentlemen, it appears, first took offence at Rammohun Roy, for a small pamphlet printed by him in 1820, entitled "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness;" in which he proposed to lay before his countrymen and fellow creatures the real Precepts contained in the New Testament, separating them from other matters, as the most likely mode of "improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions, and degrees of understanding". In consequence of the strictures published in the Friend of India, he was obliged to take up his pen in his own defence; and answers and replies and rejoinders, have succeeded each other from that period to present time. Even this Final Appeal does not seem to have brought the controversy to a conclusion; for in the Preface which we give below, the Author gives a sort of Religious Challenge to his opponents to meet him in the arena of a new Monthly Periodical Publication, which he proposes to establish, there to decide one by one the points at issue. A public disputation of this nature, between a single Native of India, beyond question one of the most learned, and the whole strength of the English Religious Mission, composed of many individuals of acknowledged learning and piety, must be attended with great interest to all Friends of True Religion; and we cannot but admire the hardihood of the individual who dares the unequal contest against so many able men, in such a cause. This is more fully explained in his Preface, which is as follows*:—

[Here follows the Preface].

Calcutta Journal, February 27, 1823.

APPENDIX II

Contents of Samachar Chundrika.

No. II.

1. Judicial Sale. 2. Financial notice. 3. New Commercial Firm. 4. Sale of Salt. 5. Address to Subscribers. 6. Order for a General Mourning for the Queen. 7. Sale of Opium. 8. Sir A. Buller's appointment at Bombay. 9. Calendar of Prisoners in the Calcutta Jail. 10. Loss of an accepted Draft. 11. Account of a Fire at Simlah on Wednesday last. 12. The Burning of a Widow. 13. A Husband murdered by the Pollutor of his bed. 14. Rate of Advertising. 15. Address to Correspondents. 16. Letter on the practice of burning Hindoo Widows. 17. Another on the same subject. 18. Complaint of a pedestrian. 19. An old Legend of a Pundit and a Thief. 20. Sale of Cotton. 21. Price of Indigo. 22. Exportation of Indigo. 23. Appointment of Major Huthwaite as Guardian of Shada Jaha Mohul. 24. Essay on Pride. 25. An interesting account of Bengalee Dandies. (*Mirjah*).*

No. III.

1. Explanation of the reason for changing its name and the day of publication, and for lowering the price of the Paper. 2. Notice of the Treasury being shut for one day during the festival of Borooney. 3 & 4. Advertisements. 5. Soliciting the Rich to subscribe to a Translation of the Ukhbonussupho into Bengalese. 6. Another similar call on the public. 7. A poetical eulogy on the title "Sungbaud Cowmuddy". 8. Civil Appointments. 9. Importations into Calcutta. 10. Account of a Seminary of Education established by a Pundit under the patronage of Raja Gopee Mohun Deb. 11. Of a rare Fowl presented to the Governor General by a wealthy Arab. 12. Of three children born at one birth. 13. Of the murder of five persons on the way to Moorshedabad by nine robbers. 14. On Calumny. 15. On the advantage of being perfectly acquainted with one's mother tongue before entering upon the study of foreign languages. 16. Tale of the Car and two Birds. 17. Arrival of Dr. Peres, Oculist, from Bourdeaux. 18. A Reply to the attack on the Editor published in the SUNGBAUD COUMUDDY. 19. Shipwreck of the MATILDA.†

No. IV.

1. Judicial sale. 2. Arrival of Dr. Peres, Oculist. 3. Of a Persian Newspaper about to be published, and to be entitled the "EMMULUKHBUR" or "The Ocean of Intelligence". 4. Ram Kristno Day informs the Public not to entrust his sons, Bisshonot Day and Gonesh Chunder Day, two minors, with any thing, as he will not repay it afterwards. 5. Of the translation of the OKHBONUSSUFFA. 6. Two lines of Poetry in praise of the name given to this Paper. 7. Civil Appointments. 8. Repeal of the Town-duty on fire-wood, from and after the 20th March. 9. Of medicines being distributed gratis from the Company's Dispensary to all persons in the Service of the Company. 10. Of a Library in the Botanic Garden. 11. Of Chunder Coomar Thacoor's safe return from his trip. 12. An account of a dreadful hurricane accompanied by storm of rain and thunder at Burdwan. 13. An account of Mr. Albert's house being burnt by the fall of a thunder bolt. 14. Of Capt. H. Pottesley's Bungalow in Delhi being set on fire on the 28th day of January. 15. Of two persons being crushed under the wheels of a buggy; one of whom has died, and another is almost expiring. 16. The digging of the Circular Tank at Potoledanga. 17. Of the Science of Astronomy being revived in its former splendor. 18. Advertisement. 19. Address to Correspondents. 20. An answer to what had been said in the last number of the SUMMOCHAR CHUNDRIKA, respecting the Natives' neglect of the study of their own language in order to engage themselves in the study of those of foreigners. 21. Another address to Correspondents. 22. A letter, asking the Editor of the SUNGBAUD COWMUDDY his reasons for having inserted in his Paper the translation of the article on Concremation from the CALCUTTA JOURNAL. 23. An Essay on Pride and Calumny.‡

Calcutta Journal, March 19, 1822.
†*Ibid*, March 22, 1822.
‡*Ibid*, April 1, 1822.

No. VII.

1. Sale of Salt at the Exchange. 2. Another Advertisement. 3, 4, 5. Ditto. 6. Distich in praise of the title "SUMMOCHAR CHUNDRIKA". 7. The Most Noble the Governor General's return from Chanok (Barrackpore) on the morning of Wednesday last, and the stopping of his carriage of state for sometime owing to the immense crowds gathered on the public road by the *Sonyashees* (Devotees who thrust iron rods, &c. into their bodies, and swing at the Churk Pooja) and their spectators. 8. Mr. Harrington's expected arrival. 9. Of a person getting his ears cut by one who has been his intimate friend—of a sailor who had his nose cut off in a house of bad fame. 11. Of a Sepoy who sacrificed part of his tongue to the Goddess Calee. 12. Murder. 13. Of a boatman poisoning one of his passengers. 14. Burning of Mr. Laprimaudye's cotton Screw House. 15. Of the Hindoo College to be established by Government. 16. Trial and acquittal of Mr. Hayes. 17. Short hints upon *some body* who deviates from the established customs of the Hindoos and lives an irregular life. 18. Strictures on the SUNGBAUD COWMUDDY. 19. Letter deriding the Advocate of Cows and Bullocks.*

No. VIII.

1 & 2. Advertisements. 3. Civil Appointments. 4. Marquis Wellesley's desire to be reappointed Governor General. 5. Settlement of the differences with China. 6. Scarcity of Opium there. 7. New Road from Kologachu to Sagor. 8. Of Neelmunnee Koberaj of Buddybotty's being almost crushed to death by a carriage on Tuesday last on the public road near Gurronhottah. 9. A Treasure found on the shores of the river Ujay which flows below Nubbogrom, in the Zillah of Beerbhoom. 10. Robbery in Jaunpore. 11. Subscription Pooja. 12. Letter from a Correspondent condemning ingratitude to those with whom we may have quarrelled. 13. The Rook and the Peacock. 14. Objections to the new roads in Bengalleetollah. 15. Rejoicings at the Act of Grace to the Prisoners on his Majesty's Birth Day. 16. Letter recommending an Annual List of Births, Marriages, and Deaths. 17. A word in behalf of cows and bullocks, and other dumb animals. 18. Rates of Exchange.†

No. IX.

1 and 2. Advertisements. 3. Ramkrishtno' Sen's advertisement for copies of the English translation of the 10th part of the Bhaugbut, which he has for sale. 4. Advertisement. 5. Rate of Government Securities. 6. An account of the present number of Subscribers, and the Editor's hope of making a great progress and of proving serviceable to his country. 7. Birth day of his Majesty George IV. 8. Of the kite arrested in its flight through the airy regions by one of the points of the electric conductor attached to St. Andrew's steeple. 9. Appearance of Venus at noonday. 10. Seasonable shower in Behar. 11. An account of a new comedy entitled "Nuldummoyntee's Jatra." 12. Fire at Mirzapoor on the 20th of April. 13. Robbery in the district of Jogoolay of Pojnour Pergunnah in the Zillah of Nuddya. 14. Suttee. 15. Another Suttee. 16. Death of a person occasioned by his stumbling as he was endeavouring to get upon the terrace of the house by the wall. 17. Murder in a house of bad fame. 18. Two Moosulmans found lying dead on the public road near Joogpoor district of Fajoolloohpoor Pergunnah, in the Zillah of Nuddya. 19. Death of a very learned person named Obhoyanund Tarkolunkor. 20. Loss of a great many lives by Cholera Morbus of about a hundred thousand persons that went a pilgrimage to Goya in the month of Choit. 21. Address to Correspondents. 22. Reason why the price of Salt is so much raised. 23. Letter from a Correspondent enquiring into the cause of earthquakes, and showing the unreasonableness of the opinion that this world rests upon the head of a snake. 24. Another letter from a Correspondent recommending the preaching of morality to people in confinement. 25. Another communication from a Correspondent pointing out the folly of a great many foreigners who gratify their malevolent disposition by merely reviling the manners and customs of the Hindoos, without endeavouring to reform such as require any reformation. 26. Letter of a Correspondent condemning the practice of some persons sending for others whom they think it below their dignity to call upon, or even to write a letter to, whenever they may have any occasion. 27. Fable of a Lion, an Elephant, and a Dog.‡

Ibid, April 19, 1822.
†*Ibid*, April 25, 1822.
‡*Ibid*, May 2, 1822.

No. X.

1, 2, 3, 4. Advertisements. 5. Current value of Government securities. 6. Essay on the utility of the Art of Printing. 7. Civil Appointments. 8. Of Loans and Promissory Notes. 9. Detection of some robbers in Lucknow. 10. A violent storm of wind and thunder accompanied by a shower of hail, at Bhogulpoor. 11. Death of a Sepoy, at Cawnpoor, by the bite of a leopard. 12. A fire near Free-school Lane. 13. Release of a certain number of prisoners in the Calcutta Jail, and also in Bhogulpoor and Namgur, on the birthday of His Majesty. 13. A reply to the observation made by a Hindoo, in the CALCUTTA JOURNAL, on the 22nd of April, respecting the inconsistency of the festival of Churruck Poojah, with the Shastrus, and its being a modern invention. 15. Strictures upon the Editor of the SANGBAUD COWMUDDY. 16. Remarks on the observations of a correspondent in the SANGBAD COWMUDDY of the 13th of April, under the signature of Ishonchundro Gangopodhya, who has endeavoured to introduce among the Hindoos the English mode of invitation. 17. A letter from a Correspondent continuing the series of observations on the suffering of Cows; and begging the printers of the other Bengalee, Persian, and English News-papers, to have that letter inserted in their papers, and not to stop till such time as the evil be remedied. 18. Death of COW-MUDDY—meaning that the Bengalee Newspaper entitled "The SUNGBAD COWMUDDY" is no more to be printed.*

N. B. The insinuation contained in the last paragraph is not perfectly consistent with truth.

Translator.

No. XI.

1,2,3,4. Advertisements. 5. Current value of Government Securities. 6. Rate of Discount. 7. Strictures upon the Editor of the SANGBAD COUMOODY. 8. Ditto. 9. Commercial Intelligence. 10. Current price of Indigo in Calcutta. 11. Exportation of Indigo from Calcutta to many other countries. 12. Agricultural Society, and the Resolutions made by them on the 20th of March. 13. Cultivation of Coffee in this country. 14, 15. Concremation. 16. A sailor and a horse bit by a shark in the river Ganges in Calcutta, and a fisherman and an ox, by a crocodile in Aukhra on the very same day. 17. An American in Doomtollah killed himself by poison, and before his death, wrote a letter, (which we afterwards found on his table) stating that as he died of his own accord he hoped to meet with forgiveness from God, which the Editor does not allow. 18. A fire at Maniktollah. 19. Monopoly of Salt and Saulwood. 20. Quantity of Indigo produced in this country, and the value thereof. 21. Oppression exercised by the Indigo Manufacturers over the poor subjects. 22. Letter from a correspondent, complaining of the disregard which the Native Physicians meet with, and of the great estimation in which the European Doctors are held. 23. Another letter from a correspondent, expressing his great concern for the generality of rich people's sons who being well convinced within themselves that learning is merely useful to acquire riches, look upon it with contempt. 24. Letter from a Khansaman to the Editor, complaining of the high price of different articles of food.†

No. XII.

1. Advertisement. 2. Lost, two Commercial and one Bengal Bank notes. 3, 4. Advertisements. 5. Current value of Government Securities. 6. Address to correspondents. 7. The report of Mr. Canning being appointed Governor General in India, and of Mr. Harrington's death incorrect and Lord Melville's refusal to fill the situation of Governor of Bengal. 8. Construction of an iron bridge at Khidderpoor. 9. A person bit by shark at Chandpaul Ghaut. 10, 11. Two instances of Concremation. 12. A suicide at Bohoolbazar. 13. Stolen on the night of Wednesday the 3d of Joystho two images of a certain Hindoo god and goddess with many valuable jewels they had on their bodies. 14. A robbery in the village of Bagrail near Oollah in the zillah of Nudya. 15. Another at Burdwan. 16. Agricultural society. 17. On the cause of earth-quakes. 18. Of the scarcity of salt this year. 19. Translation of a letter published in the Calcutta Journal, containing some observations on the debts contracted by the civil servants (in opposition to established regulations) after they are appointed in the Muffussol; on some persons, who expend eight or twelve hundred rupees every month, holding situations in the Muffussol zillah upon an allowance of 50 to 100 rupees; and on ignorant men being allowed to fill situations of high rank in the Honorable Company's service, instead of wise and well-informed persons.‡

**Ibid,* May 8, 1822.
†*Ibid,* May 14, 1822.
‡*Ibid,* May 23, 1822.

No. XIII.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Advertisements. 6. Current Value of Government Securities. 7. Civil Appointment. 8. Of the Agricultural Society. 9. Of the Salt sold by the Honorable Company on the 3d and 4th of May 1822. 10. Current price of Indigo. 11. A letter from Delhi stating the incorrectness of the report about the Russian War, and mentioning that two Frenchmen have offered to enter the service of Runjit Sing upon an allowance of one gold mohur a day. 12. A tumult raised by a Zumindar of Ojooddhyo. 13. King of Oudh's issuing an edict respecting the wearing of arms and a new coinage. 14. A robbery at the Treasury of Mhow. 15. Another at Teoori to the east of Calcutta. 16. A third at a place near Barrackpore. 17. Another in Medonmollo Pergunnah. 18. A great fire at Pultah caused by seventy or eighty maunds of gunpowder. 19. Address to Correspondents. 20. Letter from a Correspondent stating the reasons why the most of the Native doctors are held in so much contempt, and why the European physicians are so highly respected.*

No. XIV.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Advertisements. 7. Current value of Government Securities. 8. Address to Correspondents. 9. The purport of the letter from Mr. Elphinstone at Bombay to the Government House at Calcutta, about the Russians. 10. Of Pronkrishtno Bisswas having distributed printed copies of Obhidhan (Dictionaries) and Jotihsongro (Astronomical compilations) among the learned Brahmins and other sensible men. 11. An account of a violent storm of rain, wind, and thunder in Bankoora. 12. A robbery at Moharaj Gunge. 13. An instance of concremation in Farasdanga. 14. Havoc caused by Cholera Morbus in Dum Dum. 15. A letter addressed to the Editor of the Summachar Dorpon. 16. Of the scarcity of salt, and evils arising from it to be remedied by addressing a petition to the rulers of this country. 17. Letter from a correspondent containing an answer to the letter published in the 11th No. of the Summachar Chundrika (page 54) respecting the disrespect which most of the Native physicians meet with. 18. An address to the salt traders by the people of the Muffosul zillah of Bon Bishtnoopoor. 19. Another letter from a correspondent advising the Editor to extend the branches of his Newspaper. 20. Letter of a correspondent containing authorities from the Shastrus for the practice of Concremation and Postcremation.†

No. XV.

1, 2, 3, 4. Advertisements. 5. Current value of Government Securities. 6. A reply to the observations of some persons, that the Native Newspapers are to continue only for a short time, and of others, that they have nothing wonderful in them, and contain very difficult words, to explain which, Pundits are required. 7. Of different possessions of territories. 8. The income and expenditure of the Honorable Company, in the year 1809. 9. A robbery in Balegur Pergunnah. 10. A child born in Baiya Pergunnah to the East of Calcutta, one half of whose body is white, and the other half black. 11. Death of a woman in Santepoor, while bowing down to the God which she worshipped on the bank of the river Ganges. 12. Civil Appointments. 13. A report that Sir Dyson Marshall has been appointed by the Court of Directors, General in Bengal, and that during the interval of the Marquis of Hastings's departure, and the arrival of another Governor General, he is to fill the situation. 14. News of the hostile preparation of the Turks, and the Russians. 15. Alliance of the Chinese Emperor, with the Russians and Prussians, and the marching of the Moguls, Kulkas, Urtoth, and the Tartars, from different directions to invade Hindoostan and Cashmeer. Mr. Moorcroft's running away for safety, and writing a letter of warning to Captain Lomsdille. 16. Hostile preparations of the English to defend their possessions in Hindoostan. 17. Forsaking of the Native physicians, and having recourse to European doctors. 18. Letter from a correspondent reproaching the person who had attempted in the last Number of the Summachar Chundrika, to assign reasons for the most of the Native Doctors being disrespected. 19. Letter of a correspondent pointing out the folly of those who having strength to support themselves by their own labour, choose to beg. 20. Translation of a letter in the JOHN BULL, about many Europeans taking fish from the fishermen on the river, without paying them the reward of their labour. 21. Letter of correspondence showing the folly of a very learned man, who had spoken ill of another person before a respectable and rich man. 22. An essay to prove that we do not live only to acquire riches, but that we acquire riches to live happily.‡

Ibid, June 1, 1822.
†*Ibid*, June 15, 1822.
‡*Ibid*.

APPENDIX III

A letter of one of the native petitioners against the Lakheraj Regulation. (October 15, 1829).

To the Editor of the Bengal Herald.

Dear Mr. Editor,—As your readers perhaps feel some anxiety to know the result of our appeal to Government against the regulation 3d, of 1828, I beg to lay before the public a copy of the Petition, and that of the concise reply (rather an extract of the proceedings of Government) with which we have been honored. It is nothing extraordinary that our appeal should be disregarded, when we have always experienced the same consideration of our grievances from the local Government. Why should it deviate from the established practice? There is no change in the forms of administration; matters stand at present, in many respects, in the same situation as before the middle of the past century. We would have never taken this opportunity to carry our appeal to Government, had we not been induced by the public declaration of the present Governor General to receive all suggestions for the improvement of the administration of the country; but we should have been the depositories of our own grievances, as heretofore, till the dawn of a better day. It seems invariably to have been a principle with our *Indian* Government, to consider abstractedly all suggestions or appeals originating with the Native Zemindars or other Native subjects, as having a tendency to thwart their views. Instances of this are numerous, but I would only refer to a very important one ; I mean the history of the *Canongoe* system as established some 12 years ago by the Marquess of Hastings. This nobleman, by the advice of his counsellors, appointed upwards of 300 native officers all over the country with a view to press upon the Zemindars to furnish them with a detailed statement of the actual income of their lands and other particulars connected with them. The Zemindars, being naturally alarmed at this measure, chiefly from the apprehension of being subjected to a new extortion, presented a memorial for the abolition of the system, which met with the same consideration as the present one. After a lapse of 12 years, however, the establishment was abandoned from a conviction of it's utter inutility, and from its having failed to obtain the desired statement, whilst it involved an expenditure of upwards of 10 or 12 lacks of Rupees to Government, and perhaps, intailed an equal loss on the Zemindars from the extortion of those offices.

This, Mr. Editor, is the policy and wisdom of our *Indian* Government, and, in the present instance, I need not adduce any argument in support of our claims, as from the naked view of the petition, your readers will at once perceive that the national faith which had been pledged to us by the noble Lord Cornwallis in 1793, is about violated by the local Government and the right of the Native subjects invaded. What means of redress have we left us in the present state of Government but to carry our appeal to the British Parliament. That Tribunal, it is to be hoped, will, from a sense of the justice of our claim, grant our prayer: it will, we trust, when that decisive end, 1833 arrives, guard us against future oppressions and secure us in the enjoyment of those political rights and privileges to which, as the subjects of a liberal and enlightened Government, we are justly entitled.*

I am, Dear Mr. Editor, your obedient Servant,

Calcutta, Oct. 15, 1829.

ONE OF THE MANY PETITIONERS
Against Reg. 3 of 1828.

**Bengal Hurkaru*, October 19, 1829.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council communicating their sentiments re: the Lakheraj Regulation. (June 23, 1830).

Par. 15. We were preparing to communicate to you the observations which have occurred to us upon Regulation III of 1828 when we learned from the Public Prints that a Petition against that Regulation had been presented to the Governor General, and that on the 29th September 1829 your Government ordered that the petitioners should be informed that you did not consider that there were sufficient grounds to render the repeal or modification thereof necessary. We have not yet received from you any explanation of the course which you thus appear to have thought it expedient to adopt we doubt not we shall do so at an early period.

16. Until the receipt of that explanation we shall abstain from forming any decided opinion upon the subject of the Regulation in question, but we think it right to suggest to you whether the speedy hearing of suits being provided for by the establishment of the Commissioners, it would not be more satisfactory to the persons whose interest may be affected by that Regulation, and very little detrimental to the Revenue if it were enacted that in all cases wherein the Collector may decide any rent free lands to be liable to Assessment he should be obliged to give six months notice to the Proprietor, of his intention to assess such Lands, and should only be authorised to assess them, on the failure of the Proprietor to prefer an Appeal to the Commissioner within that period, or on the decision of such appeal in favor of Government.

17. We cannot think it possible that you should have superseded in any district the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts until you had actually established a Commissioner there, and we doubt not that you will have adopted measures for making the Court of the Commissioner easy of access at all times, and competent to institute such local investigations as may be required to throw light upon the cases brought before them.

18. We shall anxiously expect an account of the practical operation of the system established by this Regulation and give to the whole subject our full and immediate consideration as soon as your explanations shall be received.*

We are,
Your affectionate friends

London
The 23d June, 1830.

Pamphlet of Rammohun Roy in "Appeal to the British Nation, against a violation of Common Justice and a Breach of Faith by the Supreme Government of India with the Native inhabitants". (?)

Summary.

In 1793, Lord Cornwallis, as Governor General of India, on behalf of the British Government, gave a solemn pledge, duly registered on the public records of the Government, binding it not to disturb the holders of Lakharaj, (or rent-free lands) in their possession, unless their title to such lands could be proved invalid in a Judicial Court, at the suit of the Revenue Officers of the Government: The words are, "that no such exempted lands may be subjected to the payment of revenue until the titles of the proprietors shall have been adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree".[1] In defiance of this solemn pledge, and in disregard of common justice and of public faith, the Bengal Government, in the year 1828, directed its Revenue Officers to dispossess the holders of those Lakharaj, (or rent-free lands), at their own discretion, without any judicial decree having been sought or obtained against the validity of their titles to such lands.

* Letters from Court (Jud.), June 23, 1830.

[1] *Vide* Reg. XIX, 1793, of the Bengal Government.

The words are, "He (the Collector) shall record in a Persian Roobakaree, (a proceeding written in Persian,) his judgment as to the liability of the lands to assessment or otherwise", "and such decision shall have the force and effect of a decree".[1] The natives of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, terrified by this despotic act of Government, petitioned the Governor General in Council against this ruinous proceeding ; but their petition was, in the same arbitrary manner, rejected, as will be seen by the following correspondence Nos. 1 and 2. And the Court of directors at home, when applied to on the subject, have declared that, "it is not the practice of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to receive representation from individuals, on matters relating to the proceedings of the Indian Governments, except through the channel of these Governments themselves ;" a system which amounts virtually to a denial of justice, or at last to a positive discouragement to all complaints against any oppression, of whatever nature, committed by their Governments, in the exercise of the unlimited powers entrusted to them in India.

It is hoped, that the British nation, and their representatives, will now perceive the deplorable situation in which the natives of India are placed, under the present system. It now only remains for the Indian Government to pass a law empowering their Revenue Officers, on the same principle, to seize also upon the moveable property of the natives of India, and leave the owners to prove their right to the same.

No. 1.

To The Right Hon. Lord Wm. Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General in Council, &c. &c., Fort William.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar.

Sheweth,—That placed as your Petitioners are, under the sole protection of British rule, they confidently feel justified, when oppressed, in claiming justice and paternal care from that power, and approaching for redress the footstool of your Lordship, the local representative of their Sovereign and the immediate guardian of the safety and security of their lives and property. With this strong impression, your Petitioners most humbly appeal to your Lordship in Council, against the operation of Regulation III, of 1828, recently passed by government ; which appears to your Petitioners unprecedented in severity and unparalleled in oppression.

That, your Petitioners, in the first instance, entreat your Lordship's permission to bring to your notice the preamble of Regulation XIX of 1793, containing the solemn assurances of justice couched in the following terms:—"The Governor General in Council has further resolved, that the claims of the public on their lands (provided they, the holders of such lands as are exempted from the payment of public revenue, register the grants as required in the Regulation) shall be tried in the Courts of Judicature, that *no such exempted lands may be subjected to the payment of revenue until the titles of the proprietor shall have been adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree.*" Your Petitioners trust that, after a reference to the language above quoted, your Lordship will not consider their hopes of legal protection founded upon slight grounds, and their fears, excited by the contrary plan laid down in the present Regulation, as mere creations of fancy. The whole of the tenor of the preamble, your Petitioners presume, clearly exhibits that, although Lord Cornwallis, then the Governor General of India, was as desirous as

[1] *Vide* Reg. III. 1828, of the Bengal Government, Clause 1st. Sec. IV. This Regulation was immediately (in the year 1828), dispatched, as usual, to the Court of Directors in England, for their consideration.

any of his successors to resume such lands as were alienated in opposition to the ancient existing laws of the country ; yet, from a strong regard for the principles of British law, his Lordship felt dissuaded from empowering a collector or agent on behalf of government, to exercise judicial power over the parties whose rights were to be contested by that government.

That, your Petitioners, in the second place, beg your Lordship's attention to Regulation II. of 1819 ; which, though it varies from Regulation XIX, of 1793, in some essential points, yet guarantees to your Petitioners that, no part of their property can be rendered liable to attachment without the decision of a higher and more adequate authority than a collector of land revenue ; or can be subjected to forfeiture, without a chance of redress from the established Judicial Courts and the regular Courts of Appeal. Your Petitioners, however, deeply regret to find themselves suddenly deprived of their long cherished confidence, by the threatening promulgation of Regulation III, of 1828, and being on the eve of ruin, they are driven to the necessity of appealing to your Lordship in Council, and humbly, but earnestly, solicit your Lordship's condescending attention to the grounds of their complaint.

That, clause 1st section iv. of the Regulation in question, III, of 1828, totally overlooking the solemn pledge contained in the preamble of Regulation XIX of 1793, has authorised a Collector to institute enquiries in regard to lands free of assessment, without previously obtaining the sanction of the Board of Revenue for such enquiry, (as required in section xv. Regulation XIX of 1793, and in article 1st. sec. v. Regulation II, of 1819 ;) and the same clause (4th) of the Regulation III, of 1828, has transferred the force and effect of a judicial decree to any decision that the Collector may pass, upon such enquiry, against the present holder of the lands of the above description. That the second and third articles of the same section not only invest a Collector with unrestrained power to adjudge any land in possession of individuals to be the property of Government, but give him absolute authority to carry immediately into effect his decree, by attaching and assessing the land so adjudged, without being required to refer his decision to a higher authority for confirmation, as directed in section xx. Regulation II, 1819. Your Lordship will now perceive that a Collector of land revenue is, by virtue of his office, empowered, in the first instance, to search out lands subject to the claims of government ; he, again, is authorised to prefer an action before himself as a judge against the party who may be supposed to have been illicitly in possession of them ; and lastly, he is rendered competent, not only to adjudge the land to be the property of government, but also to dispossess the present proprietor of the same land by *a stroke of his pen* in a persian "Roobakaree", a proceeding held by himself. In short, a Collector is, under one capacity, commissioned to act the part of plaintiff, while under another, the same Collector is vested with the power of discharging functions of an absolutely judicial nature, in passing a decree in cases in which he, in fact, stands as plaintiff or informer, and to carry immediately into effect whatever decree he may pass ; a system which, your Petitioners presume, the most despotic government might feel reluctant to adopt.

That, your Petitioners further beg leave to bring to the notice of your Lordship the hardship and difficulty they naturally dread from the operation of the Regulation at issue. In section xxii. Regulation II, of 1819, the government bestowed upon your native subjects the privilege of seeking redress against the decision of the highest revenue authorities (the Boards of Revenue) from the nearest Zillah or City Court, in cases in which the amount of demand did not exceed 500 rupees, that the most indigent individuals, or men engaged in husbandry or humble professions might easily have access to that Court, without experiencing much inconvenience or incurring heavy expences. Besides, they were permitted in sec. xxvi. Regulation II, of 1819, to appeal to a higher judicial

authority for the vindication of their rights on the supposition that the decision passed by a Zillah, or City Judge, was unjust or erroneous. But your Petitioners, with the deepest regret, feel compelled to entreat your Lordship will refer to clause v. section iv, of the present Regulation III, 1828, virtually denying your native subjects all means of self-defence. Though the above clause justified, in theory, an appeal to a special commissioner against the decision of a Collector, yet it has rendered such an appeal, in almost two cases out of three, absolutely impracticable ; since numerous individuals possessing small pieces of land of the above description, are so occupied in the pursuit of their livelihood, as to make it practically impossible for them to leave their respective families and occupations to proceed to a distant station, for the purpose of conducting an appeal before the Special Commissioner. Moreover, the Collectors in general, from the want of experience of judicial duties, are not and cannot, your Petitioners presume, be regarded as sufficiently competent to institute judicial investigations ; their decisions, consequently, could not bear that weight and respect which are attached to a decree passed by an experienced judicial officer of Government. Under these circumstances any investigation that may be held by a Special Commissioner, when appealed to him against the decision of a Collector, would, in point of fact, be the first as well as last judicial trial.

Your Petitioners further beg your Lordship's liberal consideration of the long period that has elapsed since the officers of government were commanded to enquire into the validity of the tenures of Lakheraj lands. Severe as the provisions of the present Regulation are, and widely as they depart from the spirit of that of Lord Cornwallis, it would have been happy for the people, had even such modes of investigation as are there laid down been acted upon with promptitude. Not only, however, has the caution and just regard for the safety of private property evinced by that just and wise statesman, been set aside, but that too under circumstances, in many instances, far more unfavourable for the security of your native subjects, than if their rights had been tried in his time.

Sunnuds, Documents, and other records, which might, then have been produced so as to place your Petitioners' titles beyond dispute, have, from the many accidents to which papers are liable, been lost or destroyed. In cases of dispute and divided succession, and of dispossession by judicial or revenue sales your Lordship will readily understand, how often the possession of the titles must have been withheld from the actual owner of the land. however rightful his succession to the property. Fire, innundation, and the ravages of destructive insects of vermin, have, in the course of thirty-five years, necessarily caused many important documents to perish ; and it is after the lapse of such a period, that they are now called upon to make good, before a new species of tribunal, rights which have so long remained undisturbed.

Your Petitioners confidently affirm that, on reference to the revenue or judicial records of the Zillahs and cities, it will be found that there are innumerable instances in which lands, free of assessment, have been, since 1793, transferred to different hands by sale at the public auction superintended either by revenue or by judicial officers, for the recovery of arrears of revenue due to government, or for the satisfaction of judicial decrees. These have been purchased by individuals, of course on the public faith, and hitherto possessed by them without molestation. Now, your Lordship in Council may be pleased to judge whether it would be in any way consistent with justice, that such lands should again be resumed from these purchasers on the ground of their titles being invalid, and be assumed by government, whose public officers once previously obtained their value, in satisfaction of the demand of government upon their prior possessors.

That, your Petitioners, without fear of contradiction, can plead their past and present conduct as a proof of their unshaken loyalty and attachment to the British rule in India. They have cheerfully entertained the hope of daily ame-

lioration in their condition, from the augmenting and established power and possession acquired by the wisdom of their rulers ; but they feel painfully disappointed in that expectation when, on comparing with each other the language used, and the spirit manifested on one and the same subject in Regulation XIX, of 1793, II, of 1819, and III, of 1828, your Petitioners perceive with inexpressible grief, a gradually increasing difference exhibited towards their rights and interests. As loyal subjects, however, they are in duty bound to lay candidly before your Lordship their grievances, and sincerely pray, that your Lordship in Council, for the honour of the British name, and from a sense of justice, may be pleased to rescind the Regulation complained of, and thereby secure thousands of families of your dutiful subjects from utter ruin. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

To the above Petition, the Local Government of Bengal made the following Reply :—

No. II.

Extract from the proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council in the Territorial Department, under date the 29th of September, 1829.

Read a Petition from certain Inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, praying for the Repeal of Regulation III, 1828.

Ordered, that the Petitioners be informed, that the Governor General in Council does not consider that there are any sufficient grounds to render the repeal or modification of the rules of Regulation III, 1828, necessary.

A true extract.

(Signed) R. M. Tilgham,
Officiating Deputy Secretary to the
Government.

To prove the statement, (p. 2. line 12) that the Court of Directors have invariably adopted the system of discouraging, by every possible means, representations against their Local Governments, a letter from their Secretary to the address of Mr. Alexander Dobie, Solicitor, is herein inserted, which is as follows.

East India House, 4th October, 1832.

Sir,—The Chairman desires me to inform you, that it is not the practice of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to receive representations from individuals, on matters relating to the proceedings of the Indian Governments, except through the channel of the Governments themselves. You are at liberty, however, to inform Baboo Ram Rutton Muckerjah that the Court have issued instruction to the Bengal Government to remove the objections which have been made to some of the provisions of Regulation III, of 1828.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
A. Dobie, Esq. (Signed) J. J. Harcourt.

To the above Letter The Following is a Reply.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honorable East India Company.

Sir,—Having been apprised of the purport of the letter addressed by your Secretary to Mr. Alexander Dobie, dated the 4th of October last, I beg leave to offer the following remarks.

Your Secretary first intimated, that it is not the practice of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to receive representations from individuals,

on matters relating to the proceedings of the Indian Governments, except through the channels of those Governments themselves. I, therefore, deeply regret the exertions I have made in proceeding to Europe, with a view of representing our grievances to your Honourable Court and of offering a full explanation of the nature of the oppression inflicted upon us by the Government of Bengal, accompanied by unequivocal proofs of the same from your own records ; since I am now positively given to understand, that the Court will not listen to any representations of grievances, unless they are forwarded through the very quarter whence the cause of the grievance springs.

The Court will, I trust, condescend to reflect for a moment on the painful result, which their resolution to reject every representation from the natives of India may have already produced, and may still produce in all future time. I, therefore, take the liberty of appealing to your consciences, and leave you to judge whether or not this practice of rejecting representations amounts virtually to refusal of redress and denial of justice.

Your Honorable Court are aware, in the first place, that your Government abroad is absolute as regards the people, and acknowledges no responsibility for its acts to them, or any public body representing them in India; consequently, very few of those whose lives and fortunes are at the mercy of such a Government, can be expected to venture to impeach its acts directly to itself. Secondly, supposing that some few might venture to do so, in defiance of all future consequences, and to lay their complaints before the Local Governments, with a view to have them forwarded to Europe by that authority ; yet, while the Government has the power to counteract the effect of such complaints, by unpublished counter-representations sent to you, which the aggrieved parties have no opportunity of reading, examining, or refuting by evidence ; what hope could they entertain of obtaining a fair hearing, in a case where every advantage is thus given to the stronger party? Thirdly. Even if the Court of Directors should, notwithstanding, decide in favour of the complainants, the Local Governments may still suspend the execution of the Court's order, as authorised by the Constitution, and by renewed representations to your Court, ultimately carry its point, while the aggrieved party will be off their guard, or unwilling to persevere, after a length of time, in their opposition to the authority under which they live.

Your Secretary stated that, "the Court have issued instructions to the Bengal Government to remove the objections that have been made to some of the provisions of Regulation III, 1828". I regret, First, that you have not specified, whether the objection recommended to be removed was the very important and ruinous one, pointed out in my letter, regarding the resumption of tax-free lands by the Revenue officers, at their own will and pleasure without any judicial decree, as solemnly stipulated by Lord Cornwallis in making the contract with the landholders for the Permanent Revenue Settlement, in 1793. Secondly, supposing this to be the evil recommended to be removed, the Local Government has still the privilege of remonstrating two several times in support of their own act, by allegations entirely unknown to us, as above noticed, before they think of annulling it, and may thus impede, or entirely frustrate, the execution of justice in the manner above pointed out.[1]

[1] On the Collectors of land revenue being first authorised by the Bengal Government (in 1819) to dispense with judicial prosecutions, but to try themselves the validity of titles in possession of the holders of rent free lands, and to report such cases to the Boards of Revenue for their confirmation; the Court of Directors repeatedly expressed their disapprobation of this measure; they even once used the following language.—"What you have done is to constitute yourselves, by your own act, defendants instead of plaintiffs," &c., &c. (Vide Bengal Revenue Sel. Vol. III, page 105). Notwithstanding such instructions by the Court of Directors, the Bengal Government, in the year 1828, bestowed on the Collectors the further arbitrary power of dispossessing, at their own discretion, the owners of rent free lands, even without waiting for the confirmation of any superior authority. How then, under these circumstances, can a vague intimation by the Court of Directors, through an

I leave it therefore to the Court to decide, how far it is possible for me to return to Bengal, with any hope of enjoying security of property, when I have no better guarantee for it than the vague intimation conveyed in your letter, that an instruction, or recommendation, has been sent to the Bengal Government to remove the objections made to Regulation III, of 1828. Under these distressing circumstances I deeply regret, that I can only regard such an intimation, addressed *indirectly* to a third party, and expressed in such *vague* and *general terms* as to be capable of any interpretation, as a denial of redress on the part of your Honorable Court.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

London, January 22, 1833. RAM RUTTON MUCKERJAH.

These are facts which require no comment.

Amongst the injurious effects which have already resulted, and which will in all probability arise, from the operation of Reg. III, 1828, the following may be briefly noticed.

1st. A great depression in the value of the rent-free lands, the titles of which being now entirely insecure, and liable to be disturbed at the pleasure of the Government Revenue Officers, no man of common prudence could be persuaded to risk his capital upon them. Hence even a small sum of money cannot easily be raised upon such property, by sale or by mortgage, however much the owner may stand in need of money for temporary relief, or for commercial or any other objects.

2nd. An overwhelming influence is given to the Revenue Officers, native and European, over the large portion of the community, connected with such lands, who are thus obliged to use every means to conciliate the good will of such officers for their own temporary security.

3rd. The utter ruin which must necessarily fall upon the great body of the owners of rent-free lands ; since almost every respectable family occupying such lands, either of a smaller or larger extent, depends, in a great measure, on them for a livelihood. If this, the source of their subsistence, be taken away from them, the generality of the respectable families, consisting of many hundred thousand individuals, not being used to daily labour or menial professions, must either perish by starvation, or from the hardship of toils to which they are unaccustomed ; or must, like the people of Ireland, appeal to the British public for charitable contributions to save them from starvation. Though the operation of this Regulation, might at first augment the revenues of the Company, its final result would be to increase rapidly the practice of theft, robbery, and other disturbances and criminalities throughout the country, from such multitudes of persons being thrown loose on the world without any other means of subsistence ; and it would ultimately subject Government to heavy expences, for the protection of life and the security of property besides ; entirely destroying the confidence of all the intelligent and respectable classes of inhabitants in a Government which they find capable of invading, in such a daring manner, the property of its subjects.*

Remarks of the London "Times" on Ramrutton Mukerjee's appeal to the Court of Directors against the Lakheraj Regulation. (April 13, 1833).

The cruel hardship and flagrant injustice involved in the case of our Hindoo fellow-subject Ram Rutton Muckerjah, described in our paper of Saturday, must

indirect communication, as quoted above, (viz. That "they have issued instructions to the Bengal Government to remove the objections which have been made to *some* of the provisions of Regulation III, of 1828") be considered calculated to afford redress or resorted to, in defence of the rights which are on the eve of destruction.

* *Bengal Hurkaru,* October 7, 1833.

naturally turn the minds of our countrymen to the means of preventing or remedying such enormous evils in any new arrangement about to be formed between the nation and the East India Company. Here we have an instance in which justice is denied to an Indian subject of our Leadenhall sovereigns, from their local Indian Administration, or courts of judicature. The injured party appeals to the Government of Bengal against a robbery, or a breach of faith, perpetrated by their clumsy or rapacious regulations. Meeting with no redress at home, he traverses more than half the globe and arrives in England, expecting that in this land of law and liberty he may obtain a more equitable consideration of his hardships, and a surer protection against oppression. And how is he met? Why, he is told by the Court of Directors "that they cannot receive representations from individuals on matters relating to the Indian Governments, except through the channel of those Governments themselves". Thus our Hindoo complainant might have remained on the banks of the Ganges, with as much advantage to his suit, as have visited those of the Thames; for he finds the temple of justice shut against him in London, unless it be opened by the same hands which shut it in Calcutta. Nor is this a solitary case of hardship, though the most recent one. The appeals from India before the Privy Council, where immense interests are in litigation, and where no decision can be obtained, cry more loudly than this for an immediate change of the present system.

The attention of Parliament on the approaching introduction of the bill for regulating the future Government of our Indian empire, will naturally be most arrested by that portion of the great mass of evidence collected by its committees relative to the administration of justice, and the necessity of fundamental changes in our judicial procedure. Nothing can be more interesting, at the same time nothing can be more melancholy, than the accounts given in the evidence of the judicial committee of the mode in which law and justice are distributed to the millions of our fellow-subjects on the Indian Peninsula. In the report on this subject, ordered to be printed in August last, we find the examinations of 12 witnesses, all well acquainted with India, and, with one or two exceptions, all ready to condemn the present system, and to suggest improvements. The testimony of these gentlemen is supported by nearly every publication which we have recently seen on the subject, particularly by an able pamphlet just published by Colonel Caulfield, entitled *Observations on our Indian Administration, Civil and Military,* by every report which arrives from India, and by the result of every official investigation undertaken even by the Company's own servants.

Every part of the system is faulty. We have two sets of supreme courts at the three presidencies—the King's and the Company's, which administer justice to different classes of subjects, with different forms, on different laws, and whose decisions are often at variance. "It appears to me", says Mr. Richard Clarke, who himself had been registrar in one of these supreme courts, "that the existence of two concurrent jurisdictions, both called supreme, within the same limits, is an anomaly which is productive of very considerable inconvenience". Being asked "how far these courts could be considered concurrent?" this witness answered, "They are so far concurrent, that cases have occurred in which opposite decisions have been come to by them *on the same rights, supported by the same evidence.*"

The Judges employed in these tribunals of the Company, and in the provincial and district courts, to administer native law to our immense empire of Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects, are Englishmen who have been subjected to no forms of legal education,—who are often ignorant of the rules or usages which they are required to apply—who understand imperfectly the language in which they are expressed,—who are obliged to rely on native law officers for the grounds of the decisions which receive their sanction,—who are, besides, too few in number to perform the duties imposed upon them,—who therefore add the certain evils of ruinous delay to the contingent injustice of wrong judgments, and who are,

in fact, applied to only because the people can find no other tribunals. Most of the witnesses examined before the committee concur in several or in all, of these allegations. "Are the Judges", the committee asked Mr. Clarke, "sufficiently acquainted with the principles of Hindoo law to exercise a check and control over the opinions of the Hindoo lawyers?" "Generally speaking", he replied, "at Madras I should say they are not". They are, generally speaking, considered as bound by the opinions *of these officers*". The same witness afterwards states, that there is "a general confidence in the integrity of the Company's Judges, but *not in their skill*". The commissioners sent to inquire into the causes of the revolt in Rohilcund in 1826, as mentioned by Sir John Malcolm's "political history", quoted by Colonel Caulfield, reported that "our courts of judicature in these provinces were viewed as grievances by the higher classes, and not considered as blessings by the lower. To the latter these courts are hardly accessible from their expense, and nearly useless from their delays". Mr. Holt Mackenzie, who has shown himself so well acquainted with India, states in his evidence before the committee, "that every body acknowledges that at present the administration of justice *is extremely bad, and quite inadequate to the just expectations of the people*. The European courts are overloaded with arrears, the delay in them is excessive, and, "to say nothing of other evils, the large arrears of appealed cases holds out a temptation to litigious appellants that seriously clogs the whole course of justice". This witness suggested a plan for a total change in the courts, and for an extensive employment of the natives in filling judicial situations, which will amply reward those who have leisure to read his evidence.

The law and usages to be applied in the courts are as great an obstruction to the due course of justice as the ignorance of the judges, the chicanery of the native law officers, or the tedious forms of procedure in the tribunals. Mr. Butterworth Bayley, member of Council in the Bengal Presidency, who has thrown out many valuable suggestions on a change in the Indian Judicial system, thus characterizes the present state of the law which the Indian tribunals have to administer:—"Sir William Jones and others recognised the demand for an Indian code of laws, but, unhappily, thought of no better expedient than that of employing some of the natives themselves, as if one of the most difficult tasks to which the human mind can be applied could be expected to be tolerably performed by the unenlightened and perverted intellects of a few Indian pundits. With no sanction of reason, could anything better be expected than that which was, in reality, produced,—a disorderly compilation of loose, vague, stupid, or unintelligible quotations and maxims, selected arbitrarily from books of law, books of devotion, and books of poetry, attended with a commentary which only adds to the mass of absurdity and darkness,—a farrago by which nothing is defined, nothing established, and from which, in the distribution of justice, no assistance beyond the materials of a gross inference can, for any purpose, be derived." We might quote similar opinions from the evidence of Mr. Mill, author of *The History of British India*, and other witnesses well acquainted with the working of the existing system. It is perhaps one of the greatest subjects of reproach to our Indian administration that we should have exercised our dominion over such extensive regions as are contained in our Indian empire, and should have held in our hands the happiness of so many millions of people, without ever having attempted in the course of 60 or 70 years to methodize their laws, or to improve their judicial procedure.

All the witnesses who were examined before the committee on the judicial system of our Indian government, pointed out defects and suggested improvements, of more or less importance, or to a greater or less extent in our present practice, but the witness whose opinions seemed to command most attention, from the high appointments which he had filled, from the practical ameliorations which he had himself introduced, and from the enlightened and liberal spirit which characterizes his plans, was Sir Alexander Johnston, late Chief Justice and Pre-

sident of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon, who had established with success trial by jury in that island, and by whose influence and recommendations the same advantage has been extended to the Indian Peninsula. "The principal objects (says he, in p. 138 of the Judicial Evidence) of the measures recommended in as far as they relate to the administration of justice, is to frame a special code of laws for British India,—to abolish the distinction which now prevails between King's and Company's Courts,—to introduce one uniform system for the administration of justice throughout British India,—and to establish a supreme court at each of the three presidencies in India, and a high court of appeal in England for the purpose, under the vigilant superintendence of both Houses of Parliament, of constantly securing the efficiency of every part of the system."

As we began these remarks by alluding to the great hardships which the natives of India are called on to endure by the discouragements thrown in the way of appeals to the King in Council in England, and by the delays which intervene between the lodgment of the appeal and the decision of the Council, it is a duty and a pleasure to mention more particularly the plan proposed by this witness to render this part of the machinery of justice more efficient, more safe, and more expeditious. We extract so much of the paper submitted by him to the Parliamentary committee as relates to appeals from India, in another column, begging leave only to remark by the way, that when Indian colonization extends —when a more uniform system of justice, applying equally to Europeans and natives, is introduced,—when education among the natives becomes more diffused, —when political discussion acquires more extent or vivacity,—when the natives, more likely to come into collision with settlers, begin to place a greater value on rights which are more liable to be disputed or invaded,—it will be of more importance to have in England a species of supreme court, well regulated, to control the proceedings of all our Indian judicatures. By making retired Indian judges, who enjoy pensions, assessors to the Privy Council, the decision on appeals will be intrusted to a class of men who best understand them,—the country will be saved from the expense which it would incur by establishing (as has been recommended) a kind of Court of Cassation in India, and the different tribunals will be rendered more cautious in their judgments when they know that in a few months their decisions must be brought under the review of their seniors at home, acting in the presence of a vigilant public; and amenable to a free press and a reformed Parliament.*

A.B.'s letter on the case of Ramrutton Mukerjee. (April, 1833).

To The Editor.

Sir:—In the *Times* of the 6th and 13th of April, the Editor has animadverted, in no very measured language, on the conduct of the government of Bengal and of the Directors of the East-India Company, in regard to a transaction, the real merits of which have been grossly misrepresented.

The following remarks will, I trust, suffice to shew, firstly, that, in the transaction in question, the Bengal government has not violated any solemn pledge or committed any breach of common justice or public faith ; and, secondly, that the Court of Directors of the East-India Company (that "dying and impenitent despot," that "expiring and incorrigible tyrant") have acted, on this, as on all other occasions, with an anxious desire to attend to the complaints and petitions of those under their authority, and with a sincere disposition to correct with promptitude whatever has appeared to them open to objection, in the measures and proceedings of their governments abroad.

The chief portion of the public revenue of India has always been derived from the land, the government being entitled to a share of the produce of every acre,

**Times* (April 13), quoted by *Bengal Hurkaru*, August 30, 1833.

except in special cases, in which it may see fit to transfer that right to others. In India, as in other countries, numerous persons seek to evade the payment of taxes by eluding the vigilance, or deceiving the sagacity, or corrupting the integrity, of the tax-gatherer. We know that the excise and custom-house officers, and the boards under whom they act, are armed with authority to prevent such attempts; that the penalties for a violation of the revenue-law are severe and enforced with promptitude; similar powers are not less requisite in India, and the revenue-officers were formerly vested with exclusive authority to secure the due realization of the land-tax, and to guard against its fraudulent alienation. In the year 1793, however, Lord Cornwallis considered it to be safe and expedient to transfer, under certain conditions, the cognizance of such questions from the revenue-officers to the then recently established courts of justice, and to provide that the occupiers of lands, claimed to be rent-free, should not be subjected to the payment of revenue, until their titles should have been adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree. The fact, that the governor-general in council *formed at that time the highest civil tribunal, the court of final appeal,* furnished some security against that mischief to the public interests, which might have followed from erroneous decisions of the lower courts.

The regulations passed by Lord Cornwallis on this subject contained no pledge with regard to the permanency of the course of proceeding then prescribed. The functions of the governor-general in council, in his capacity of a court of civil justice, ceased under a new law; and the regulation above noticed (like many other laws framed at the same time, which depended for their success on the anticipated efficiency of the new courts of justice) failed to secure its object, and underwent various modifications, especially in 1819, when the collectors and boards of revenue were again vested with powers to enquire into and pronounce upon the validity of claims to hold lands free from the payment of revenue; subject, however, to the final judgment of a court of justice.

This course of proceeding proved nearly as inefficient as the former; heavy arrears of depending cases accumulated both in the boards of revenue and courts of justice; the public interests were injuriously affected by the amount of revenue which continued to be withheld without just pretence, while the possessors of valid titles remained disquieted and disturbed; and it was to remedy these evils, that the regulation complained of by Ram Rutton Muckerjah and others was enacted.

In the statement put forth by that person, we are told that "in defiance of a solemn pledge, and in disregard of common justice and of public faith, the Bengal Government *directed its* revenue-officers to *dispossess* the holders of rent-free lands, at their own discretion, without any judicial decree having been sought or obtained against the validity of their titles to such land".

A reference to the regulation itself will show that it provides for the establishment of special commissioners for the exclusive purpose of adjudicating claims of the above description, as well those then depending as those in which the future decisions of the revenue-officers might be contested.

The special commissioners appointed to this duty were selected from amongst the most distinguished judges in the established courts; they were bound by the same oaths, and their investigations were conducted on the same principles, as those of other judges of appeal, with some difference in the rules of practice, calculated to save expense and to expedite the proceedings. The judgments of these special commissioners were declared to be appealable to the King in Council, on the same conditions as those from the highest judicial court in India.

It is true that the revenue-officers were directed to conduct the primary investigation, and in instances in which they were satisfied that the public dues had been fraudulently or unjustly withheld, they were to ascertain the amount of revenue to which the owner of the land was liable and to require payment of the same, but not to deprive him of his possession. If the party acquisced in the decision, he was subjected, like the millions around him, to the payment of the government-

tax ; if he did not acquisce, he could forthwith appeal to the judgment of a higher tribunal, to the court of the special commissioners. On his furnishing security, the execution of the collector's decision was suspended, nor was he compelled to pay the amount assessed on his land until the case was judicially decided on appeal.

This is substantially the case, the merits of which have been so disguised and misrepresented, as necessarily to lead the reader to believe, that, under the regulation complained of, the protection of the law had been altogether withdrawn from the occupiers of rent-free lands, and that they were left without redress to the tender mercies of the revenue-officers.

The practice adopted by the Court of Directors, in requiring that individuals complaining of the acts of their governments abroad, should forward their complaints through the channel of those governments, surely needs no defence. Is it desired, that the Court of Directors should decide on the conduct of their governments on an *ex-parte* statement from any of the eighty millions subject to their authority, at a distance of 10,000 or 12,000 miles? Surely not. The governments abroad are bound to record, and to bring to the notice of the Court of Directors, the petitions and representations of those who desire that their alleged grievances should come under the consideration of the home authorities, and they are bound, at the same time, to furnish such explanations and remarks as may suffice for a full understanding of the merits of the case.

Such was the course in the present instance. The regulation complained of was, immediately after its enactment, very freely canvassed by the public officers and others ; several petitions, besides that adverted to by Ram Rutton Muckerjah, were presented to the supreme government against it ; these petitions and the correspondence connected with them were entered on the records, and (as such documents always are) were sent to England, accompanied by the remarks and explanations of the supreme government. The whole subject having been duly considered by the authorities at home, instructions were transmitted to India by the Court of Directors, enjoining the modification of various points in the regulation, as it would appear, being before the arrival of Ram Rutton Muckerjah in England. These instructions are, I believe, amongst the valuable documents published for the use of the House of Commons, under the directions of the Select Committee recently employed in investigating the affairs of the East-India Company. They will shew, in the most satisfactory manner (and the mass of other published documents will abundantly confirm the remark), that the Court of Directors have discharged their responsible trust honourably, firmly, and impartially, and have been influenced, throughout all their proceedings, by an anxious desire to promote the happiness and substantial interests of the many millions under their authority.*

April, 1833. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. B.

C.D's reply to the above. (?)

To the Editor.

Sir: An article, under the signature A. B., with regard to rent-free lands in India, in the *Asiatic Journal* for June, requires further illustration of the subject.

With a view to justify the measure adopted by the Bengal Government, for the purpose of dispossessing owners of rent-free lands of their landed property, A.B. first states that "the chief portion of the public revenue of India has always been derived from the land, the Government being entitled to a share of the produce of every acre, except in special cases, in which it may see fit to transfer that right to others."

**Asiatic Journal* (May-August), 1833, p. 109.

In reply, I beg to observe, that the Government of India, Moghul or British, has had no right in any portion of the Lakheraj, or rent-free lands, whatever its right might he in lands of other descriptions. The term *Lakheraj*, implying 'rent-free', suffices to prove this assertion. Besides, numerous authorities, including the Regulations of the Government of Bengal in 1793, prior or subsequent to that period, as well as revenue records, may be safely quoted. Even A. B. himself confesses, though in an obscure manner, that the Government of India has a right in a portion of the produce of land, "except in special cases in which it may see fit to transfer that right to others".

He secondly advances that, "in the year 1793, however, Lord Cornwallis considered it to be safe and expedient to transfer, under certain restrictions, the cognizance of such questions from the revenue officers to the, then, recently established court of justice, and to provide that the occupiers of lands, claimed to be rent-free, should not be subjected to the payment of revenue until their titles should have been adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree".

A. B., who seems so well versed in the state of affairs in India, cannot be supposed to be ignorant of the system of the revenue and judicial services kept up until 1793. The revenue officers of the Bengal Government then used to fill judicial benches, and, consequently, collectors of land revenue, being judges and magistrates, naturally exercised unlimited local power within their respective jurisdictions. The injurious consequences, frequently arising from the immense power vested in a single person, induced the government of Lord Cornwallis, in 1793, to separate the judicial functions from revenue authorities, and to place the life and property of its subjects under the protection of the former ; not only to guard against any tyranny on the part of their influential fellow natives, but also to provide against oppression by the revenue and commercial officers of Government. I now beg to ask, whether it is just and consistent in the Government of Bengal, to authorise every collector of land revenue, after an interval of about thirty-five years, to *take possession* of rent-free lands at *his own discretion*, and to leave to the option of the owners of such lands to appeal to a judicial court, should they feel dissatisfied with his proceedings.

The system of empowering a revenue officer to search out lands free from rent, to prefer an action before himself as a judge against the owner of it, and to adjudge and take possession of the same as the property of Government, is so grossly arbitrary, that the Court of Directors, notwithstanding its ardent desire to augment the finances, commercial and territorial, expressed in 1821 its disapprobation of this system, then in the contemplation of the local government, observing that, "what you have done, is constituting yourselves, by your own act, defendants instead of plaintiffs", &c. (*vide* Bengal Selections, vol. iii, p. 105). But as this arbitrary practice was by no means considered as a losing concern, the Court, so far from finally requiring the local government to relinquish the adoption of the system. tacitly left it to their discretion. I am not, however, a little surprised to find that A. B., in his endeavour to justify the conduct of the Bengal Government and that of the Court of Directors, has deviated from the principles of justice to a greater degree than the parties themselves. Would the British public remain in a state of quiescence were Government to direct its collectors of taxes to attach, at their own discretion, rent-free lands in possession of the nobility and gentry of the country, and to assess revenue upon them?

A. B., thirdly, advances that "the Regulation above noticed" (enacted by Lord Cornwallis) "failed to secure its object, and underwent various modifications".

I must confess that the modifications subsequently introduced, in Regulation III of 1828, are amply calculated, as A. B. insinuates, to secure the financial object of the present Government of Bengal; but to the entire disregard of public faith and to the ruin of the respectable portion of the native community in India, which

so dreadfully felt the severity manifested in the above Regulation, as to deem it necessary to approach the Government of Bengal with the following language.[1]

"Your petitioners, without fear of contradiction, can plead their past and present conduct as a proof of their unshaken loyalty and attachment to the British rule in India. They have cheerfully entertained the hope of daily amelioration in their condition, from the augmenting and established power and possession acquired by the wisdom of their rulers; but they feel painfully disappointed in that expectation, when, or comparing with each other the language used and the spirit manifested, on one and the same subject, in Regulations XIX. of 1793, II. of 1819, and III. of 1828, your petitioners perceive, with inexpressible grief, a gradually increasing indifference exhibited towards their rights and interests."

Besides ; all the contracts made and the pledges given by the government of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, with regard to the landed property, having been approved of by the authorities in England, are by no means liable to subsequent alterations or modifications.

A. B. fourthly states, that "a reference to the Regulation itself will show that it provides for the establishment of special commissioners for the exclusive purpose of adjudicating claims of the above description, as well those then pending as those in which the future decisions of the revenue officers might be contested". And he thereby insinuates that Ram Rutton Muckerjah, the complainant, has intentionally omitted to state this important fact. But a perusal of the memorial presented by the complainant to the Court of Directors, and another laid before the Board of Control, as well as of the small printed pamphlet now before the public, will fully exculpate the complainant from this indirect accusation.

Ram Rutton Muckerjah verbally quotes in them the petition delivered to the Government of Bengal by a numerous and respectable body of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa ; which, among many other details, contains the following sentence:—

"But your petitioners, with the deepest regret, feel compelled to entreat your lordship will refer to clause v. sec. 4, of the present Regulation III, 1828, *virtually denying* your native subjects all means of self-defence. Though the above clause justified, in theory, an appeal to a special commissioner against the decision of a collector, yet it has rendered such an appeal, in almost two cases out of three, absolutely impracticable; since numerous individuals, possessing small pieces of land of the above description, are so occupied in the pursuit of their livelihood, as to make it practically impossible for them to leave their respective families and occupations, to proceed to a distant station, for the purpose of conducting an appeal before a special commissioner."

Supposing A, an owner of a small piece of free land, occupied in the pursuit of his livelihood, residing at a distance of fifty or one hundred miles from the station of the special commissioner (Calcutta, Moorsheedabad, Dhacca, or Patna), is unjustly dispossessed of that piece of land by the collector, and his means of subsistence be thereby curtailed, how would he institute an appeal within two months? Is he to give up his occupation, to proceed to that enormous distance, for an appeal to and a decree of the special commissioner? How will he maintain his family, whom, according to the usages of the country, he must leave in his native place? How is he to defray the expenses attending an appeal and his residence in a large and remote town? A. B. may be pleased to decide whether the provisions for an appeal to a commissioner, prescribed in the above Regulation III, are or are not, "in almost two cases out of three, absolutely impracticable".

Fifthly, A. B. acknowledges that "the revenue officers *were directed to conduct the primary investigation*". He further agrees, that "they were to ascertain the amount of revenue to which the owner of the land was liable, and to *require payment for the same*". But, in conclusion, he asserts that the revenue

[1] *Vide* the copy of the petition on the subject, presented to the Government of Bengal by its native subjects, now in the records of the East-India Company.

officers, nevertheless, do not "deprive him" (the owner of rent-free land) "of his possession". I should wish to know, whether enforcing payment of rent from an owner of a piece of land held rent-free for years, or centuries, in the same family, is not considered as depriving him of his free possession as an owner of that piece of land? Can he any longer be reckoned an owner of landed property, or a mere tenant on payment? Is he not brought down to a level with the common tenants around him, from the right he and his family enjoyed as owners of land?

A. B., sixthly, says, "nor was he" (the owner of land) "compelled to pay the amount assessed on his land until the case was judicially decided on appeal".

In reply, I quote the very language of the Regulation in question (Reg. III. 1828), that the public may judge of the accuracy of the above assertion: "It shall and may be lawful for the collector, whether an appeal *be filed or not, immediately to carry into effect his decision by attaching and assessing the land*". (Cl. iii, sec. 4, Reg. III. 1828). While the local government has imposed upon the collector the practice of "attaching and assessing the land", as a legal duty, "whether an appeal be filed or not", it recommends "that, in cases appealed to the commissioner, it shall be competent to that authority to stay execution of the collector's decree, and to cause the attachment of the land to be suspended or withdrawn, on *due security* being tendered by the appellant for the payment, from the date of the collector's decision, of the revenue which may ultimately be assessed on the land". (Cl. iii, sec. 4, Reg. III. 1828). That is, although the commissioner, from a reflection on the nature of a case, may deem it fit to stay the execution of the collector's decree, he is, nevertheless, declared unfit to execute his intention, unless the appellant produces *due security* for the *whole amount* demandable by the collector. Will not A. B. admit that *due security* for the whole amount is virtually equivalent to the payment of the same amount?

Seventhly, A. B. asserts that "the judgments of the special commissioners were declared to be appealable to the King in Council, on the same conditions as those from the highest judicial court in India".

The above statement is so carefully worded, that it cannot fail to mislead such as are not thoroughly conversant in the judicial Regulations of the Government of Bengal, by conveying to them the erroneous idea, that *all* the judgments of the commissioners are appealable to the King in Council. To guard against falling into such an error, I here quote the plain language of the Regulation in question, without any comment on my part: "In *all* cases decided by a special commissioner or commissioners, whether on appeal by individuals from the decision of the Collector", &c., "the decision passed by the special commissioner or commissioners, shall be final" (cl. v, sec. 4, Reg. III. 1828) ; except in a case the amount of which comes to, or exceeds, £5,000, which only (like similar cases in the Sudder Dewany Adawlut) is "appealable to the King in Council". From a reference to the register of rent-free lands, in the offices of the local government and the East-India Company, it will appear that the proportion of such cases, concerning rent-free lands amounting to £5,000, when compared with cases, under the same classification, below that sum, is about one to a hundred. If any one feels a desire to ascertain the encouragement held out by Government for an appeal of such a case, out of a hundred, I will quote the Regulation itself: "provided, however, that such decisions *shall be immediately executed* and enforced, *notwithstanding* the institution of the appeal". (*Vide* clause above referred to).

After a perusal of the defence by A. B., and of this brief reply, the public may judge where the charge of "grossly misrepresented" and "disguised" lies, and whence shift and evasion have sprung.

In defence of the system introduced and hitherto continued by the Court of Directors, of refusing to receive complaints from individuals against its local governments, except through the channel of those governments, A. B. finally states, that

"the practice adopted by the Court of Directors, in requiring that individuals, complaining of the acts of their government abroad, should forward their complaints through the channel of those governments, surely needs no defence. Is it desired that the Court of Directors should decide on the conduct of their governments on an *ex parte* statement from any of the eighty millions subject to their authority, at a distance of 10,000 or 12,000 miles? Surely not". It is, indeed, a new theory inculcated by A. B., that by merely receiving a representation of complaint against an inferior authority, a superior power should be in duty bound to decide it "on an *ex parte* statement", without calling upon the former to explain the case thus brought before the latter. Whatever A. B. may advance in favour of this theory, common sense and principles of justice, I presume, will censure such a practice. Does not Parliament receive, from near and remote places, representations of grievances, and institute inquiries upon good grounds, without deciding "on an *ex parte* statement?" Does not the colonial secretary allow complaints to be brought before that authority against its governments abroad, without being obliged to pass its decision "on an *ex parte* representation?" Do the judges of a higher court decide an appeal from an inferior tribunal by "an *ex parte* statement?" Have the above authorities produced mischief in disregarding the theory admired and recommended by A. B., or have they been furthering the ends of justice by admitting complaints against inferior authorities and instituting an investigation of them? As to "eighty millions of subjects", and "10,000 or 12,000 miles distant", the greater the population and distance, the more responsibility is, I think, attached to the superior authority, of examining local events through different channels, and remedying the evils detected, especially when the Government abroad is absolute as regards the people placed under its control.*

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
C.D.

Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the aforementioned pamphlet of Rammohun's. (October 7, 1833)†

Some time ago we re-published from the *Times* an article adverting to the case of Ram Rutton Muckerjah, a native gentleman now in England. A previous number of the *Times* in which the substance of the case had been given, introduced by some very indignant comments, had not happened to reach us, and the article appears to have escaped the research of our contemporaries. We have however, since received the pamphlet containing the whole case which we deem of sufficient importance to republish entire. Ram Rutton, it appears, went to England on behalf of certain inhabitants of Bengal, Behar and Orissa sufferers by the Resumption regulation III. of 1828, or dreading we suppose, to become so ; in fact all the holders of lakheraj lands were sufferers by its depreciated value in consequence of the alarm created by the disquieting regulation, which placed all such tenures at the mercy of a Collector's *roobakaree*. The government here however, refused redress, and the home authorities have retrenched themselves behind an impediment to justice of their own creating: they can attend no appeals against the local governments that do not come to them through those governments. Hence Ram Rutton's "appeal to the British nation", which we commend to the attention of our readers. After all that has been said in defence of the Regulation, the question still recurs, is it just at the end of 35 or 40 years to come suddenly upon the Zemindars, and call for proof of the validity of their tenures? The delay of the enquiry so long—is in justice a complete bar to the institution of it, unless it is to be maintained that there is to be no limit whatever to such investigations into titles of land.*

* *Ibid*, p. 214.
† *Bengal Hurkaru*, October 7, 1833

Remarks of the "Bombay Durpun" on Ramrutton Mukerjee's appeal to the Court of Directors. (September 29, 1833).

We were not aware until the other day that the holders of rent-free lands in Bengal, had deputed one of their body, Baboo Ram Ruttun Mookerjee, to England, to appeal to the Court of Directors against a Regulation passed by the Supreme Government in 1828, which they conceive militates against their just rights ; and it is strange that we should come to the knowledge of the fact through the channel of an English Newspaper. From the Times of April the 6th, we learn that, in 1793, the virtuous Lord Cornwallis (then Governor General) gave the holders of rent-free lands in India, a solemn pledge that they should not be disturbed in their possession, saving only on proof before a Judicial Court that their title to such lands was invalid. Setting its own pledge at open defiance, the Bengal Government, in 1828, ordered its revenue officers to dispossess the holders of the said lands at their own discretion without any judicial decree. The injured Natives petitioned the Bengal Government against this proceeding ; but all the satisfaction they received was, an intimation that the Governor General in Council did not consider there were any sufficient grounds to render a repeal or modification of the Regulation of 1828 necessary. Despairing of obtaining redress in India, the holders of the land deputed Baboo Ram Ruttun Mookerjee as their agent to the Court of Directors ; and on his arrival in London, he submitted to the Court the humble appeal of the natives. The Court however, instead of investigating the case, or troubling themselves to enquire whether there was any foundation for the complaint which one of their Native subjects had left his home, and come to a foreign land, 15,000 miles distant to lay before them, on behalf of his countrymen, returned, with exemplary coolness the following reply to the Baboo's representation—"that it was not the practice of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to receive representation from individuals in matters relating to the proceedings of Indian Governments, except through the channel of those Governments themselves" ! ! Alluding to this extraordinary reply—extraordinary under any circumstances, but much more so considering that it was addressed to a native who had proceeded to England to pray for redress from the Court—the Times observes, "So then, there is to be no redress for flagrant wrong unless the wrong-doer are parties!" Surely, when the Rulers of a country act upon such a principle, their conduct amounts virtually to a refusal of redress, and denial of justice? We perceive, however, that Baboo Ram Rutton continued notwithstanding to press the matter on the attention of the Court ; and his firmness and perseverance, joined probably to the effect of his public appeals to the people of England in the Newspapers, it is possible may induce the Court to listen to his appeal, and grant that redress for which he prays, without obliging him to return to India for the purpose of complying with the unreasonable and unjust rule of submitting his representations through the channel of the party against whose acts he complains.*

Further remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" re : A.B.'s letter on the case of Ramrutton Mukerjee. (October 20, 1833).

A writer in the Asiatic Journal for June has come forward to defend the Company against the appeal of Ram Rutton Mookerjie with what success our readers may judge for themselves as we republish the article. It seems to us that the defence wholly fails, leaving the most important point wholly untouched, and certainly disproving nothing which the appellant has advanced.

It is denied that Lord Cornwallis's regulation of 1793 (XIX) contained any pledge with respect to the proceedings to be adopted in regard to the resumption

Bombay Durpun, quoted by *Reformer*, September 29, 1833.

of the rent-free lands ; but did not that enlightened statesman we ask lay it down in respect to them, that none were to be brought under assessment which were not proved to be held under invalid titles to be adjudged not by the Revenue officers of the Company, but by the Courts of Judicature in which the Collectors or Talookdars were to appear as prosecutors of these claims ; and that no assessment could be levied till a final decree against the titles was pronounced? These rules may not be held to pledge future governments to adhere to them, but they were obviously based on principles of justice which is immutable—and a departure from them was not very likely to redound to the credit of those who devised it. Ram Rutton is accused however, of a misrepresentation because he states that—

'In defiance of a solemn pledge, and in disregard of common justice and of public faith, the Bengal government directed its revenue officers to dispossess the holders of rent-free lands, at their own discretion, without any judicial decree having been sought or obtained against the validity of their titles to such land'.

Certainly the Collector could not of his ipse dixit deprive them actually of the lands, but he did deprive them of the rent free tenure by making them liable to assessment, which is clearly all that Ram Rutton meant, since he immediately quotes the precise words of the Regulation to which he was referring:—

'He (the Collector) shall record in a Persian Roobakaree (a proceeding written in Persian) his judgment as to the liability of the lands to assessment or otherwise', 'and such decision shall have the force and effect of a decree'.

The Collector's decree in effect however, pronounced the tenure invalid ; because otherwise the land was not liable to the assessment but the great ground of complaint wholly overlooked by the writer in the Asiatic Journal, is, that these investigations were suddenly instituted at the distance of 35 years ; contrary to the wise and just principle laid down by Lord Cornwallis in providing that all lakhiraj lands held on grants prior to the Company's acquisition of the Dewanny, 12th August 1765, should be exempt even tho' the possessor had not a writing to shew for it. Why this limitation? why but because in any country but more especially in this, to call upon men suddenly to prove titles after a long lapse of years, must be pregnant with injustice. Why again was not the enquiry instituted in 1793? The writer in the Asiatic Journal does not attempt to make any reply on this point.

As for the defence on the point of form, that complaints must go through the local government, what is it worth? Here was a native who had travelled 15,000 miles to obtain justice, and he is to be turned back with a quibble of that kind. Had the will not been wanting to order the regulation complained of, to be rescinded, to limit the period to which these enquiries into titles were to extend as the great and good Cornwallis did, the power, we all know, would not have been. The Directors are ready enough to assume their supremacy over the local government, when it suits their purpose.*

Letter of "Mlechha" ridiculing the strictures of the "Chundrika against Rammohun Roy in connexion with the Lakheraj petition. (October 23, 1833).

To The Editor of the *Reformer*.

Sir,

So the Chundrika knows not the Ramrutten Mookerjee, who has petitioned the Parliament of His Country, and, by a wonderful power, by some magic muntra drawled out by the self-styled Dhurma Subha, or Holy Assembly, changes its ignorance and doubts to knowledge and certitude! Because it, forsooth, does not know any Brahmin of the name who has gone to England, it concludes, nay almost unqualifiedly asserts, that he is "a poor Brahmin who attended Rammohun Roy to England ; and that the Royjee has artfully had the petition presented in this man's name, and that, if success had attended it, he would have brought out his

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, quoted by *Reformer*, October 20, 1833.

own name: but that the petition was rejected, and therefore this poor creature's name is published, and that he publishes this too every where. It is not I only who have come to England ; another Brahmun has come since I came". What foundation does the *Chundrika* give for thus putting falsehood into the mouth of, and attribute it to a man, whose greatest failing is an extreme simplicity in manners (?), and who has for many years notoriously seceded from the prevailing doctrines and practices of Hindooism, this covert and crooked conduct? What evidence has the *Chundrika* produced, or can it bring forward that Ramrutton is or was his cook? Suppose the case to be as the *Chundrika* puts it, that this Ramrutton is the very poorest of Brahmun cooks, (a very numerous race, and much employed by orthodox Hindoos, though they know they thereby transgress, and in strictness lose caste). Suppose also that the cook had suffered by the resumption of only a chittack of rent-free ground under the late regulation. Suppose that the Baboo had not so suffered, or that his capacity of Vakeel of the King of Delhie were a difficulty to his appearing as an "humble petitioner" on his own behalf, or even as an applicant on that of the highest Native of Bengal, (as the fact is), and that the Baboo had put forward his cook. Is it not an act for which the Natives of this country, who consider the regulation in question a sore grievance, should be grateful? should they not be thankful, that amidst all that the Baboo has done even for those, who slander him, he should take advantage of his cook having had a chittack of rent-free land assessed, to bring the general subject to the notice of Parliament, and particularly at so important a time? Does the *Chundrika* think that the Court of Directors are such idiots not to see, if such were the case, that the cook's name was only made use of by the good, the beneficent Rammohun, to bring before a Parliament about to decide the weightiest questions affecting the Government of this country, a regulation complained of as a grievance from the greatest Zemindar down to the poor man, who has invested, unfortunately, the whole of his pittance, scraped together during a forty or fifty years servitude, in a few biggahs of land in his Native village, from his infancy deemed free, but since decided to be otherwise by a tribunal, whose most extraordinary decisions are without appeal? Did not Rammohun agitate this question publicly before he left this country, and did he not publicly speak of it before the Committee of the House of Commons? If so what object had he to conceal what he had so publicly advocated? Does the *Chundrika* think that Englishmen are so unjust or so foolish as to be offended with a man or set of men seeking justice? Though Rammohun here complained publicly of this regulation, and has gone on the mission from the King of Delhie, have the sons of the good Baboo been prevented either by Lord William, of their father's present political character and situation from paying their respects at the Soirees of Government house? But I have said more on this subject than it deserves.

The Chundrika, the spokesman of the Holy Assembly, says that if Rammohun "had succeeded in the business of the rent-free lands, then all the Brahmuns who enjoy such lands, might have favored him, and then he might not have been putteet here for the offence of going to England. This was his idea".

"But even if he had succeeded about the rent-free lands, what Brahmun, or what person of any caste, whose ears have been pierced, would have considered him a Hindoo?" The Chundrika there attacks the Baboo's family on a point of caste ; and stands on Hindoo law. Will the person who wrote the article agree to be judged by it, as he has judged Rammohun Baboo and his family by it? He must in common honesty answer in the affirmative. Let us suppose then that the writer is a Brahmun, and has been a servant, for wages and gain; what says Menu of such a person, and among what "subha" does he class them.

"Traffick and money lending are Satyanrita: even by them, when he is deeply distressed, may he support life; but service for hire is named Swarritti, or dog-living, and of course he must by all means avoid it".

"Since a priest, who connects himself with the best and highest of men, avoiding the lowest and worst, attains eminence ; but sinks by an opposite conduct to the class of the servile".

"Brahmuns who tend herds of cattle, who trade, who practice mechanical arts, who profess dancing and singing, who are hired servants or usurers, let the judge exhort and examine as if they were Sudras".

"A breeder of sporting dogs, a falconer, a seducer of damsels, a man delighting in mischief, a Brahmun living as a Sudra, a sacrificer to the inferior gods only".

Thus the Dhurmo Subha, if worthy of its name, should not associate with, and 'should not give even temporal advice to a' (this) 'Sudra', Menu.

But has the writer been a servant of Europeans, the Mlech'has in Hindoo law? this is horrible, impossible! A twice-born man could never have been such ! and particularly for twelve years, for then, by his law, he would be the Same as those low wretches and outcasts, whom he served, a worse than Sudra, a Mlech'ha ! !

Suppose this writer served an English tradesman, and during his service, this master died. Suppose he after that served three successive Bishops, two successive Chief Justices, and two Barristers ; and that during his employment by them, that they severally, and very prematurely died ; and that he was afterwards employed by two other persons, who being foolishly alarmed, or for some reason discharged him, and are now living ; and suppose Rammohun was the person thus employed, and not the writer in question. Would not the latter have said that which I have frequently heard this ignorant countryman say, that the servant of the gentlemen was so unlucky a Wight, that he would be the death of every master he should serve, as he had been of so many, who had employed him? This is according to Hindoo philosophy.

The Dhurmo Subha, as well as all Hindoos hereabouts say—nay bandy as a proverb—'Smelling is half eating'. Pray, Mr. writer, have 'the fine old' Jamaica Rum, the hussainy quabab, the roast fowl, the English cheese, that horrible sacrilegious admixture of salt and milk, or any other anti-Hindoo eatables —which you have smelt twice, (and according to Hindoo logic have eaten as often as you have smelt them twice,) disappointed or gratified your palate? But I forgot that, as you daily passed them, you wore plugs in your nose to protect you from the loss of caste ; and therefore I should have spared the question ; but be so good as to put it at the next meeting to some less careful personages × × × inform me, of the whole Dhurmo Subha how many there are, who have not lost cast by this smelling half eating rule.

But though the writer, being a Brahmun, never could have sold salt, or ever purchased salt char's of the Company's sales, for Menu says a brahmun 'must avoid selling liquid of all sorts, dressed grain, seeds of tila, stones, salt, cattle and human creatures', and that 'by selling flesh meat, lacsha, or salt, a brahmun immediately sinks low'; is this brahmun writer, in other respects what a brahmun ought to be? Is he learned in the Vedas? The despised Rammohun is and has shewn the world that he is so. Does or has the writer taken interest on loans? What does Menu say on these points? What of the brahmun who had not read the Vedas, who does not understand them? What of 'that sinful man' who takes interest?

'As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such is an unlearned brahmun ; those three have nothing but name ! !

As an eunuch is unproductive with women, as cow with a cow is 'unprolific, as liberality to a fool is fruitless, so is a brahmun useless, if he read not the holy texts'.

'Food, given to a seller of the moon plant, becomes ordure in another world, to a physician purulent blood and the giver will be a reptile bred in them ; if

offered to an image worshipper, it is thrown away ; if to an usurer, infamous. Neither a priest nor a military man, though distressed, must receive interest on loans ; but each of them, if he please, may pay the small interest permitted by law, on borrowing for some pious use, to the sinful man, who demands it'.

But the writer condemns the Baboo for going to England. Does he mean to say that the Vedas prohibit a Hindoo going to sea? or does he admit that it is owing to the prevailing ignorance of the Bengalees, among whom not one such learned and good brahmun, as is sketched in Menu, is to be found? If no brahmun ever went to sea, whence had the Hindoos the wonderful stories of a sea of milk, a sea of wine, another of ghee, &c.? Rammohun, perhaps fired by a holy zeal to uphold the authorities of the shastras, and propitiate the Holy Assembly, went to corroborate these accounts from personal knowledge ! I hope the Dhurmo Subha will send me a copy of the chart of these seas. If Menu made laws for regulating cases of Insurance on 'Sea Voyages' as well as those by 'journeys by land', (as the writer will find on a reference to Menu, and if there is vernacular translation,) that this lawgiver did, for whom did the sage legislate? Was he the lawgiver of Melch'has, or of Hindoos?

Can this writer be so unjust as to persist in saying, as he has asserted, that as Rammohun Roy lost caste, (late in life, if at all,) his family without being partakers with him, are in the same predicament! It would be thought hard by many many members of the Subha that they should be punished for what their Fathers had already been convicted of, and punished. Had this writer been more conversant with his own law, and been less intent on finding fault with those, who differ from and his party on points of faith, he would have remembered some of the many passages of that law.

'Single in each man born ; single he dies ; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of evil deeds ; and according to the next preceding verse, and that next following the one quoted slander will not reach him on his passage to the next world, for his virtue alone will adhere to him;' Again: 'When he leaves his corpse, like a log, or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces, but his virtue accompanies his soul'. Menu.

I have but a few words more for the writer and his patrons, the Dhurmo Subha. There is a proverb among the English, that those, who dwell in glass houses should not throw stones at others, lest stones may be thrown back at them, and their glass houses be demolished. People who find fault should take care that they themselves are blameless. Now if the Chundrika, the avowed organ of this association, continues to attack those who do not belong to their party, I shall with the aid of others, examine how far the respective members are severally able to bear the ordeal by which they try others.

I shall see how many fall under the well known circumstances of the late Kaliprosaud Dutt, who was so vehemently opposed by the orthodox for a peccadillo, from which who among the society is, or was even at the time, exempt? There may perhaps be among them, and can be easily ascertained, eaters of bread from the brahmun baker, or rather bread seller, who was sued in the Court of Requests by a Mahomedan for bread made and supplied him, when the brahmun's Hindoo customers were too numerous to be supplied, without the assistance of the Mussulman baker !

Then there are contracts with the butcher brahmun's at Kalighat for the daily supply of billy-goats-flesh, no doubt quite conformable to Hindoo law and in support of their conduct I refer the Chundrika to Menu.

'It is delivered as a rule of the gods, that meat must be swallowed only for the purpose of sacrifice ; but it is a rule of gigantic demons, that it may be swallowed for any other purpose.

'Let no twice-born man, who knows the law, and is not in urgent distress, eat flesh without observing this rule ; for he, unable to save himself, will be devoured in the next world by those animals, whose flesh he has thus illegally swallowed.

'Should he have an earnest desire to taste flesh meat, he may gratify his fancy by forming the images of some beast with clarified butter thickened ; or he may form it with dough, but never let him indulge a wish to kill any beast in vain' !!

'As many hairs as grow on the beast, so many similar deaths shall the slayer of it, for his own satisfaction in this world, endure in the next from birth to birth.

'Flesh meat cannot be procured without injury to animals ; and the slaughter of animal obstructs the path to beatitude ; from flesh meat therefore, let man abstain :

'Not a mortal exists more sinful than he, who without an oblation to the manes or the gods, desires to enlarge his own flesh with the flesh of another creature.' There are many other such texts in Menu.

The selling of daughters in marriage by persons of better to those of inferior family, and the multitude of wives a Koolin brahmun is bribed to have.

'Let no father, who knows the law, receive a gratuity however small, for giving his daughter in marriage ; since the man, who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, for that purpose, is a seller of his offspring.'

Sudra relationship with brahmuns, for which 'the law declares no expiation'.

I could say much more to this 'twice-born' writer and his brahmun and fellow Sudra abettors ; but I have a text or two, the authority of which I must of course allow, as I have quoted the same lawgiver against my Chundrika friend. Besides I ought not to anger those who it is said can consume me by mere volition.

'A brahmun, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular.

'Thus though brahmuns employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupation, they must invariably be honoured ; for they are something transcendently divine' !!!

I am therefore their very humble servant and by them termed.*

October 23, 1833. MLECH'HA.

Letter of a Talookdar on the Chundrika Editor and Ramrutton Mukerjee. (November 5, 1833).

To the Editor of the Durpun.

The Editor of the Chundrika has furiously indited some ravings in his paper respecting the petition presented in England by Ram Rutun Mookerjee, for the repeal of Reg. III of 1828, on behalf of rent free lands. Having seen the document in the Durpun of the 4th Kartik, the Chundrika instead of praising the Mookerjee as a benefactor of his country, has amused himself exceedingly upon the ground that he will lose his caste. But if it be carefully considered by what means caste is preserved or lost, the pride of the Chundrika will easily be brought low. At any rate, whether his object be gained or not, the Mookerjee must certainly be acknowledged to be a greater benefactor of the country than the Attorney Mr. Bathie. Secondly, the Chundrika says, that he has ascertained on inquiry that no Zumeendars of this country have signed the above petition. Does the Chundrika speak the truth? or how has he ascertained that none signed it? He had not the smallest shame in writing such an assertion. If he thinks that those new men who, incapable of acquiring property themselves, have now through the property acquired by their fathers, by chicanery, fraud, and treachery becomes Zumeendars, or did

*Reformer, November 17, 1833.

so two or four years ago, are alone to be esteemed zumeendars, and no others are to be thought of, then the veracity of the Editor of the Chundrika will not be impeached. Or if the Chundrika Editor, although without land, reckon himself a Zumeendar and has not signed the petition, then also there is no impeachment of his veracity. Now Raja Seebkrishna Bahadoor, Rajbullubh Roy Chowdhooree, Raj Krishna Chowdhooree, the Saburna Chowdhooree, Baboo Mudhoo Soodun Sanyal, and Baboo Ram Komul Sen, who have signed the petition, must not, we suppose, according to the opinion of the Chundrika, be reckoned Zumeendars or entitled to respect. The Chundrika Editor has another special cause of anger against Ram Rutun Mookerjee. The Dhurma Subha was set up merely for the destruction of life and money. Hence if any man oppose it, according to its laws his caste cannot be allowed to remain. All who have any land, whether Hindoos or Moosoolmans, have been in distress since the passing of the above mentioned Regulation, and would be glad if any way of obtaining its repeal were found. But the Editor of the Chundrika is displeased with the business, because he could not get a subscription for it and make a few rupees, as with the subscription for woman-murder. He is right therefore in continually finding fault with this petition. But if your readers inquire of the Zumeendars and Bramhuns holding sacred lands, whether resident in Calcutta or the Mufussil, they will fully learn that such is the conduct of the Editor of the Chundrika.*

A TALOOKDAR.

Editorial remarks of the "Bengal Hurkaru" on the above. (November 5, 1833).

We republish from the *Summachar Durpun* a letter signed A. Talookdar, in answer to an attack of the *Chundrika's* upon the petition of Ramrutna Mookerjeah, respecting the rent free lands' Regulations. The *Chundrika* has made the discovery that the Petitioner was Rammohun Roy's cook, which is denied, and it roundly asserts that the petition was not signed by any Zemindars ; now it appears that it not only was signed by several highly respectable Zemindars, who are in matters of religion of the *Chundrika's* own party—members of the *Dhurma Subha*, whose names are given in the letter, but altogether had upwards of 300 signatures? The denial of this fact is then only another instance of the recklessness of the *Chundrika's* assertions. The members of the *Dhurma Subha* who signed, being men of good sense and right feeling, they saw that this question of rent free lands was not one of party or of sect, but one in which all land holders of whatever sect or whatever party, had one common interest. This fact is so palpable, that it cannot escape the penetration even of the writer in the *Chundrika*, which is no great compliment to him—but although the success of that appeal would benefit every Zumindar in the country, instead of commending and supporting it, he prefers abusing it and its authors for the sake of indulging his hostility against certain members of the *Brimha Subha* who have abjured the bigotry to which he the *Chundrika* writer so pertinaciously clings! This conduct is indeed what is so emphatically expressed, by the homely English phrase "cutting one's nose off to be revenged of one's face".†

**Bengal Hurkaru*, November 5, 1833.
† *Ibid.*

APPENDIX IV

Letter from Lord William Bentinck to the Judges of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, re: the intended institution of Legislative Councils, a new System of Courts, and a Code of Laws. (July 14, 1829).

Fort William, 14 July, 1829.

Honourable Sirs,

In the General Department, Consultation, 13th June, 1827, No. 5.

In pursuance of the intention stated in the concluding paragraph of our Letter of the 13th instant, we have now the honour of communicating to you the views and sentiments which we entertain in regard to the measures to be pursued for the adjustment, among others, of the important question discussed in the Despatch addressed by you to the Secretary to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

2. Previously to the receipt of that Letter, the defective state of the Law relating to the jurisdiction of the King's Court, and to the powers of the Government and of the Tribunals established by its authority in the interior of the country, had for some time occupied our attention.

3. In regard to almost every provision of the British Parliament, whether for defining the legislative authority of the Governments of the several Presidencies, or for prescribing the course to be pursued by them in the executive administration, questions have arisen of a very embarrassing nature. The rules applicable to the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, and to the subordinate Native Courts, which rest on parliamentary enactments, though few in number, have given rise to many doubts and difficulties. Those relating to the rights and obligations of individuals, are not more free from obscurity.

4. On several important points the question of the jurisdiction of His Majesty's Courts appears to be involved in doubts, productive of alarm to our native subjects, of embarrassment to the local Governments, and discredit to our country. In some instances it seems to us that those Courts have been compelled, by a construction of the law contrary to the probable intention of the Legislature, to extend their jurisdiction in a degree inconsistent with the public convenience; and we cannot but perceive that a delay which must attend a reference to England, for the purpose of removing such doubts, or of reconciling the obligations of the law to the exigencies of State expediency, might be attended with the most afflicting consequences. In cases, moreover, in which the co-operation of the King's Court is requisite to the validity of the laws and ordinances of the local Governments, there exist no means, short of an application to Parliament, of insuring consistency of proceeding at the several Presidencies, however essential to the public interests. The legislative powers vested in the several Governments, in their application to British born subjects, and to persons of all nations and persuasions residing within the cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, (some of whom have no recognized law of marriage or inheritance,) appear to fall in several respects short of what the exigency of the case demands; and the present system, under which rules and ordinances applicable to those cities are passed, seems to be open to many and serious objections.

5. The good fortune which this Presidency has enjoyed does not materially lessen our sense of the evil, since it is obvious that the mischief of an inapplicable law can never be cured by the wisdom and moderation of Judges bound to obey it. We can only therefore derive from the circumstance the gratifying assurance, that in soliciting your aid and advice, our representation will be met with a

cordial desire to concur in every measure that may appear calculated to promote the interests of our country.

6. While we are strongly impressed with the defectiveness of the existing law, as applicable to the state of things for which it was designed to provide, we see abundant reason to conclude, that the changes which have recently occurred, and those which may soon be anticipated, are likely to render its imperfections still more glaring.

7. The new Insolvent Act must apparently give rise to many cases very inadequately provided for Some parts of the law for the improved administration of criminal justice, appear to contemplate the existence of institutions not known to the country; and if increased facility be given to Europeans to settle in the interior, and to acquire landed property, a measure which we deem essential to the best interests of England and of India, it is clear that many and serious inconveniences must be experienced unless they be liable, with the rest of the inhabitants, to the authority of the local Courts.

8. In deliberating on the means of correcting past omissions, and of providing for the exigencies of the future, we are forcibly struck with the apparently insurmountable obstacles that present themselves to the attempt of accomplishing those objects by a parliamentary enactment for the several cases To hope that all the points which will arise can be anticipated by any scheme of prospective legislation, would be visionary. To expect that the matters which have actually presented themselves can be provided for by Parliament, without giving occasion to many new and intricate questions, would be to overlook the result of all past experience It will be equally at variance with all the conclusions which we should draw from general reasoning. Even in legislating relative to things most familiar, with all the advantages of full discussion by the parties interested, and all the information acquired by the daily business of life, it is seldom that the consequences of a law are fully anticipated

9. With such impressions, we cannot resist the conclusion, that it is a matter of the most urgent expediency to have in this country an authority legally competent to legislate for all classes and all places, subject to the political authority of the Honourable East India Company; and this persuasion, the facts and observations stated by you in the Despatch to which we have already referred, are calculated powerfully to confirm Now in the present circumstances of the country, there seem to be no elements for a Legislature excepting the Government and His Majesty's Courts; and it seems to us that the concurrence of both is for a variety of reasons highly desirable. In other words, we should propose, that the Members of the Supreme Government and the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta should be constituted a Legislative Council, with power to enact laws for the guidance of all Courts, whether established by The King or by the local Government, within the territories of the East India Company, and for the regulation of the rights and obligations of all persons subject to their authority.

10. By these means we should hope that the defects of the law, as now existing, might be speedily and safely corrected, without imposing upon any burthensome additional labour, or requiring from you any duty inconsistent with the most complete independence in your judicial capacity.

11. We should anticipate very great benefit from a change by which the Judges of your Court would be constitutionally empowered and authorized to afford us the full benefit of your experience and legal knowledge, and by which they would, equally with the Members of the Government, have a voice in regard to the expediency of all proposed laws, instead of being confined, as now, to a decision on the question of their repugnance or otherwise to English law, after the Government has committed itself by their enactment.

12. The registry and publication of such laws in the Supreme Court, with the same right of appeal to The King in Council, might be made, as now, in the case of rules and regulations for the good order and civil government of the Presidency ; the Judges of the Court having, however, as such, administrative functions only. Any argument against a proposed law (supposing parties to appear and oppose it) to be heard, if heard at all, before the Supreme Council, constituted as above, from which the appeal to His Majesty in Council should lie.

13. Coming to the above conclusion, as to the general measure to be adopted for remedying the defects of the existing system, it does not appear to be necessary for us to enter into any detailed explanation of the circumstances under which those defects have practically developed themselves, or of the specific rules and regulations by which we should propose to apply a remedy. It may not, however, be irrelevant to state, that we are informed that the persons whose case has been submitted by you to His Majesty's Government had, previously to their being put upon their trial in the Supreme Court, been tried by the Court of Circuit, three of whom were acquitted by the Judge of that Court for want of proof, and one was ordered to be discharged by the Nizamut Adawlut, on a reference from him, on a failure in jurisdiction, in consequence of the stolen property having been found in the prisoner's possession within the limits of the town of Calcutta. It may also be proper to take this opportunity of remarking, that the criminal law, as administered by the Nizamut Adawlut and the subordinate Courts in the interior of the country, retains but little of the Mahommedan Code, whether in respect to the laws of evidence, or to the punishments annexed to offences ; and that we most anxiously desire to adopt all practicable improvements in the constitution and forms of those Courts, so as to obviate every reasonable objection against the extension of their jurisdiction to all cases which can be expediently subjected to that of your Court.

14. The immediate object, however, of the present Address is to solicit a communication of your opinion on the general question. And should your sentiments concur with those we entertain, as to the expediency and necessity of enlarging the legislative powers of Government, we shall be much obliged to you if you will further state the conclusions to which a consideration of the subject may lead you, in regard to the mode in which such powers could best be exercised, and the limitations to which the exercise of them should be subjected.

15. We have directed our Judicial Secretary to furnish you with all the Papers which we have had immediately under consideration on the present occasion, and with any others to which you may desire to refer.*

We have, &c.
(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK.
,, W. B. BAYLEY.
,, C. T. METCALFE.

Minute of Lord William Bentinck on the above subjects. (October 10, 1829).

The Judges of the Supreme Court agreeing with the Government on most of the essential points, little remains for consideration here but the particular arrangements by which what is proposed may best be carried into effect.

The detailed exposition given by Sir Charles Grey of the circumstances under which the Court has hitherto acted, able and excellent in every respect, as particularly valuable, as exhibiting in the strongest light (if we may at all argue from the past to the future) the utter hopelessness of setting or keeping things right

* *Parliamentary Papers* (H.C.), 1831, Vol. 6, Appendix V, No. 1, p. 1.

through the operation of Acts of Parliament passed at home ; and the principle advocated by him, of maintaining the complete subordination of the local Legislature to the Parliament, will equally, I imagine, be recognized as one of undeniable necessity.

[1] The measures which he suggests for practically enforcing this principle, appear to be well calculated to secure that and other objects of importance, viz. the early and punctual transmission to England of all laws passed in this country, and the periodical incorporation of them into a digested code.

And the conditions[2] by which it is proposed to limit the powers of the local Legislature, corresponding in substance with most of those suggested by Sir E. H. East, seem to be unobjectionable. The proviso, which is peculiar to the latter, that the law shall be equal to all classes in matters of common concern, had better, I should think, be omitted, chiefly because it is one of those generalities of which the particular effects cannot be immediately anticipated, and also because it seems to imply a suspicion of injustice, scarcely consistent with the delegation of powers such as are proposed to be given.

With respect to the constitution of the proposed Legislative Council, there is greater room for doubt. If, as appears to be admitted, every notion of representation must, for the present at least, be relinquished, it may, I think, be questioned whether the choice of legislators should go beyond the Members of the Supreme Council and the Judges of the Supreme Court. I cannot think it would be right to bring into such an assembly the chief minister of the Christian church. There seem to be many reasons to be urged against such an arrangement in India, which it is unnecessary to particularize. The information as to the Hindoo and Mahomedan codes, with a view to which it is proposed to appoint one or more civil servants learned in those laws, may probably be as well obtained, when required, by other means, unless the Supreme Court, as is proposed by Sir Charles Grey, should be composed partly of Judges appointed by the Crown, and partly of Judicial servants of the Company ; so likewise I should think that, with caution and publicity in the proceedings of the Legislative Council, the interests of the British merchants will be effectually secured; and except we could adopt the principle of representation, which seems out of the question, it would not, I think, add to the weight of the Council, or the confidence of the public, to associate an individual or subordinate functionary with the Members of Government and the Judges of the Supreme Court. It should be remembered that its laws are designed to have effect at all the Presidencies. If any addition were made to the existing established authori-

[1] It should be provided (Sir Charles Grey suggests) that every act of an Indian Legislative Council should, within one month, be sent to the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners ; and that in the next session after the receipt of it in England, it should be laid before Parliament: and that the Court and the Board should have the power of repealing it within one year from the time of its having been made, but with a proviso, that all persons should be saved harmless for any acts done under the regulation before notice of its repeal should have been given in some specified manner ; and further, that the Indian Council should once in seven, ten, fourteen or twenty years, form into one body of law, and submit to the Parliament, the whole of the existing regulations, in order that they might be sanctioned or amended.

[2] These are as follows: The Legislative Council shall not make any ordinance inconsistent with any Act of the Imperial Parliament applying to India : It shall not alter any part of the unwritten law of the British constitution, on which depends the relations of British India or its people with the United Kingdom : It shall not in any way vary the law of treason, or affect any rights of the Crown, or of the Parliament, or those which may be derived by any foreign State from treaties entered into by them with the British Crown.

The exceptions proposed by Sir E. East are, that no laws should be made contrary to the duty of allegiance, nor contrary to any express law made or to be made by Parliament for the government of British India ; and that the laws should be equal in all matters of common concern between native and British subjects for the common good, without favour or disparagement to either.

ties, which I consider for the present to be inexpedient, I should infinitely prefer native gentlemen, whose rank in society and great wealth seem to entitle them to the distinction; while the Council itself would derive from their knowledge of the character, manners and feelings of the natives, that information which the most experienced Europeans so imperfectly possess.

On the whole, therefore, it would, I conceive, be right to constitute the Council as proposed in the letter of the 14th of July.

A veto, it is agreed, shall belong to the Governor General; and the limitation of the power of the Council being rendered specific (the vague words "repugnant to the laws of the realm" must be carefully avoided), it would seem to be unobjectionable and proper to allow the Judges the power of suspending any enactment which might appear to them to be incompatible with the laws they are bound to administer. It is a fundamental principle of the arrangement proposed by Government that the Acts of the Legislative Council shall extend to all places, and to all descriptions of persons.

Provision should of course be made for the due publication of all proposed laws, and parties interested in opposing them should have full opportunity of stating their objections, either by petition or by argument, authority being also reserved to the Governor General in Council of appointing committees or commissioners specially to inquire into and report upon all matters necessary to a just determination on the expediency of any law.

The promulgation of laws subsequent to their enactment must also of course be fully provided for.

As to the formation of a general code for British India, with such special provisions as local peculiarities render unavoidable, and the gradual adoption of one consistent system for the administration of justice in all parts of the country, the remarks of Sir Charles Grey appear to be generally just, though he perhaps overrates the advantages to be derived from the services of English lawyers, unless where those of superior men can be secured. But these are objects to be attained only in course of time, through the operation of laws to be adopted, after careful consideration of each, by the proposed Legislative Council.

Even the general principles, how far the rules of English laws and process shall be maintained, or a simpler system adopted, stript of its technicalities, shall be substituted; to what extent the English language shall be allowed or enjoined; whether Englishmen shall be permitted to claim any and what special distinctions as to the form of trial, or the tribunal to which they are to be subject, and especially in what cases and within what tracts trial by jury shall be introduced; would require separate and deliberate consideration: and the peculiarities of every province; the expediency of having local rules, distinct from, though of course subordinate to, all general laws; the means of recording and maintaining local usages, where proper to be maintained; these and various other points must be discussed before we can attempt to lay down a general scheme for the better administration of justice throughout the wide regions that will be subject to the proposed Legislative Council.

The necessity of a Legislative Council having been thus established, it would seem right that we should request the aid of the Judges in preparing a scheme for the execution of the measure, to be submitted for the approval of the home authorities.

In the event of the proposition for a Legislative Council not receiving the sanction of Government or of Parliament, it would be desirable that we should now provide for that contingency, by requesting the Judges to suggest, for our concurrence, such alterations in the present Acts as may correct the inconsistencies, and may remedy the inconveniences, which have been so fully detailed in the various communications upon the present subject. It would seem impossible for

the home authorities, as experience has hitherto abundantly proved, to furnish the details which a plan of so extensive a nature must require.*

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK.

Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors re: the same. (October 14, 1830).

Fort William, 14th October, 1830.

Honourable Sirs,

Your Honourable Court is aware, from the documents which accompanied our Secretary's letter under date the 20th of October last, that we have for some time been in communication with the Judges of the Supreme Court, on the subject of the measures to be taken for the amendment of the laws applicable to the different classes of persons resident within the British territories, and for the establishment of such a judiciary system as might ensure their prompt and just administration, with reference especially to the circumstances incident to the more extended settlement of British-born subjects, with permission to hold land. We have now the honour of transmitting to you, as numbers in the packet, copies of the papers noted in the margin, in continuation of those which were forwarded to you on the above date.

Letter from the Judges of the Supreme Court, dated the 13th September 1830, with 4 Enclosures.
Ditto to Ditto, dated 28th September 1830, with its Enclosure.
Ditto to Ditto, dated 9th October 1830.
Ditto from Ditto, dated 7th October 1830.
Ditto to Ditto, dated 11th October 1830, with its Enclosure.
Ditto from Ditto, dated 13th October 1830, with its Enclosure.

2. We beg permission to call your early and particular attention to the draft of a bill (as finally amended), and the papers immediately relating to it (Nos. 2, 3 and 4), and to submit our recommendation that the necessary measures may be taken to obtain the enactment, by the British Legislature, of a law corresponding with that draft, with any modifications or additions that may appear to be necessary or expedient. The grounds on which we consider such a law to be urgently and indispensably required, and the considerations which have influenced us in the adoption of its several clauses, are so fully explained in our correspondence with the Supreme Court, that it must be superfluous to enlarge upon the subject in this place. It may be sufficient to state that, in our judgment, the members of the Legislative Council should not, in the first instance at least, be numerous. It may eventually be proper to enlarge it; and the number to be inserted in the bill, which in the draft is left blank, your Honourable Court will best be able to determine. Besides the Members of the Supreme Council, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, we are not prepared to hazard an opinion as to what individuals should be admitted into the Legislative Council, or from what classes and on what principles, the selections should be made. These indeed are points which, we think, should be left exclusively to the decision of the home authorities.

3. We shall only add, that we hardly consider necessary the precautionary measure adverted to in the concluding paragraph of the Judges' letter, dated the 13th instant.

4. A copy of any reply which we may receive to the letter we addressed to the Judges on the 11th instant, on the subject of the Enclosures 2, 3 and 4,

* *Ibid*, No. 23, p. 100.

of their letter dated the 13th ultimo, will be forwarded to your Honourable Court with all practicable dispatch.*

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) W. BENTINCK.
W. B. BAYLEY.
C. T. METCALFE.

Extract remarks of the "India Gazette" on the above. (May 29, 1832).

Going on in our examination of the constituent portions of the proposed Legislative Council, we find it provided that, in addition to those high functionaries already mentioned, it shall consist of such other persons not exceeding—in number as shall from time to time be appointed by his Majesty. The number and selection of these persons will determine, in a great measure, the character and efficiency of the Council. We hope and believe that the idea which has occurred to some of the concocters of this measure of making the Bishop of Calcutta for the time being a member of the Legislative Council, will receive the sanction neither of the Indian nor of the Home Government. Such an appointment would only distract his attention, and weaken the effect of his spiritual labours. Nor, besides the Commander in Chief and the Members of Council, does it appear desirable that any of the other functionaries of Government, military or civil, should belong to the Legislative Council. What is to be desired is that the mercantile and agricultural interests of the country should find representatives in it. With regard to the former there can be no difficulty to find in Calcutta men in every way competent to deliberate and advise on the general interests of the country : with regard to the latter we should hope, if the scheme is ever carried into effect, that Government will look to native gentlemen of rank, wealth, and information. Who will say that such a man as RAMMOHUN ROY, in such a capacity, is not eminently qualified to benefit his country?—or that his elevation to a seat in the legislative council of the Government would not stimulate the ambition of his countrymen, and in due time produce worthy competitors for the same high honours? †

* *Ibid*, No. 25, p. 100.
† *India Gazette*, quoted by *John Bull*, May 29, 1832.

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SOME OPINIONS

"Biography is taking to scientific procedure and great lives are being exposed to the full glare of facts. Truth, however, in Science as well as in the Arts lies in the significant relationship of facts; biographies can have no meaning if they do not sift accidental circumstances in order to reveal the essential pattern of great lives. Piling up of incidental details and display of trivialities at the expense of personality may seem interesting to the curious, but it has little historical justification. Rammohun Ray evoked the angry protest of his contemporaries who found his moral integrity dangerous for their hoarded superstition and degeneracy; feeble minds wreaked their vengeance by personal defamation and belittling of genius according to their own stature. It is sad to observe that his reputation is not immune from such attacks even to-day. In the circumstances I have found it very refreshing to read Mr. J. Majumdar's book on Rammohun Roy because it is based on sober scholarship. His book is supported by documents and official records; with unsparing labour and tenacity he has collected evidence where no testimony should have been necessary, in complete support of Rammohun Roy's character. Mr. Majumdar, I understand, is engaged in producing two more volumes of recorded fact and I hope he will not lack public support in fulfilling his responsibility. We are grateful to him for providing an effective answer without entering controversy, and can hope that a clearer picture of Rammohun Roy's life will emerge out of the new materials he has placed before us."—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

"The first volume has been published in a very acceptable *format* by the authors with the object of refuting the calumnies spread against Raja Rammohun Roy regarding his character and integrity. Such efforts at belittling the Raja reached their climax when, on the eve of the celebration of his death, short extracts were published from the Bill of Complaint of a suit brought against him in the Supreme Court by his nephew Govindaprasad Roy to prove his alleged iniquities. Dr. Majumdar has been carrying on original researches in connexion with the life and works of the Raja, and he and Mr. Chanda got an opportunity of inspecting and examining the records of the High Court as also those of the Governments of India and Bengal. From such work the authors have culled material which enable them to refute the calumnies and bring into proper perspective the greatness and patriotism of the man, who, in the midst of these attacks to bring down ruin and disgrace on him, never lost sight of his self-imposed mission of uplifting his countrymen.........................."—*Statesman.*

" . . . . For the great trouble that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has taken to master the intricate and dry details of the judgments of law-courts and other official documents in order to be able to write a lucid introduction to the work . . . . he is entitled to high praise and the gratitude of all those persons who sincerely honour Rammohun Roy. Entitled to high praise and public gratitude is also his co-worker Dr. J. K. Majumdar. . . . . The volume under review, which in many portions makes very interesting reading, throws light not only on the life of Rammohun Roy, but indirectly also on the manner in which administration was carried on in the years covered by the documents included in it. For this reason, it deserves to be studied not only by those who honour Rammohun Roy, but also by students of the early British period of Indian history. The best way in which we can show our grateful appreciation of the labours of Messrs. Chanda and Majumdar is to study the volume which they have presented to the public."—*Modern Review.*